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MODERN PHILOLOGY

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VOLUME THREE

1905-1906

45334
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CHICAGO
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

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Modern Philology

VOL. III

June, 1905

No. 1

THE DRY SEA AND THE CARRENARE

The Dry Sea and the Carrenare constitute a sort of “dark tower” in Chaucer criticism, and there accordingly attaches at least the melancholy interest of viewing the last of him to each new aspirant who, more or less dauntless, sets the slug-horn to his lips and blows. Yet perhaps it should be said, by way of justifying an attempt predestined, it may seem, to swell the numbers of the lost adventurers, that the solution here to be proposed, if it find confirmation, removes the problem from the sphere of merely curious questions and gives the allusion an unexpected value quite independent of its setting in the poem. For, aside from what appears to be its very intimate relation to the results of recent archæological discoveries in one of the most interesting quarters of the farther East, and its concrete embodiment of the transition from the geography of fable to the geography of fact; aside, too, from its curious foreshadowing, perhaps, of what a little later turned out to be the romance of the New World, the reference seems to help us to a glimpse, at least, of something which is even more illuminating—the background in space against which, more or less vaguely, the life of Chaucer’s century was felt to be projected; the fashion after which men had come to visualize “this litel spot of erthe, that with the see embraced is.” And the possibility that the suggested solution may, if sound, help us toward some such reconstruction, by heightening in a measure our sense of what, through channels other than books, was pouring

into England from a world whose remoter boundaries were even then beginning to stir men's imaginations, makes it seem worth while to venture something in a fresh attempt, even though "the wrastling axeth a fall."

I

It is important to what follows to see precisely how the matter now stands. In the well-known passage Chaucer, or rather the Man in Black, is rehearsing the virtues of the Duchess Blanche. Among them was the sweet reasonableness with which she treated her lovers. She did not try to hold any wight in suspense,

Ne sende men in-to Walakye,
To Pryse and in-to Tartarye,
To Alisaundre, ne in-to Turkye,
And bidde him faste, anon that he
Go hoodles to the Drye See,
*And come hoom by the Carrenare.*¹

Briefly stated, the solutions so far offered are as follows. In his *Chaucer's England*,² in 1869, Mr. Rands lightly cut the knot by declaring the lines in question to be "banter, *q. d.*, 'Nor send him to fetch her a pound of green cheese from the moon' Of course the 'dry sea' is an absurdity, it was meant to be so.'" "Carrenare" he takes "to be bad Italian for carrier, or caravan," the proper word, he remarks, being "*carrettiere*, a carter." The change to *carrettare*, however, "for the sake of the rhyme, is not very outrageous license, compared with other things of the same kind to be found in Chaucer and poets of the time." To this *jeu d'esprit* the retort courteous on Chaucer's behalf was made the next year by Mr. Brae, in an appendix to his edition of the *Treatise on the Astrolabe*³ in which he also took occasion to offer a very ingenious explanation of his own. The Carrenare, he suggests, is the Gulf of Carnaro in the Adriatic—"Il Carnaro, the charnel-hole: so-called because of its reputed destructiveness of human life." The argument, readily accessible in the *Oxford Chaucer*, rests on testimony to the dangerous character of the gulf, and on the assumption (to quote

¹ *Book of the Duchesse*, ll. 1024-29.

² Matthew Browne [W. B. Rands], I, 62.

³ A. E. Brae (London, 1870), pp. 101-5; discussed in the *Oxford Chaucer*, I, 486-88.

Professor Skeat's restatement of the point) that "the true name *Quarnaro* or *Carnaro* was turned by the sailors into *Carnario*, which means in Italian 'the shambles' This *Carnario* might become *Careynaire* or *Carenare* in Chaucer's English, by association with the M. E. *careyne*, or *caroigne*, carrion." Professor Skeat seems also to accept Brae's suggestion that Dante's allusion to the gulf¹ may have reminded Chaucer of its fatal character. Mr. Brae's explanation of the Dry Sea, however, is not offered, as he frankly says, "with anything like the same confidence" as that of the Carrenare, because—and his reason is still pertinent—"‘drie sea’ is a description so wide and uncertain, and is consequently open to so many different interpretations, that unless some special reference should be discovered to throw light upon it, it is scarcely capable of more than the loosest suggestion." With this caution, the Dry Sea is tentatively identified with the variable Lake of Czirknitz, of which an account occurs, curiously enough, on the same page of Sebastian Munster's *Cosmographie*² wherein he quotes the description of the Carnaro. This lake, says Munster, "in winter time becomes of great extent. But in summer the water drains away the bed of the lake is ploughed up—corn grows to maturity—and, after the harvest is over, the waters return with the approach of winter, [and] the lake is again filled." The notion of the peculiar danger of traversing this lake *hoodless*, Mr. Brae suggests, "may have been popularly current in Italy when Chaucer was there,"³ but he adds with the utmost fairness that "the difficulty is that the same might be said of any arid sandy desert that might metaphorically be called a dry sea." He likewise remarks that a frozen sea might perhaps be so called, and points out that to encounter severe cold *hoodless* seems to have been a feat in amatory chivalry.⁴

¹ *Inferno*, IX, 113.

² Basle edition, p. 1044. It must be remembered, as Mr. Brae himself points out, that this account was written a century and a half after Chaucer. The lake, however, behaves similarly today. See Brae, p. 15; *Oxford Chaucer*, I, 487.

³ Inasmuch as the poem was written three years before Chaucer's first visit to Italy, the connection is not obvious.

⁴ See Warton, *History of English Poetry*, § 18 (ed. Hazlitt, III, 4).

An anonymous review of Brae's book in the same year¹ cites allusions which the writer says (in a passage deemed worthy by Professor Skeat of one bracketed interrogation point and two sic's) "place it beyond doubt that the 'drie see' of Chaucer was the Great Sahara, the return from whence homewards would be by the chain of the Atlas or Carena." These mountains are confidently offered as Chaucer's Carrenare. In 1882 Professor Hales suggested that Mandeville's "Gravelly Sea" in the country of Prester John was surely what Chaucer meant² (an identification to which we shall return); and with Professor Skeat's discussion of the question in his edition of the *Minor Poems*³ the matter rested until a year ago.

The ball was once more set rolling by a note on "Un Passo Oscuro di G. Chaucer," in the first number of the *Journal of Comparative Literature*,⁴ by Professor Torraca, of Naples. After paying his respects to the Lake of Czirknitz—suggesting the unlikelihood that Englishmen of the fourteenth century should have known it, the improbability that so small a lake should have been called a "sea," or that a lake "il quale solo qualche volta reste asciutto" should have been designated as "dry," and finally asking what peril anyway could have confronted English lovers if they had obediently made a journey thither—Professor Torraca rightly insists that "le signore solevano constringere gl' innamorati a dar prova di corragio, di audacia in prove difficile." Such a condition, he suggests, would be fulfilled if we suppose Chaucer to have written "Adrye se o Adrya se, vale a dire: mare di Adria, mare Adriano." Brunetto Latini, Dante, Boccaccio called the Adriatic "mare Adriano," and certainly from Lucan's *Pharsalia*, if not from Horace, Chaucer might have known its traditional treachery. *Robur et aes triplex* indeed would have to be, Professor Torraca therefore thinks, about the breast of the English lover who should brave the gales of the Adriatic and then the rocks and winds of the Quarnaro. The Quarnaro, he further believes, Chaucer must have owed to Dante—an inference pointing

¹ *Saturday Review*, July 30, 1870, p. 143 (Vol. XXX, No. 770).

² *Academy*, January 28, 1882, p. 65 (No. 508).

³ In 1888; republished in 1894 in the *Oxford Chaucer*, I, 487.

⁴ Vol. I, No. 1 (January–March, 1903), pp. 82–84.

to Chaucer's knowledge of the great Italian writers before his first Italian journey in 1372.

This note of Professor Torracca's called out from Mr. Paget Toynbee, in the *Modern Language Quarterly* for April, 1904,¹ the statement that he had proposed the same solution just fifteen years ago to Professor Skeat, who had replied that the suggestion had been already made, but that he had left all such things out because he could not find any evidence except against them. "Thus we should expect either *Adrie* or *Ádriátic*; the accent on *Adrye* is not very likely. Again, I can nowhere find any mention of *Hadria* in any M. E. author."² Such a reference, however—and a very important one—was supplied in the October number of the same periodical³ by Mr. A. C. Paues from a *Fourteenth Century Biblical Version* soon to be published by the Cambridge University Press: "Bot efter po fourtene nyghte was comen, and we wore schippande in *A-drye*, aboute po mydde-nyghte po schipmen supposed pat pei see a contre."⁴ Referring to the rarity of the name as implied in Professor Skeat's statement, Mr. Paues goes on: "This very fact helps us to understand how the Chaucerian reading came about. The scribe found in the original *the a drye see*; now, since the name *a-drye* was unknown to him, the phrase appeared mere nonsense. He evidently took *the* and *a* to be articles, and emended the text by omitting the less suitable, hence *the drye see*." The thing, however, to be kept distinctly in mind is that it is Torracca and Toynbee and Paues, and not the scribe, who as a matter of fact are emending! Should an actual Dry Sea present itself, the need of such an emendation would of course be obviated.⁵

¹ Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 15, 16.

² The Carnaro identification Toynbee apparently accepts, but points out abundant possibility of Chaucer's acquaintance with the gulf without the aid of Dante.

³ Vol. VII, p. 100 (October, 1904).

⁴ Acts 27: 27. "*A-drye* (the capital is my own,)" continues Mr. Paues, "is the reading of the three MSS in which the above text occurs."

⁵ It happens that I am able to add another Middle English mention of Hadria. In an old itinerary in *Purchas his Pilgrims* (London, 1625), II, 1237, occur the following lines:

.
From Venece what so thon come,
Is ever more *Mare Adriaticum*.
That is to saie in our Englishe
The grete See of Adrian I wisi.

Purchas (p. 1230) remarks that "the author is unknowne and his time: which yet is likely

The matter, then, stands thus: For the Dry Sea we have as rival claimants the Lake of Czirknitz, the Sahara Desert, the "Gravelly Sea" of Mandeville, and the Adriatic; in the case of the Carrenare the Gulf of Carnaro seems to hold an uncontested field. But before an addition may be ventured to the list, the passage itself demands close scrutiny.

II

Two things, now, are absolutely fundamental to any adequate investigation of the problem: first, to ascertain the text of the two lines in question; second, to determine their exact relation to the context. As regards the text, two points are to be noted. In the first place, all the manuscripts read, in l. 1028, "in-to" instead of "to;" "to" is Professor Skeat's emendation.¹ But the matter is altogether unimportant, so far as the meaning of the passage is concerned,² and Professor Skeat's emendation is probably correct. The second point connected with the text, however, is of more consequence. The mysterious place-name at the close of l. 1029 is uniformly given in the manuscripts and the editions as *Carrenare*—that is, with -e. It rhymes with *ware* of the next line. But the -e of this *ware* demands instant challenge, for the adjective is not a genuine plural.³ The lines read:

And bidde him faste, anoon that *he*
 Go hoodles to the Drye See . . .
 And seye, "Sir, be now right *ware*
 That I may of *yow* here seyn
 Worship, or that *ye* come ageyn."

to have been about two hundred yeares since: Sir Robert Cotton's rich Librarie hath yeelded the Manuscript, whence it was copied." I have been unable to identify the MS in the catalogue of the Cottonian collection.

¹ See *Oxford Chaucer*, I, 312.

² See *New English Dictionary*, s. v. "into," 12. Two examples will here suffice. The first is from Lazamon (vs. 4298): "Belin zef his leue brober anne dal of his londe . . . to halden norð *in to pare* sæ" (*N.E.D.*, *loc. cit.*). The second is from Robert of Gloucester, where it is said of Lear that "At be laste in sorwe know *in to* be see he wende" (l. 797). To assert that Chaucer ever uses "into" in this sense of *usque ad* would, however, be hazardous. In certain passages (such, for instance, as one or two of those quoted on p. 18) the preposition may perhaps be so interpreted. But the point is without bearing on the identification of the Dry Sea, and in the present instance it is quite possible that "in-to" has crept into l. 1028 from ll. 1024-26.

³ It is clear that there is here no question of derivation. The word is from A.S. *wær*, and does not occur in the list of "adjectives which in Anglo-Saxon end in a consonant, [but which] sometimes or always take -e in the *Troilus*" (Kittredge, *Observations on the*

There is no question, then, that the *yow* and *ye* are singular in sense. Even if the adjective were a genuine plural, however, the reading might still be *war* without the *-e*.¹ But where it is not a real plural, there can be no question that Chaucer's prevailing, if not his exclusive, usage is the form without *-e*.² And if one examine his rhymes, one finds not a single other case of *ware* in rhyme, whereas *war* occurs repeatedly.³ In the light of all these facts, there can be no doubt that the reading in the present instance should be *war* without the *-e*. But with its *-e* must go that of its rhyme-word, and it follows that the name we are concerned with is not *Carrenare* but *Carrenar*, and that the lines must read:

Go hoodles to the Drye See,
And come hoom by the *Carrenar*;
And seye, "Sir, be now right *war*," etc.

The text thus established, its relation to the context demands close scrutiny. The one unmistakable thing about the passage is that it rises in the last two lines into a climax, and a climax primarily of *distances*, at that. That this is the emphasis becomes at once clear, if greater clearness than Chaucer's own be possible, when one compares the corresponding lines in Machault's *Dit du lion*, from which (especially if the reference in the "retracciouns" to *The Book of the Leoun* be authoritative) we may feel pretty sure that Chaucer got the suggestion for the present passage.

Language of Chaucer's Troilus, §49), or in the *Legend* (Manly, *Observations on the Language of Chaucer's L. G. W.*, §49). It is specifically included by Professor Manly in the list of adjectives, "which take no -e in *L. G. W.*" (§49, n. 2).

¹ "Monosyllabic adjectives standing in the predicate do not always take -e in the plural." —Kittredge, *op. cit.*, §69; cf. Child, *Observations on the Language of Chaucer*, §41; ten Brink, *Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst*, §234. See, for example, *Troilus*, I, 635: "wyse men ben war by foles."

² "So [i. e., the statement of §69 quoted in n. 1 above] particularly when the adjective in the predicate refers to a subject *ye* (expressed or implied) used in a singular sense." —Kittredge, *op. cit.*, §69 (b). See the examples there given; especially, for *war*, *Troilus*, III, 1180: "beth wel war ye do no more amis"; B. 3281: "Beth war by this ensample." I have not found an instance of the adjective *war* in Chaucer, singular or plural, that has certainly -e.

³ It rhymes with the proper names *Balthasar* (B. 3373, 3375) and *Cesar* (*Leg.* 592, 593), each once; with the noun *char*, twice (*Troilus*, III, 1702, 1704; B. 3798, 3800); and with the strong preterites *bar*, three times (A. 157, 158; G. 1264, 1265; B. 3798, 3803) and *to-tar*, once (B. 3798, 3801). That is, I believe, an exhaustive list. It is worth noting that, in spite of the opportunity offered by *Pandare*, there is no instance of *ware* in rhyme in the *Troilus*.

Machault's lines depict the claims of the rival lovers, who come to take leave of their ladies :

Et quant venoit au congé prendre,
Il n'estoient pas à apprendre.
Ains disoient : Savez comment,
Ma dame, à vous me recommand.
Vous povez seur moy commander
Et moy penre, sans demander :
Car vostre sui entièrement
Pour faire vo commandement
A tant s'en partoient de la.
Après chascuns disoit : Vela
Celui qui vainqui la bataille
Entre Illande et Cornuaille.
L'autre disoit : Par Saint Thomas!
Mais plus il revient de Damas
D'Anthioche ou de Daimiette
Et d'Escauvaire ou Dieu Mori
Tout droit, et de Jherusalem.
Dieu pri qu'il le gart de mal an!
Car s'il vit, s'iert ans Alexandres.
— Aussi fust il en Alexandres,
Dit l'autre, et ou mont de Synay.
— Et l'autre disoit : Si n'ay
Homme, qui à li se compert,
Ne dont tant de bien nous appert ;
Car il fu jusqu'à l'Arbre sec,
Où li oisel pendent au bec.
Et quant les dames en oioient
Le bien dire, et si li trouvoient,
Plus les en devoient par droit
Enchiérir seloic leur endroit.¹

This piquant dialogue at once recalls the "gabs" in the *Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, each going the other one better, and the spirit of the thing is, indeed, the same. In Machault's lines, however, it is the Dry Tree (on which the lover's inspired imagi-

¹ *Oeuvres*, ed. Tarbé, pp. 41, 42. The passage has been briefly referred to by Professor Skeat in the *Oxford Chaucer*, I, 486. An *Amiral d'outre l'Arbre-Sec* ("as it were of 'the Back of Beyond,'" Yule remarks) occurs in an Old French play slightly earlier than the time of Marco Polo, called *Le Jus de St. Nicolas* (*Marco Polo*, ed. Yule-Cordier, I, 132; for bibliography of the *Arbre sec*, see pp. 128-39 and index, and add Alfred Bassermann, "Veltro, Gross-chan und Kaisersage," in *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, XI [1902], 41 ff.)

nation sees also the barnacles hanging by their beaks)¹ that throws the *sis cink*; in Chaucer's, it is the Dry Sea (which without much doubt, we may suppose, Machault's *Arbre sec* called to his mind) together with the Carrenar; in both, it is far countries that are the counters of the game. For what the ladies who did hold their suitors "in balaunce" demanded, it is clear, was that their lovers should ride or go "as fer as cerclèd is the mappe-mounde." Nothing short of the "no man ferre" that even Chaucer's modest Knight attained, was praise enough. Were there no other objections to the Lake of Czirknitz, or the "Adrye See" and the Gulf of Carnaro, the implications of the climax would, I think, be fatal. "Go to Wallachia, to Prussia, to Tartary, to Egypt, to Turkey; nay even, under strict injunction, go—just over the edge of Italy!" That way lies the *ridiculus mus*. From the very structure of the passage itself, accordingly, neither Dry Sea nor Carrenar is to be looked for this side Wallachia, Prussia, Tartary, Alexandria, Turkey, but beyond. It is the *flammatia moenia mundi* with which we have to do—"straunge strondes" at the outposts of the world. And the logic of the lines themselves would bid us look either north, past Prussia; or south, past Alexandria; or, past Wallachia and Turkey, east, beyond the bounds of Tartary.

This preliminary clearing of the ground has seemed absolutely necessary to the further investigation of the problem. We may come now "to the grete." For on the very borderland of Chaucer's world lie both a Dry Sea and a Carrenar.

III

In the *Academy* for January 28, 1882,² Professor Hales referred to Mandeville's famous "Gravelly Sea" in the country of Prester John, and, quoting part of Mandeville's description, remarked: "Here is 'a dry sea' with a vengeance. Surely, this is what Chaucer means."³

I think there is good reason to believe that this both was and

¹ See the parallel passage from the *Image du monde* of Gautier de Metz, quoted in Warner's *Mandeville* (Roxburghe Club), p. 213.

² No. 508, p. 65; reprinted in *Folia Literaria*, p. 86.

³ Professor Skeat (*Oxford Chaucer*, I, 488) rejected this suggestion in favor of Mr. Brae's, which, he says, "is probable . . . and suffices."

was not what Chaucer meant. That what was once the strange sea in the land of Prester John was in his mind when he wrote, there is, perhaps, little room to doubt; but that it had even then crossed the borderland between the fabulous and the real, and had pretty definitely localized itself, there is interesting evidence of no small weight, nor is what seems to have happened here without wider significance. Fabulous enough the story surely is when we first meet it, a century and a half before Mandeville, in the numerous texts and versions of the famous *Epistola Presbyteri Johannis*,¹ the uninterpolated text of which later served as the main source of Mandeville's story of the country of Prester John,² as it also underlay in part the fantastic itinerary of Johannes Witte de Hese in 1389.³ In all of these, except the fragmentary

¹ For a thorough and critical presentation of the texts and versions of the *Epistola* see the important work of Friedrich Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes* (Leipzig, 1876-79); Part I, in Vol. VII of the *Abhandlungen der phil.-hist. Classe der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, No. 8; Part II, in Vol. VIII, No. 1; the promised Part III was never published. This work includes the substance of Zarncke's previous studies in five *Universitätsprogrammen* of 1874, 1875. In the *Berichte der Kgl. Sächs. Gesellschaft* for 1877, pp. 111-56, Zarncke gives the text of the Hildesheim and Cambridge MSS, and in the *Berichte* for 1878 pp. 41-46, he prints the fragment of the English version. By far the best brief summary of the whole matter is that of Yule, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (9th ed., XIX, pp. 714-18), in his article on "Prester John." See also Oppert, *Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage und Geschichte* (Berlin, 1870), and Yule's discussion (in his *Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. Cordier, I, 231-37) of Bruun's *The Migrations of Prester John*. See, too, Warner's *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (Roxburghe Club), p. 215. From the above sources further bibliographical information may be readily obtained. For convenience of reference, in what follows Zarncke's *Der Priester Johannes*, Parts I and II, will be designated as "Z.I" and "Z.II" respectively. The *Epistola* itself, belonging to the last half of the twelfth century (Z.I, 878) is extant in about one hundred MSS (Z.I, 906, cf. 874), which fall into six groups, one containing the uninterpolated text (Z.I, 877), the other five distinguished by the character of their respective interpolations (Z.I, 881-908; for the complete text, interpolations and all, see pp. 909-34). There are also five Middle High German versions: the Berlin MS (Z.I, 947-55; also, in part, in Oppert, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 ff.); the Ambras-Wiener MS (Z.I, 955-68); *Der jüngere Titurēl*, vss. 6031-6158, ed. Hahn (Z.I, 968-93); the Munich MS (Z.I, 993-1004); and the Heidelberg MS (Z.I, 1004-28). There are also French (Z., *Berichte*, 1877, p. 112; *Renunciationsprogramm*, 1874, pp. 18-20; Paulin Paris, in *Histoire littéraire*, XXI, 797-802) and Italian (Z., *Berichte*, 1877, p. 113; *Renunciationsprogramm*, p. 20) versions, and a fragment of one in English (Z., *Berichte*, 1878, pp. 41-46; cf. Z. I., 890-92).

² See Z. II, 132, 133; Bovenschen, *Untersuchungen über Johann von Mandeville und die Quellen seiner Reisebeschreibung* (Berlin, 1888), p. 302; Warner's *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (Roxburghe Club), p. 215. Mandeville's account of the Prester John country is given in Z. II, 132-38 (English text), 139-46 (Latin text), 147-54 (fifteenth-century German text of Otto von Diemeringen), 181-84 (French text). See *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (ed. Warner, Roxburghe Club, 1889), pp. 133 ff., for critical English and French texts of the same passages; and for English text alone, *Travels*, ed. Halliwell (1889), pp. 270 ff.; ed. Ashton (1887), pp. 187 ff.; ed. Layard (1895), pp. 335 ff., etc.

³ Z. II, 159-71. See also the twelfth-century account of India by Elysaeus (Z. II, 120-27), and that in the anonymous twelfth-century letter concerning the patriarch John of India (Z. I, 831 ff.).

Heidelberg manuscript, the marvelous sea appears, in an even more marvelous environment. Passing the latter for a moment, let us come to the sea itself.

In the uninterpolated Latin text it is described as follows:

Inter cetera, quae mirabiliter in terra nostra contingunt, est *hareno-sum mare* sine aqua. Harena enim movetur et tumescit in undas ad similitudinem omnis maris et nunquam est tranquillum. Hoc mare neque navigio neque alio modo transiri potest, et ideo cuiusmodi terra ultra sit sciri non potest. Et quamvis omnino caret aqua, inveniuntur tamen juxta ripam a nostra parte diversa genera piscium ad comedendum gratissima et sapidissima, alibi nunquam visa.¹

Three elements in this description of the *mare arenosum* concern us here—its name, the movement of its sands, its impassability and vast extent.²

The names of the sea are not without suggestion. In the Cambridge text it is “quoddam *mare pulvereum* sine aqua,”³ while the versions and the pseudo-travelers name it variously. The French version, like the Cambridge text, has “une *mer de pourre sans aigue*";⁴ the English has “pe *sandy see*.⁵ In the German it is

. . . . ein mer, daz ist vol sandes
vnd hat wazzers nirgen ein tran;⁶

it is

. . . . ein mere in vnnserm lannde
wan von ainualtigem sande;⁷

¹ Z. I, 914, §31 (see variants on p. 928); given also in *Oeuvres de Rutebeuf*, ed. Jubinal (1839), II, 447. The text in Oppert, *op. cit.*, p. 172, has “quoddam mare sine aqua.”

² The curious detail of the fishes there is here no space to follow out. The writer of the Berlin MS cuts the knot by making a second sea:

Da gegen an der andern siten stat
Ein groz mer, daz hat
den aller besten visch
der ie quam vf herren tisch (Z. I, 951).

Johannes de Hese adds the picturesque detail that “in illo mare capiuntur pisces per monculos, qui intrant pedestre” (Z. II, 164). The barefaced statement of the Egerton MS of Mandeville—“I John Maundeuill ete of bam, and parfore trowez it, for sikerly it es soth” (ed. Warner, p. 134)—is not in the French text or the Cotton MS (ed. Warner, p. 215). Cf. the wonderful fishing stone in Z. I, 916, §18.

³ Z., *Berichte*, 1877, p. 143. It is, however, called *mare arenosum* in §20 of the same text (p. 140), and twice in the kindred Hildesheim text (pp. 122, 126).

⁴ *Oeuvres de Rutebeuf* (ed. Jubinal, *Bibliothèque Elzevirienne*, 1875), III, 364; ed. Jubinal (1839), II, 461.

⁵ Z., *Berichte*, 1878, p. 45.

⁶ Berlin MS, Z. I, 951, §31.

⁷ Ambras-Wiener MS, Z. I, 962, §31.

it is "ein santwasser."¹ Above all, in *Der jüngere Titrel*² we read:

Da bi sô ligt besunder gar âne wazzer trucken
Ein mer

to whose "al trucken tobender ünde" later reference is made,³ so that at least to the poet of the Grail story the Sandy Sea of Prester John was undoubtedly the *Dry Sea*.⁴ That it might likewise have been so called by Chaucer is obvious.

But if the matter rested there, one might indeed echo Boccaccio's exclamation at the close of his laborious etymologizing of the name of another sea: "Verum haec superflua curiositas est!"⁵

¹ Munich MS. Z. I., 998, §31.

² *Ibid.*, 977, §31. It should be said at this point that in Albrecht von Scharfenberg's *Titrel* the letter of Prester John is woven directly into the story of the wanderings of the Grail to the Orient. On account of the growing sinfulness of those about it, the Grail must leave Salvaterra. By land it reaches Marsilje, whence over a quiet sea it sails to Pitimontes. From there it passes to the Magnetic Mountain, where the wrecks of a thousand ships are lying; before it the power of the magnet is broken. It comes into the Lebermeer (see pp. 43-45) "von kieln gar gestecket und bestanden"; before the Grail the Lebermeer dissolves like ice in fire. After more wandering, Parzival and his companions reach India, where Feirefiz comes rejoicing to meet them. There is, however, no temple in India for the Grail. But now Feirefiz tells (and his speech is simply a translation of the *Epistola*) of the power and glory of Prester John, who thereupon comes himself to meet the Grail. Into the account of the miraculous transportation of the Grail temple to India and the later relations of Parzival and Prester John, there is here no need to enter. See, for Feirefiz's speech, the long extract in Zarncke (I, 988 ff.); for the whole story, *Der jüngere Titrel*, ed. Hahn, st. 5064 to end. I have availed myself of the excellent summary in Conrad Borchling, *Der jüngere Titrel* (Göttingen, 1897), pp. 100-106.

³ *Ibid.*, §33.

⁴ It is also worth noting that, while Odoric's "Sandy Sea" is in the French text "*la mer sablonneuse*" (ed. Cordier, in *Recueil de Voyages*, X, 45), in the addition of Ramusio B the "*mar Sabbionoso*" is "un' arena asciutta, et al tutto priua d'humore" (*ibid.*, p. 47; cf. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, I, 52. See *ibid.*, p. 25, note, for the details peculiar to the Minor Ramusian version, and pp. 21-41 for bibliography).

In Mandeville's Latin text it is "*magnum mare arenosum, quod de sola minuta arena sine ulla aqua cum lapillorum granellis currit et fluit per altas elevationes et depressiones ad similitudinem maris aquae nec unquam quiescit*" (Z. II, 145). In the French text it is "*la mer arenouse, qest tout dareine et de grauell saunz goute deauwe*" (ed. Warner, p. 134; cf. Z. II, 182); Otto von Diemeriringen has "*eyn sandtmer; das ist eyn mer von ytem flissen dem sande bedecket, unnd ist des sandes also vil unnd alz ungrundig, das man nicht weis vorwar, ab dar wasser undir ist adir nicht*" (Z. II, 152); in the English it is "*pe Graeuilly See*" (ed. Warner, p. 134). It should be noted that the "Gravelly Sea" is twice elsewhere mentioned in Mandeville: once in the description of the river Belyon, near Acon, whose gravel is shining, "and men makes peroff gude glasse and clere," of which it is said that "sum saise pat it es a swelgh of *pe Graeuilly See* [une espiral de la Meer Arenouse]," ed. Warner, p. 16; again where the city of Both in Persia is said to be "*day iourne fra pe Graeuilly See*" (*ibid.*, p. 75). That Mandeville borrowed his account of the "Gravelly Sea" from the *Epistola*, and not, as Dr. Hales (*loc. cit.*) and Colonel Yule (*Cathay*, I, 28) suggest, from Odoric, is quite clear.

⁵ *De Maribus*, of the Pontus. It is very curious that in the *De Maribus* Boccaccio also describes a veritable "Dry Sea." It is a place in *Numidia*, "in quo spinae piscium muricatum

The other two characteristics of the Sandy Sea advance us farther. The description, in the Latin text, of the *moving sands* has already been quoted,¹ and is elaborated in certain versions of the *Letter*:

Ez wehet mit der vlut
als ein ander wazzer tut:
nimmer en wirt ez stille.²

In the English Mandeville "it ebbez and flowes as pe grete see duse in oper cuntreez with grete wawes, and neuermare standez still withouten mouyng."³ In Johannes de Hese it is "arena fluens ut aqua, crescens et decrescens."⁴ The curious *moving or flowing* of the sand is, indeed, the central point in the description.

But with equal emphasis it is at first insisted that over this sea one cannot pass, and that what lies beyond it no man knows.⁵

ostreariumque; fragmenta saxa attrita uti fleri solent assiduo maris motu; infixaæ praeterea cautibus ancoræ et alia plura testantia ibidem iam mare et portuosum etiam fuisse nil fidei minuente solo: cum nil herbidum alet."—*De montibus, sylvis, fontibus, etc.*, bound with the Ticknor copy of the *Genealogia deorum* (Venice, 1472), in the Harvard Library.

¹ P. 12, n. 4; cf. "et reddit undas sicuti aliud mare et numquam est in quiete" (Camb. text).

²Berlin MS. Cf. also:

vnd wletet (?) doch nacht vnd tag
als es geraiche (?) von wazzer sey,
vnd tobet ze allen weylen dabey,
in dhainer stille es nymer wirt,
die starchen windes dicke pirt (Ambras-Wiener MS).

Daz selbe mer ist swinde, mit sturm ininden varend;
swenn ez zerblaent die winde, daz mer von sant ist tobender finde niht sparende,
und wellen hoh sam ti dem wazzerwäge (*Titurel*).

³ Ed. Warner, p. 134. For the Latin and German see particularly p. 12, n. 4. The French has: "et vait et vient as grandes undes auxi come lautre mer fait, et nulle foitz ne nul saisoun ne se tient toy [coy] ne paisible" (ed. Warner, p. 134; cf. Z. II, 182).

⁴Z. II, 164.

⁵ What a phantasmagoria lies about this sea, nothing short of the *ipsissima verba* can make clear. The Fountain of Youth is near it, varying its taste every hour through the day and night, where are the stones *nudiosi*, which the eagles carry off to render still more clear their sight (*ad consolacionem sui luminis et vitae*)—the stones which worn on mortal fingers clarify the vision and even, *legitimo carmine consecrati*, render the wearer invisible. Into the Sandy Sea itself flows, three days of the week, a river of stones without water, impassable while its flow continues. Beyond it lies another river, whose sands are mere precious stones; or sometimes this River of Gems flows through the Sandy Sea, and is indeed the Sabbathic River, flowing six days and resting the seventh, which keeps the ten tribes of the Children of Israel from crossing into the land of Prester John. And in one part of the desert where the sea lies is a people with round feet, like horse's hoofs; and in another part is the land of Femenye itself—"ane land callit be yemenland, quhar pair is na man nor na man dar byd our ane zeir . . . and quhen bai pleiss till ride one pair inimeiss, bai ar ane hundredreth thousand ridand ladeis with out bame pat passis one fut. . . . And bai ar werray stark and cruel." And on the other side of the sea are "*medicinae, quae bona sunt ad potandum*," and in the sea the *monoculi* go a-fishing. The Castle of Gog and Magog is not far away, and the Land of Melliför—and the lover who reached it would surely win worship "or that he came again"!

It is

ein mer, dazt obe und under niht wan griez, darfz gēnt nebel rucken
 vil dicke, grōze kiel noch barke swebende,
*wan niht darüber ist varnde klein noch grōz, daz ȳf der erd ist
 lebende*
*und wā daz mer hab ende, daz lāze gar diu werlt sunder frāge.*¹

Even the Latin Mandeville has it so: “*Nullo tamen humano ingenio valet hoc mare transvadari vel navigari . . . sed nec propter sui longitudinem et plura illic impedimenta de prope circuiri.*”² But, beginning with certain versions of the *Epistola* itself, there are hints of something else. In the Cambridge MS we read: “*Et illud mare nemo potest transire . . . et nos habemus alia passagia, per quae possumus visitare terras nostras.*”³ There is, then, a route round it. And with the German Mandeville, a few years after Chaucer, another new element has come in. In Otto von Diemeringen it is said that the sea is “*eyn gar grosz wyt mer, unnd weis nymandt, wo is wende adir was an gensit sey. Unnd das mer czüt sich dar bis an dy deserte von Indien, das nymand da hin kommen mag.*”⁴ But now the plot thickens. For in this desert, thus specifically connected with the Sandy Sea, are, to use the English version, “many wylde men with hornes apon paire heueds; and pai dwelle in wodes as bestez and spekez noȝt, bot gruntils as swyne duse And pare er fewles also spekand of paire awen kynde; and pai will hails men pat com purgh pe desertez, spekand als openly, as pai ware men.” Still more explicit is the Latin text: “*Et quaedam ex istis naturaliter loquuntur verba aut proverbia seu salutationes in patriae ydyomate, ut evidenter salutes concedant et reddant viatoribus et nonnunquam debitum*

¹ *Der jüngere Titulare*, §§ 31, 32, Z. I, 977. Cf. the vivid statements of the Berlin, Ambras-Wiener, and Munich versions.

² Z. II, 145. So in English: “*Dat see may na man passe, nowþer by schippe ne oþer wyse; and perfore it es unknawen till any man whatkyn land or cuntree es on þe toþer syde of dat see*” (ed. Warner, p. 134). The French agrees.

³ Z., *Berichte*, 1877, pp. 143, 144; cf. Hildesheim text, *ibid.*, p. 126: “*Sciatis eciam, quod habemus passagium per mare*”—which is, however, manifestly corrupt. The French version (Rutebeuf, III, 364) has: “*Et pour ce ne puet nus om savoir combien nostre tierre est grans, fors nous ki l'avons toute en escrit; et si avons autre passage par où nous poons toute nostre tierre visiter.*” Cf. especially the Munich MS: “*Nie für uns das wasser ist frey,*” etc.

⁴ Z. II, 152.

iter errantibus per desertum ostendant." What we have so far, then, is a sea which not only well might have been, but actually was, called *dry*; whose sands moved and flowed like the other sea; which was impassable from its vast extent; and which reached to a desert wherein were wild men and voices of birds or devils that mocked travelers who had wandered from their way. What and where was the thing which is thus described?

Where the first writer of the *Letter* imagined that it was, no man can tell; the realms of Prester John were as elastic as the pages of "myn auctour Lollius."¹ But starting from whatever lost but real experience of the terrors of the desert, and hovering as it had for centuries over the three Indias, the definite association which, with practical certainty, the Sandy Sea had gained by Chaucer's time seems clear enough. For from even Chinese "time immemorial" the region about Sa-tcheu, on the edge of the great desert of Lop or Gobi, had been known as *Lew-Sha*, the "Flowing Sands."² As the "Moving Sands" it is marked on a Chinese map of the Hsia dynasty (2205–1818 B. C.) and on one of the Chow dynasty (1122–660 B. C.).³ Moreover, the deluding voices are likewise associated with the Gobi in old Chinese records. Ma Twan-lin informs us that there were two roads from China westward: the one long and easy, the other across "a plain of sand *extending for more than one hundred leagues*. . . . During the passage of this wilderness you hear sounds, sometimes of singing, sometimes of wailing; and it has often happened that *travelers going aside to see what these sounds might be have strayed from their course and been entirely lost*;

¹ They move like a will-o'-the-wisp over the old maps—by the Northern Sea, off from the rampart of Gog and Magog, beyond the land of Ophir, on the meridian of Babylon, in the heart of Africa, "ab ostio Gadis per meridiem usque ad fluvium Auri." See Santarem, *Histoire de la cartographie* (Paris, 1849), III, pp. xx–xxi, 10, 195, 240, 295, 296, 333, 370, 390, 436, and the maps themselves in the accompanying *Atlas*. Cf. Behaim's map in Ghillany, *Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter Martin Behaim* (Nürnberg, 1853). See, too, Yule's *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article.

² The Archimandrite Palladius, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch*, Vol. X, 1878, p. 4; cf. *Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. Yule-Cordier, I, 198; cf. particularly Otto von Diembergen's *flissendem sande*, p. 12, n. 4 of the present article.

³ In Oxenham's *Historical Atlas of the Chinese Empire* (Royal Geographical Society, 1898). For Tun-Huang (the same as Sa-tcheu) in the Moving Sands district, see the map of the Han dynasty, and many later ones. Cf. Yule-Cordier, I, 198; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II, 18. According to Palladius, in Chinese traditions the name occurs earlier than that of Sha-mo, the sandy region of Mongolia (*op. cit.*, p. 4).

for they are voices of spirits and goblins."¹ Hiuen Tsang, "the Indian Pausanias," who crossed the desert more than twelve centuries ago, had "visions of troops marching and halting, constantly shifting, vanishing, and reappearing, 'imagery created by demons.'"² The legends of the wild men, moreover, still persist, for in 1892 Mr. Rockhill's native guide told him that near Sa-chou were wild men, whose home he placed between the Sa-chou and the Lob Nor.³

The moving, flowing sands, the vast extent, the terrors of the passage, the mocking creatures of the desert, in the Chinese accounts are all in harmony with the distinctive features of the Sandy Sea.⁴ But there is European testimony too. For Marco Polo crossed this very desert of Lop, and this is what he wrote:

The length of this Desert is so great that 'tis said *it would take a year and more to ride from one end of it to the other.* And here, where its breadth is least, it takes a month to cross it. *'Tis all composed of hills and valleys of sand.*⁵ But there is a marvellous thing related of this Desert, which is that when travellers are on the move by night, and one of them chances to lag behind or to fall asleep or the like, when he tries to gain his company again he will hear spirits talking, and will suppose them to be his comrades. Sometimes the spirits will call him by name; *and thus shall a traveller oftentimes be led astray so that*

¹ Quoted in Yule-Cordier, I, 201.

² *Ibid.*, I, 202; cf. Stein, *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan* (London, 1903), xiv, index, s. v. "Hiuen-Tsiang."

³ Rockhill, *Mongolia and Thibet* (Smithsonian Institution, 1894), pp. 143, 144. The old map-makers fairly reveled in the opportunities thus offered. On the map of Tartary in Blaeu's *Nieuwe Atlas* of 1635, where the 1570 Ortelius has merely "solitudines vastae," stands the legend: "In deserto Lop et Belgian homines miris illusionibus et diabolice screatu seduci creduntur" ("where men are thought to be seduced by wonderfull illusions and *diuiliish spittings*," as John Speed has it on his map of China of 1626 in the *Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* [1631?]). And, indeed, on Blaeu's map twelve devils of the most varied mediæval types are in the act of seducing three faintly outlined and manifestly vanishing mortals. (See also the very Dürer-esque Lop demon pictured on p. 1098 of Sebastian Munster, ed. 1646.) But even John Speed had moments when his faith was dry. For on his map of Tartary in the larger 1631 edition, in a region we shall have to consider later, near the head of the river Ob, appears the legend: "Pliny placeth the Perosites here whom hee saith to bee so narrow mouthed that they live only by the Smel of rost meat beleewe it not." Few of the old cartographers, whose maps are so often the repository of the illustrated fiction of their day, take one more engagingly into their confidence than this same John Speed, "Mercatorum Scissorum frater, Terrarum nostrarum . . . elegantissimus delineator."

⁴ Of some of these details one may repeat Mr. Brae's remark in the case of the designation "dry"—that the same might be said of any desert. But although certain of the legends are not peculiar to the Gobi (see Yule-Cordier, I, 202), that unquestionably seems to be their most favored haunt, and it is their appearance *together* there which, with what follows, constitutes the force of the argument.

⁵ Cf., for instance, the "elevationes et depressiones" of Mandeville, quoted on p. 12, n. 4.

he never finds his party. And in this way many have perished. . . . And sometimes you shall hear the sound of a variety of musical instruments, and still more commonly the sound of drums. Hence in making this journey 'tis customary for travellers to keep close together.¹

And so, in the records of both East and West, the Desert of Gobi is characterized in the terms of the Sandy Sea.²

What seems to have happened, then, is simply what, *mutatis mutandis*, has happened a hundred times. Starting from some hint in actual fact, a name, a story has its *Wanderjähre* in the realms of myth, fabulous lands of Arthur, or Ogier, or Prester John, and then comes back to reattach itself somehow to fact again. The phantom of Prester John himself could not stay hovering over Asia in his shadowy land of Pentexoire. Before Chaucer's time Rubruquis had identified him, it seems, with Kushluk;³ Marco Polo speaks of Unc (Awang) Khan as a "great prince . . . the same that we call Prester John";⁴ the famous Ghengis Khan was his son David.⁵ Colonel Yule, offering analogy for this very demand for a real Prester John, once wrote:

Precolumbian maps of the Atlantic showed an island of Brazil, an Island of Antillia founded—who knows on what?—whether on the real adventure of a vessel driven in sight of the Azores or the Bermudas, or on mere fancy and fogbank. But when discovery really came to be undertaken, men looked for such lands and found them accordingly. And there they are in our geographies, Brazil and the Antilles.⁶

¹ Ed. Yule-Cordier, I, 197. The other curious sounds, too, of music and drums reappear in Chinese legends of this desert. Sha-chou itself means "sand city" or "sand district" in Chinese (Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, II, 18; Yule-Cordier, I, 206, 193), and "according to the Geography of the Yuan dynasty . . . the name is derived from the *Ming sha shan*, the rumbling sand hill near that place" (Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, II, 216); while a tenth-century Chinese narrative localizes the phenomenon on the eastern border of the Lop desert, under the name of the "Singing Sands." Cf. the striking account in Odoric of "the sundry kinds of music, but chiefly nakers" which he heard in the terrible valley by the River of Delight (Yule, *Cathay*, I, 156-58, cxliv; *Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. Yule-Cordier, I, 202; Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, II, 216).

² Moreover, the readiness with which the *Sandy Sea* might pass into the *Dry Sea*, already exemplified in the lines from the *Titurel*, finds abundant illustration in the present nomenclature of this very region. The *Kum-daria*, or *Sand River*, as one approaches the desert from the west, is also known as the *Kurruk-daria*, or *Dry River* (Hedin, *Central Asia and Thibet*, I, 344). The range of mountains across the desert, roughly parallel with Marco Polo's route, is the *Kurruk-tagh*, the *Dry Mountains* (*ibid.*, 340 and map at end), while the same region is also known as the *Kum-tagh*, the *Sand Mountains* (Hedin, *Reisen in Zentralasien* (1900), index and Map III). There is near Korla a little *Kurruk-köll* or *Dry Lake* (too small to be noted on the map, *ibid.*, p. 71), while close to the *Lop-nor* is found a *Kum-köll*, or *Sand Lake* (*Central Asia and Thibet*, I, 396; cf. *Reisen*, p. 12).

³ Z. II, 91; *Encycl. Brit.*, XIX, 717.

⁴ *Travels*, ed. Yule-Cordier, I, 226.

⁵ Z. II., 5-59.

⁶ *Travels of Marco Polo*, 2d edition, II, 543.

Precisely so in the fourteenth century the travelers toward the East seem to have looked for the Sandy Sea of Prester John—originally lying who knows where?—and they found it in the terrible Desert of Lop.

That this Sandy Sea of Prester John, with a difference, was Chaucer's Dry Sea, then, as it had certainly been the "trucken-mer" of the *Titurel*, there seems excellent reason to believe. It lay at the outposts of Chaucer's scheme of things, in the heart of that vague mediæval India which was to him, as to his times, the eastern limit of the world, and to "go hoodles to the drye see" is, in one aspect, only a more definite phrasing of a well-known commonplace. Death in the *Pardoner's Tale* declares he cannot find a man "though that [he] walked *in-to Inde*."¹ The Wife of Bath was as kind to her fifth husband "as any wyf from Denmark *un-to Inde*."² A sweeter place than the garden of the Rose one could not find, "although he soughte oon *in-til Inde*."³ To the love of the Duchess Blanche herself "no ner nas he That woned at home, than he *in Inde*."⁴ And, curiously enough, the River of Precious Stones that flowed into the Sea of Sand actually appears in an earlier French poem as a similar *terminus ad quem*. For in *Li Diz de l'Erberie* of Rutebeuf we read:

Meir ai passée,
Si m'en reving par la Morée,
Où j'ai fait mout grant demorée,
Et par Salerne,
Par Burienne et par Byterne.
En Puille, en Calabre, Palerne
 Ai herbes prises . . .
Jusqu'à la rivière qui bruit
Dou flun des pierres jor et nuit
 Fui pierres querre.
Prestres Jehans i a fait guerre :
Je n'osai entrer en la terre,
 *Je fui au port.*⁵

¹ C. 722. ² D. 824; cf. *Troilus*, V, 971: "bitwixen Orcades and Inde." ³ R. R. 624.

⁴ *Book of the Duchesse*, 889. Chaucer's "Seint Thomas of Inde" (D. 1980, E. 1230), too, is second in importance in the country of the *Epistola* only to Prester John himself. See Z. I, 840 ff.; II, 123, 184, 165, 168-70, etc.

⁵ *Oeuvres de Rutebeuf*, ed. Jubinal (*Bibl. Elzevierienne*), II, 53. So in Jean Sire de Joinville, who wrote between 1304 and 1309 (Z. II, 83), the Sandy Sea, "une grant berrie de sablon, là où il ne croissoit nul bien," is the eastern limit of the world: "Cette berrie com-

But, granted the contention thus far made, can one be sure that Chaucer's Dry Sea was not after all merely the *unlocalized Sandy Sea* of the *Letter* and Mandeville? Half-way between fable and fact as the matter now stands, the Carrenar takes it, I think, safely over the border.

IV

One of the things that strike the reader of mediæval travel in the East is the constant recurrence of the word *cara*, meaning "black." John de Plano Carpini (1245–47), for instance, speaks of "terram *nigrorum* Kythaorum,"¹ referring to what he had before called "terra . . . Karakytaorum."² More definitely William de Rubruquis (1253–55), speaking of Con Can, remarks: "Iste Con erat Cara-Catay. *Cara* idem est quod *nigrum*. Catai nomen gentis. Unde Cara-Catay idem est quod nigri Catay."³ Referring to the famous Tartar drink, he says: "Faciunt etiam *Cara*-cosmos, hoc est *nigrum* cosmos."⁴ So Roger Bacon⁵ speaks of "Catayam *nigram*: unde vocatur *Cara* Cataia"; and the list might be prolonged *ad libitum*. Untranslated, the word occurs in both Plano Carpini and Rubruquis in the name of the great Tartar capital *Caracorum*,⁶ which also appears in Marco Polo.⁷ In the latter writer it is found as well in the names *Carajan*,⁸ "in which the first element was the Mongol or Turki *Kará*, 'Black,'"⁹ and *Caramoran*, the "Black River."¹⁰ Other examples might be mençoit a unes très-grans roches merveillouses, qui sont en la fin dou monde devers Orient, lesquieles roches nulz hons ne passe onques, si comme li Tartarin le tesmoignent; et disoient que léans estoit enclos li peuples Got et Margoth, etc. But even more interesting, for its bearing on the problem of the Carrenar now to be considered, is the fact that Joinville's account brought to Europe an Asiatic word, which remained unexplained until a few years ago. For, as Colonel Yule has pointed out, the expression "berrie de sablon," not before elucidated, "is the Arabic . . . *Bāriya*, 'a Desert.' No doubt Joinville learned the word in Palestine" (*Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. Yule-Cordier, I, 237, note).

¹ *The Texts and Versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis* (Hakluyt Soc., 1903), p. 98. Both texts are also given in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (ed. Hakluyt Soc., 1903), Vol. I; in *Purchas his Pilgrims* (1625), Vol. III; in the *Recueil des voyages*, Vol. IV; etc.

² *Ibid.*, p. 81. On the name *Kara Khitai* see Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I, 210.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 168. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 151. ⁵ *Purchas his Pilgrims*, III, 56.

⁶ *Carpini and Rubruquis* (Hakluyt Soc.), pp. 75 (*Cracurim*), 168, 180, 182 (*Caracarum*). The word is made up of "Mongol, *Kara*, 'black,' and *Kuren*, 'a camp'" (*Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. Yule-Cordier (1903), I, 227, note).

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 226, 269; II, 460 (as *Caracoron*). ⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 64. ⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 72, 73, note.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 22, 23, 142, 143. It is the modern Hwang-ho, or Yellow River, of the Chinese. Cf. Odoric, in Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither* (Hakluyt Soc.), I, 125.

cited; but the list as given is sufficient to make clear the presence in Europe before the fourteenth century of Asiatic proper names containing the Mongol or Turkish element *kara*, "black," of whose meaning there was also more or less recognition.¹

But there is another word which with almost equal frequency occurs in place-names throughout the same regions.² In Marco Polo's chapter just preceding his account of Chandu—the Xanadu of Coleridge's poem—is a reference to another "stately pleasure-dome" of the Grand Khan, at "a city called *Chagan Nor*, which is as much as to say White Pool."³ Examples of this Mongol word *nor* (*nur*, *naur*), which forms the final element in the name just mentioned, and means "Great Lake,"⁴ may be seen by the score on central Asian maps,⁵ and its use is as old as the Mongol era itself. But the last syllable of Chaucer's word as he must have written it was, as we have seen, not *-nare*, but *-nar*. His *Carrenar*, accordingly, is a manifest equivalent of *Kara-nor*, or "Black Lake," taken bodily over into English with no change whatever, save a slight modification of the vowel of its final syllable. This variation is entirely insignificant, yet, trifling as it

¹The records, however, give no least idea of the diffusion of the word in proper names throughout the Mongol domains. Anyone who has examined maps, ancient or modern, of central Asia knows them to be as full of names in *Kara* "as ben on treës rokes nestes." In the index to Sven Hedin's *Reisen in Zentralasien* (Petermann's Mitteilungen, Ergänzungsheft No. 131, 1900), p. 358, are eighty-eight proper names in *Kara*, such as *Kara-bag*, *Kara-basch*, *Kara-buran*, *Kara-dasch*, *Kara-kir*, *Kara-köll*, *Kara-saj*, *Kara-sar*, *Kara-tam*, etc. A glance at the third map, for example, in the same volume, that of the Lop-nor region, will give a notion of their distribution. Those who wish further information regarding the word, especially in composition, may consult Redhouse, *Turkish Dictionary* (1856), p. 884; Bianchi, *Dictionnaire Turc-Français* (1837), II, 468; Vámbéry, *Uigurische Sprachmonumente* (1870), p. 221; *Cagatiaische Sprachstudien* (1887), p. 309; Amyot, *Dictionnaire Tartare-Manchou François* (1789), I, 345, 346; Xylander, *Das Sprachgeschlecht der Titanen* (1837), pp. 107, 285, 344; Knox, *Glossary of Geographical and Topographical Terms*, London, 1904.

²At this point I am indebted to Professor Leo Wiener for the clue to what follows. After reaching the conclusion that the Mongol *kara* had clearly some connection with the *Carrenar*, I ventured to ask Professor Wiener, without any hint of the connection, what *Kara-nar* would mean in any dialect with which he was familiar. The instant answer was: "Black Lake!" After that, it simply remained to search for a body of water so named.

³Yule-Cordier, I, 296; cf. 297, note 8; 214, note; 304, note 1.

⁴*Ibid.*, I, 200; Xylander, *op. cit.*, pp. 242, 286; Hedin, *Central Asia and Thibet* (1903), II, 139; Knox, *op. cit.*, s. v. "Nor."

⁵In the western half alone of the map of Chinese Tartary (No. 18) in D'Anville's *Nouvel atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie chinoise, et du Thibet* (1737), the word *-nor* (given in the *Explication* as the equivalent of "lac ou étang") occurs no less than forty-five times, in such combinations as *Koko Nor*, *Alac Nor*, *Kirkir Nor*, *Courgue Nor*, *Taal Nor*, *Toson Nor*, etc. On Hedin's fifth map in the *Reisen* (that of the Kuku-nor region) one finds twenty-three *nor*'s—*Kurlik-nor*, *Bucha-nor*, *Tsaring-nor*, *Tzaka-nor*, *Konga-nor*, etc.

is, it finds complete analogy in Chaucer's *Marrok* for *Morocco*,¹ and in his *Alkaron* for *Alkoran*.² The question at once arises, then: Is there, or was there, such a lake?

There was and is, and it lay, as we shall see, not only at a veritable strategic point for passage into Europe, but actually on the very border of the Dry Sea itself! For on the eastern edge of the great desert of Lop, about 155 miles northeast from the famous *Lop-nor*³ and about half that distance slightly northwest of Marco Polo's Sachiu, fed by the river Boulonghir, whose basin forms a natural highway,⁴ is a lake of about 22 miles (80 *li*) from east to west, and 8 miles (30 *li*) from north to south,⁵ still called the *Kara-nor*. It appears on numerous and ancient Chinese maps⁶ and on the earliest European maps of China,⁷ and may be followed from them to the most recent surveys of the region.⁸ But it is its relations in Chaucer's time with which we are concerned, and of those the last five years have made it possible to speak with practical assurance. Its position on the edge of what we have seen

¹ B. 465.

² B. 332.

³ Dutreuil de Rhins, *L'Asie centrale: Thibet et régions limitrophes* (Paris, 1889), p. 150.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 125 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 150 note; Sven Hedin, *Reisen* (1900), p. 145 note, quoting from the *Si-yü-schuei-tao-ki*.

⁶ E. g., the excellent map from the *K'in-ting Sin-kiang tche-liō* (1821) at the end of Imbault-Huart's *Le pays de 'Hamī ou Khamīl* (Paris, 1892); cf. p. 4.

⁷ In the *Novus Atlas Sinensis* of Martini (1654) — "qu'on doit considérer . . . comme les premières véritables cartes européennes de la Chine" (Dutreuil de Rhins, *op. cit.*, p. 29) — the map of China is "représentée d'après les cartes de la *Géographie chinoise de la dynastie des Ming*, dont la première édition fut publiée en Chine en 1394" (*ibid.*). In the Blaeu edition of 1656, which I have consulted, on the map of the Provincia Xansi (before p. 45) a *Mare nigrum* (*Sinis Cinghai*) lies at the edge of the "Xamo desertum, Europeis Lop dicitur," to the south of Xacheu; cf. also p. 54, text. This may perhaps be the lake in the Kuku-nor district mentioned later; but on the *Carte générale de la Tartarie chinoise* (No. 18) in D'Anville's *Nouvel atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie chinoise et du Thibet*, La Haye 1737 ("cartes dressées d'après les travaux des Jésuites pour la Chine, et d'après ceux des Lamas pour le Thibet," Dutreuil de Rhins, *op. cit.*, p. 30), the Hara Nor (*sic*) lies a little northwest of Tchatcheou; see also the *Carte générale du Thibet* (No. 32). The lake itself, however, though unnamed, is clearly marked as early as 1561 on the astonishingly accurate map of *Tertia pars Asiae* of that year (reproduced as Plate LVI of Nordenskiöld's *Periplus*) by Jacopo Gastaldi. It is there an unnamed *stagno*, northwest of Sachiou, into which a river in the position of the Boulonghir flows (another small one running south), at the edge of the *Deserto de Lop*, where is also inscribed the legend of the devils. On this map of Gastaldi, see Cordier in Yule's *Travels of Marco Polo*, I, 137. The *Deserto Lop* is distinctly marked on the map of Fra Mauro of 1459; the *civitas Lop* (or *Sop*) on the Borgia map of early in the same century; and *Lop* on the map of Leardus, of 1448 (see Santarem, *op. cit.*, III, 275, 417 and *Atlas*). The eighteenth-century maps after D'Anville on which the Kara-nor appears by name are too numerous to mention.

⁸ See especially, of the large and excellent maps which supplement Dutreuil de Rhins's above-mentioned volume, Feuille 2, (on which the lake will be found about long. 91°, lat.

to be the Sandy Sea would be sufficient in itself to establish a strong presumption in favor of its identity as the Carrenar, but there is still more to be said. Marco Polo, as we know, passed from Cotan¹ to Pein,² thence to Charcan, and, after five days' journey, to the city of Lop, at the entrance of the great desert.³ His thirty days' passage across the desert has already been considered; at the end of the thirty days, however, he reached the city of Sachiu, lying between northeast and east, in a province called Tangut.⁴ Volumes have been written about his route, but, strangely enough, discoveries made in central Asia within the last nine years—some within the past four years—have not only rendered it extremely probable that he passed directly by the Kara-nor, but (what is more important) have put beyond all doubt the fact that the lake lay on what now seems almost certainly the long-lost Kan Suh imperial highway, one of the great early mediæval arteries of commerce between the Orient and the West. Chinese maps have long marked such a route. In the great Chinese atlas of Tai thsing,⁵ for instance, which sums up the Chinese knowledge of many centuries, the northern route from Sa tchou traverses the valley of the Boulonghir, and follows the river straight to the Kara-nor.⁶ The same great highway may be

40° 30'), and Feuille 4, Carte No. 8. The latter gives the relations of the Kara-nor to Lop-nor, Sa tchou and the various itineraries; cf. text, pp. 125, 126, 138, 146, 150. See also Sven Hedin's *Reisen* (1900), pp. 127, 144–46, 154, 157 ff., 159 note. It may be readily located in such atlases as those of Black (Edinburgh, 1879), Map 28; Bartholomew (London, 1890), Map 51; Stieler (*Hand-Atlas*, 1901–4), Map No. 62; etc. See also the maps in Forster, *History of Voyages and Discoveries in the North* (London, 1786), cf. p. 132; Sven Hedin, *Through Asia* (1898), Vol. II, end; *Central Asia and Thibet* (1903), Vol. I, end; Prejevalsky, *From Kulja to Lob-nor* (1879); *Reisen in Thibet*, (1884); etc.

Another Kara-nor may be seen, to the south of the one just mentioned, on the maps of Dutreuil de Rhins, about long. 90°, lat. 32°, off the route to Lhassa. Both are found on Feuille 2; the second alone on Feuille 7, Carte No. 14, Feuille 8, Carte No. 15, and Feuille 10, Carte No. 19; cf. text, pp. 391, 393. It appears on Tafel V of Hedin's *Reisen* (1900) about long. 99°, lat. 35°; cf. p. 328. It may also be seen (about long. 90°, lat. 33°) in Black's *Atlas*, Map 28. On D'Anville's map of Thibet it lies almost due west of Koko-nur. See Prejevalsky's *Mongolia* (1876), II, 166. Certain maps give what is apparently a third Kara-nor farther north. The one in the text, however, seems to be the only one lying on a great east-and-west trade-route.

¹ Ed. Yule-Cordier, I, 188; see Stein, *op. cit.*, index, s. v. "Pi-mo."

² Ed. Yule-Cordier, I, 191, and cf. 192, 193.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 194, 195.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 203 ff.

⁵ *Tai Thsing y tong yu Tou*, eds. 1744, 1756, 1761, 1862; see Dutreuil de Rhins, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 146, cf. pp. 140–47; cf. also *Supplement*, Feuille 4, Carte No. 8. See the same highway marked on Feuille 2, and its continuation to Khotan on Feuille 1.

be seen on the *Carte générale du Thibet* in D'Anville, passing directly by the Kara-nor.¹

It was, however, the discoveries referred to as made between 1896 and 1901 that settled beyond doubt the actual existence of this ancient route. In the former year Dr. Sven Hedin found, bearing southeast from Korla toward the Lop-nor, a long string of mileposts, lofty pyramids of wood and clay, measuring the distance of the road in Chinese *li*.² It clearly marked an old and important highway, but whither was not then clear. In 1900 Hedin returned to the same region and found more *toras*, or "road pyramids," marking, as was now evident, "the ancient highway called by the inhabitants of Lop *Kömür-salldi-yoll*, i. e., 'the road where coal was spread,' which ran from Sachow to Korla"—following, indeed, the course preserved in still extant Lop traditions as that of the great highway to Pekin.³ The towers appeared again at the lake-basin of the old Lop-nor,⁴ where Hedin discovered ruins, to which he returned in 1901. The results of his investigations were startling, for among other things over two hundred strips of paper and forty-two wooden tablets, all covered with writing, were excavated.⁵ These documents, still being deciphered, go back as far as the years 264-70 A. D.,⁶ and locate definitely the lost region of Loü-lan, which, situated "between the great northern highway and the great southern highway from China to Europe," had played a very important part in early Chinese history.⁷ But the discoveries (and here they touch our problem) also invested, as Hedin points out, "with a totally different meaning the ancient highway" referred to, and "tell us, for instance, that there was a regular postal service between Lop-nor and Sa-chow, and thus that there existed an established means of communication through the desert of Gobi."⁸

¹ The highroad is also marked on the *Carte de l'empire de Hya et partie de Tangut* of N. Bellini, 1749, passing Lac Kara. Strangely enough, on the map of Fra Mauro (1459) a broad *strada de mango* passes east of the *Deserto Lop*.

² *Through Asia* (London, 1898), II, 864. See map at end of volume.

³ Hedin, *Central Asia and Thibet* (London and New York, 1903), I, 338, 344.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 378.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 134-36.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 132.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 139 ff.; cf. 136.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 136.

But that is not all. For this highway passes straight by the Kara-nor. That knowledge we owe the French traveler Bonin, who, in 1889, working from the other end, had started from "la célèbre oasis de Sha-tcheou, le Sai-tou de Marco Polo, appelé aujourd'hui officiellement Toung-hoang-hsien," and had gone northwest to the Kara-nor.¹ To his great delight he too discovered an ancient and abandoned highway, marked by clay towers about thirty feet high every five *lis*, "exactement comme la grande route impériale du Kan-sou dont elle semble le prolongement."² The towers had once been connected by a wall, and other fortifications were found near by. "There is no doubt," M. Bonin writes,³ "that all these remains are those of the great route, vainly sought after till now, which, under the Han Dynasty, ran to China through Bactria, Pamir, Eastern Turkestan, the Desert of Gobi, and Kan Suh: it is in part the route followed by Marco Polo when he went from Charchan to Shachau, by the City of Lob." Hedin's and Bonin's roads seem clearly one and the same, and as a result of their investigations M. Cordier, who did not know the further confirmation offered by Sven Hedin's latest Loü-lan discoveries, gives Marco Polo's route as passing directly by the Kara-nor, which he marks, without naming it, on the itinerary.⁴ The Kara-nor, accordingly, as we now know, lay on one of the oldest and most important of the great trade routes between Europe and central Asia, the route over which not only Marco Polo, but doubtless scores of other Europeans, passed; and that its name, like a hundred Oriental tales, should travel by word of mouth to Europe is inherently probable enough.⁵

For one is apt to overlook the fact that what after 1368 (when the Mongol dynasty in China was dethroned and the country barred to foreigners)⁶ was literally "forgete in solitarie wildernesse," so that, as Colonel Yule points out, "all those regions,

¹ *La géographie (Bulletin de la société de géographie)*, 15 March, 1901, p. 171.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 172, 173.

³ I quote Cordier's translation, *Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. Yule-Cordier, I, 203.

⁴ No. IV, at the end of Vol. I; see also p. 199, near foot.

⁵ It is seen to be the more probable when one recalls that the Kara-nor would be the last body of water before the desert to those traveling west, the first after the desert to those going east—a fact which would impress it vividly upon the traveler's mind.

⁶ Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, p. 140.

when reopened only two centuries later, seemed almost as absolutely new discoveries as the empires which about the same time Cortes and Pizarro were annexing in the West"¹—one forgets that all this, in more or less confused outlines, was common knowledge in the first half of the fourteenth century. Before Chaucer wrote, not only the Polos, but John of Plano Carpini, William de Rubruquis, Hayton of Armenia, John of Monte Corvino, Andrew of Perugia, John de Cora, Friar Odoric of Pordenone, John Marignolli, and the Moor Ibn Batuta are known to have visited eastern Asia and Cathay.² The road to Cathay was so frequently traveled by merchants at the beginning of the fourteenth century that Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, a factor of the commercial house of the Bardi in Florence, wrote a guide for travelers in the Far East under the title *Libro di divisamenti di Paesi*.³ Mongol emissaries were sent west, as Carpini and Rubruquis were sent east.⁴ Ancient European seals were dug up by Stein in 1901 in the ruins near Khotan, likewise on the great commercial routes, halfway between Europe and Pekin.⁵ Oriental stories that long before Chaucer's time had reached southern Europe are irrefutable

¹ *Cathay*, I, cxxxiii; note especially the evidence cited on pp. cxxxiii-iv.

² For the documents, see the collection in Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither* (Hakluyt Soc.), 1888, Vols. I, II. Cf. Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, pp. 137-40; *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXIV, 488-92.

³ Nordenskiöld, *loc. cit.*; see extracts from the book in Yule's *Cathay*, II, 279-308, and cf. especially p. 283. Particularly should the incidental testimony of Jacques de Vitry be noted: "Et taliter errant omnes, qui sunt in terra presbyteri Iohannis, *sicut mihi dixit quidam mercator, cum nuper inde venerat* (1217, letter to Ludgardis, see Z. II, 5, 6). So, writing of the supposed King David, the son of Prester John, he says: "Mercatores etiam a partibus Orientis species aromaticas et lapides pretiosos deferentes, consimiles litteras attulerunt. Quotquot autem de partibus illis veniunt, idem dicunt" (Z. II, 14). Still more important is it to recall how the "sowdan of Surrye," when the merchants "came from any strange place" would

. . . bisly espye
Tydings of sundry regnes, for to lere
The wondres that they myghte seen or here (B. 176-82).

Nor should one forget the

. . . shipmen and pylgrymes,
With scrippes bret-ful of lesinges,
Entremedled with tydinges,

whom Chaucer saw in the "house of twigges" (*H. F.*, 2122-24).

⁴ Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography* (1901), II, 15. Cf. the "embassy of the Nestorian monk, Rabban Sauma, an Uigur, born at Pekin, who visits (c. 1282) Rome, Paris, and Bordeaux, which he calls the capital of England." See Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, especially I. 4-8.

⁵ See the extremely interesting accounts in his *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan* (1903), especially pp. 397, xvii-xviii.

evidence of long-forgotten channels of oral communication between East and West—stories that sometimes brought Eastern names along with them, like that of Rasalu (the Rosselho of the *Lives of the Troubadours*).¹ Western names (the Wallachia of Chaucer's poem itself, for instance)² were known in the Far East. The silence of the maps offers no difficulty, for it was, as Norden-skiöld points out, precisely the unlearned public who accepted descriptions like Marco Polo's as revelations from a new world, while these same descriptions exercised no real influence on cartography until they had found confirmation from the Portuguese voyages, to which, indeed, they had contributed the main impetus.³ There is, then, the strongest antecedent probability that Chaucer could have known the region with which we are concerned—a probability which the relation of the Sandy Sea to the Desert of Gobi, the verbal identity of his Carrenar with the Kara-nor, and the actual, unmistakable juxtaposition of the two seem to bring as near certainty as can well be expected when “by assay ther may no man hit preve.” That the Carrenar was the Kara-nor, accordingly, we may without much further hesitation conclude. That the Dry Sea was the Desert of Gobi seems equally difficult to doubt, so that Chaucer's lines constitute a curious and suggestive symbol of the transition from the mediæval to the modern world—from the age of Mandeville (far cry as it may seem) to the age of Sven Hedin. There are, however, certain clearly defined facts which, unexpectedly enough, seem to point to the possibility of an additional and most interesting association of ideas, and which bring, perhaps, the Dry Sea of fable into relation with fact on still another side.

V

What follows should be considered by itself, independently of what precedes; for while, if its inferences prove sound, it is intimately connected with what has gone before, it must none the

¹ Patzig, *Zur Geschichte der Herzmäre*, Berlin, 1891, p. 10.

² *Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. Yule-Cordier, II, 489; cf. 479 ff., and Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, II, 73-84, 324, 329, for European names in Chinese records.

³ Norden-skiöld, *Periplus*, p. 140; see especially *Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. Yule-Cordier, I, 129-37.

less—be it distinctly said—stand or fall irrespective of that, on its own evidence. The fact referred to is that almost exactly two hundred years after Chaucer wrote, a Dry Sea actually so called in records and on maps was known in England. The question is: Could it have been known as well in Chaucer's time?

In 1611 Sir Thomas Smith, governor of the Russia Company, sent Josias Logan and others along the north coast of Russia to the mouth of the Petchora River, to establish a trade with England. In *Purchas his Pilgrims*, in the account of Logan's voyage written by William Gourdon, the pilot of the expedition, occur the following words:

The same day, leaving our ship lying so, being rowed in our Skiffe by six of our Mariners, [we] tooke our way toward the Towne over a shoald Sea, which the Russes cal *The Dry Sea*: which may very wel be so called. For on the starboord or West side going up is a low dry Sand, and on the Larboord or East side is all shoald water, as two, three or foure foote water. And seven leagues within to the South-west is an Iland, called *Dolgoi* which you must keep on the Larboord and then steer away South South-west, neere upon twentie leagues, all in shoald water The twelfth, we passed over the *Drie Sea* (which the Russes call in their Language, *Suchoi Morie*) to the mouth of the River *Pechora*.¹

In the other records of the same expedition, and of one three years later, at least six additional references to the Dry Sea occur.² It is clear, then, that the early seventeenth-century traders knew at the mouth of the Petchora a body of water already called the Dry Sea. The name, it is distinctly stated, is one they found, not one they gave.

But we have the testimony of maps as well as of records. On a map drawn by Isaac Massa, and published in 1612 by Hessel Gerard,³ which according to the statement of the publisher is a copy of a Russian chart,⁴ the *Soechaia more* is placed at the mouth

¹ Vol. III, 532.

² See, in accounts of the same expedition, mention of "the *Soohoie Mora* or *Drie Sea*" (*Purchas*, III, 538, 539, twice); "the *Dry Sea*" (III, 545); "the *Suchoi-morie*, that is, *The Drie or shoald Sea*" (III, 550). Three years later, William Gourdon twice mentions the "*Drie Sea*" (III, 554). Cf. Hamel, *Tradescant der Aeltere* (St. Petersburg, 1847), pp. 216, 227; *England and Russia*, pp. 312, 336.

³ A facsimile is given in *Barents's Three Voyages to the Arctic Regions* (Hakluyt Soc. 1876) opposite p. lxxxvii, and also in Nordenskiöld's *Voyage of the Vega*, I, opposite p. 239.

⁴ Nordenskiöld, *op. cit.*, p. 239; Hamel, *Tradescant*, p. 217, n. 2; *England and Russia*, p. 316. For further bibliography of the map see *Barents's Three Voyages*, pp. lxxxvii-viii.

of the Petchora River, precisely as the English navigators had described it, while in the explanation of Russian names attached, *Soechoiamore* is defined as "Droogezee." As *Suchomoro* it appears on Massa's large map of Russia of 1614,¹ and for more than a century may be traced on the maps of Hondius,² Blaue,³ Piscatore,⁴ Guillaume de l'Isle,⁵ Olearius,⁶ the *Atlas maritimus novus*,⁷ Sanson,⁸ and others.⁹

We may, however, carry it back still earlier. On his 1568 chart of the Northern Ocean, William Burroughs¹⁰ marks clearly the *Sugha mora*, but not at the mouth of the Petchora. On this chart, preserved in the British Museum,¹¹ and bearing Burroughs's own signature, the Dry Sea is placed at the head of the White Sea, slightly north of the east mouth of the Dvina.¹² Nor is one's first impression that Burroughs, despite his claim of accuracy, has put the Dry Sea at the mouth of the wrong river, justified.

¹ See Blaue, *Nieuwe Atlas* (1635), where the map (Vol. I, No. 6) is said to be "dedicata ab Hesselio Gerardo, m. DC. XIII." So again the map of Russia after Massa in the Blaue *Atlas* of 1646-49 (Vol. I, No. 15) puts the *Soechia more* at the mouth of the Petchora.

² As *Soechia more* on the map of 1633 in V. Kordt, *Materialy po istorii russkoi kartografii* (1899), Plate XXIX; cf. pp. 13-15.

³ See n. 2.

⁴ As *sucho more*, on the map of 1651 (Plate XXXI in Kordt).

⁵ As *Souchoe More* in the Amsterdam editions of Covens and Mortier, and of R. and I. Ottens.

⁶ As *Suchomero* in the *Voyages and Travels of the Ambassadors* (trans. Davies, London, 1662), opposite p. 60; as *Souchoe More* in the superb edition of Wicquefort (Amsterdam, 1727), after p. 155.

⁷ London, 1702, (Chart IV) as *Soechaia More*. ⁸ Ed. 169-(?), Map 35, as *Soechaia More*.

⁹ The list given is rather representative than exhaustive.

¹⁰ William Burroughs, "pilot major" of the ill-fated expedition under Sir Hugh Willoughby in 1533, escaping the disaster that befell his chief and sailing "so farre, that hee came at last to the place where hee found no night at all, but a continual light and brightnesse of the Sunne shining clearely upon the huge and mightie Sea" (*Principal Navigations*, ed. Hakluyt Soc., 1903, II, 248), finally entered the White Sea. From the dedicatory epistle to Queen Elizabeth "annexed unto his exact and notable mappe of Russia" (*ibid.*, III, 209), presented to the Queen in 1578, but now lost (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, V, 405), we learn that he returned to the Bay of St. Nicholas and the surrounding regions in 1557 and from that time yearly, "setting downe alwayes with great care and diligence, trne observations and notes of al those countreys, Islands [and] coasts of the sea," so that he found himself "sufficiently furnished to give report . . . and to make description of those North parts of the world in forme and maner of every league's distance that I have passed and seene in all those my travells." His explicit and undisputed claim to minute and first-hand knowledge of the region in question should be read in full.

¹¹ O. R. MS 18 D. iii, 123; See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, loc. cit.

¹² A facsimile of the chart is given in *Hakluyt's Principal Navigations* (ed. Hakluyt Soc., 1903), Vol. III, opposite p. 224. A smaller facsimile is given in *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia* (Hakluyt Soc., 1886), Vol. II, opposite p. 254; see also I, cxxv.

For there is abundant independent evidence that he was correct. On Isaac Massa's map of 1612, already mentioned as the copy of a Russian original, at the mouth of the Dvina, (to the west, however, of Burroughs's location of it) is a corresponding bay designated *Sechomo*, which, as Hamel points out,¹ "soll *Sukhoe More* heissen." On other maps, however, this *Sechomou* is found precisely where Burroughs puts his *Sugha mora*, at the east mouth of the Dvina.² And all these maps,³ it should be noted, have also the *Suchaia More* at the mouth of the Petchora. That is to say, there is direct and explicit evidence that the great shoals at the mouths of *both* rivers were called in Russian the Dry Sea;⁴ and the point thus far established is that soon after the middle of the sixteenth century the name had reached England, associated with the region of the Petchora and the Dvina.⁵ Could the same

¹ *Tradescant der Aeltere*, p. 236.

² That is the case, for instance, on the maps of Guillaume de l'Isle (eds. Seutter and Vindel, Covens and Mortier, and Ottens), and of the 1727 Olearius (see p. 28, n. 6).

³ Except the Seutter and Vindel edition of de l'Isle, which does not include the mouth of the Petchora.

⁴ There seems to be a very particular reason why the name *Sugha More* should attach to some part of the mouths of the Dvina. Paulus Jovius (and it must be remembered that his account of Muscovia derives directly from the Russian Dmitry Gerasimow [Demetrius Erasmus]; see *P. Jovii Libellus*, A. iii; Michow, *Die ältesten Karten von Russland*, Hamburg, 1884, pp. 21, 22; Adelung, *Die Reisenden in Russland bis 1700*, 1846, I, pp. 187-91; Hamel, *England and Russia*, London, 1854, pp. 46 ff.) wrote in 1525 of the Dvina: "This increasynge at certayne tymes of the yeere, as dooth the ryuer Nilus, ouerfloweth the feeldes and playnes . . . When it riseth by reason of molten snow, and great shewres of rayne, it falleth into the Ocean by unknownen nations, and with so large a trenche, lyke unto a great sea, that it can not be sayled ouer in one day with a prosperous wynde. But when the waters are fallen, they leaue here and there large and fruitfull landes: For corne there cast on the grunde, groweth without any helpe of the Plowe, and with merauyloous celerite of hasteng nature, fearyng the newe iniurie of the proude ryuer, doth both spryng and rype in short space." Quoted from Richard Eden's "Of the North-East Frostie Seas," in *Notes upon Russia* (Hakluyt Soc., 1852), II, 240; see also the *First Three English Books on America* (ed. Arber, 1885), p. 312. For the Latin text see Huttich, *Novus orbis* (1537) p. 538; Starczewski *Historiae Ruthenicae Scriptores exteri Saeculi XVI.* (1841) Part II, 7: etc. Curiously enough, the account strikingly parallels that of the Lake of Czircknitz, so that practically everything claimed for that by Brae accrues to the *Sugha More* itself.

⁵ It so happens that the original nucleus of the Ashmolean Museum came to England from the country of the Dry Sea. For the famous collection which, to quote the Tradescant epitaph,

"As Homer's Iliad in a nut
A world of wonders in a closet shut."

was brought back by the botanist John Tradescant from the mouth of the Dwina in 1618. The quaint account of his travels—his delight in the "single Rosses, wondrous sweet," four or five acres together; in the pinks on Rose Island (the English headquarters) "growing naturall of the best sort we have heire in Ingland;" in what a Brabander, always drunk once a day, told him of the "tulipes and narsisns" to be found in the land; in the red, white and black currants, the strawberries and the wild cherries (for the country about the *Suchoi More* was by no means dry)—all this may be found in Hamel's *England and Russia*, pp. 242-98, a translation of his *Tradescant der Aeltere*.

thing have happened two centuries earlier, and either application of the name have reached the England of Chaucer's time?

To the unhesitating negative likely to be one's first reply, there is, I think, strong presumptive evidence to oppose. Two probabilities must be established: first, that the Russian *name* in question could have been actually in use before 1369; secondly, that knowledge of the *region* (which, the first point once established, carries with it, of course, the possibility of acquaintance with the name) could have reached England prior to that year. It will simplify matters to consider the second question first. And it may perhaps be premised that the investigation of the matter seems to have important bearings beyond its relation to the present case.

Strangely enough, knowledge of the very region where Burroughs's chart places the Dry Sea had come to England almost exactly four hundred years before the *Book of the Duchesse* was written. For it was, as is now universally admitted, into the White Sea that Ohthere made the daring voyage which, about the year 890, he reported in person to King Alfred.¹ Whether or not the great river into which he turned was, as the majority of commentators seem to think, the Dvina itself, the sole point which here concerns us is the fact that knowledge of the region *could*, because it *did*, reach England long before Chaucer's time. Nor was Ohthere the only adventurer who came with tidings of just this quarter of the northern seas to the English court. Evidence of many sorts seems to establish the substantial trustworthiness of the stories in the sagas of early voyages to Gandvík—the White Sea of modern maps. I pass over the expeditions of Eric Blood-axe to Bjarmaland and the Dvina about 922;² of Hallvarðr the Esterling³ toward the close of the same century; and of Harald Graycloak about 970,⁴ because none of these afford a direct link with England, though the stream of Scandinavian

¹ See bibliography in Bosworth's *Orosius*, Part II, pp. 39, 40; to which may be added Beazley, *op. cit.*, II, 31; NordenSKIÖLD, *Voyage of the Vega* (1881), I, 46–51; *Periplus*, p. 96; Rabot, *A travers la Russie boréale* (1894), p. 163.

² Laing, *The Sagas of the Norse Kings*, I, 382; *Saga of King Olaf* (ed. Sephton), p. 6; *Egil's Saga*, chap. xxxvii; Beazley, *op. cit.*, II, 32, 33.

³ *Burnt Njal's Saga*, chap. xxviii; Beazley, II, 33.

⁴ *Saga of Harald Graycloak*, chap. xiv; *Antiquités russes* (ed. Rafn, 1850), I, 271, 272.

vikings thither must certainly not be forgotten.¹ But every reference in the sagas to their journeys reveals the region as even then a well-known and accepted goal for the more daring spirits of a restless race. About 1020, however, occurred a stirring and dramatic incident which does connect once more Bjarmaland, and that suggestively, with England—the voyage, I mean, of Karli and Gunnsteinn and of Thórir Hundr to the mouth of the Dvina, their visit to the merchant town (specifically so called) to purchase furs, and, after the fair was at an end and their truce had expired, their thrilling robbery of the temple of the god Jómala, and their escape, under pursuit of the enraged Bjarmians, with the rich booty of gold and silver. These very treasures of the temple, however, are incidental confirmation of something already established on other grounds, and something whose importance to this discussion will appear at once—the fact, namely, that what the Northmen found in the White Sea, startling as it may seem, was an active trade connection with the Orient. For during the Middle Ages the region of the Dvina and the Petchora seems to have passed for “un Eldorado septentrional,” to which Arabs, Mongols, Byzantines, and Novgorodians resorted for the precious furs.² Across the portages between the great river courses³ the Bjarmians transported the merchandise received from Arabs or from merchants of Bolghar⁴ to traffic with the Scandinavian adventurers, and through those solitudes there actually opened a route of exportation for the commerce of Asia—a route along which who can tell what fragments of *story* may not have traveled from East and South to Scandinavia, together with the bits of Byzantine pottery and the Arabic and Cufic coins that have been dug up in North Russia?⁵ From the earliest times accordingly, the region

¹ See Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, p. 84, for their influence on English geographical knowledge.

² Ch. Rabot, *A travers la Russie boréale* (Paris, 1894), pp. 161-64; cf. p. 159: “le bassin de la Petchora a été jadis un des centres commerciaux les plus importants de l’Europe et une des principales voies historiques de la Russie;” cf. Sommier, *Siriéni, Ostiacchi e Samoiedi dell’ Ob* (Firenze, 1887), pp. 40-48; Beazley, op. cit., II, 462-64, note.

³ It has been well said that “dans le Nord russe comme au Canada, les portages ont tracé les voies à la colonisation.” Rabot, op. cit., p. 159.

⁴ On Bolghar, or Bulgar, see Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches*, II, 81-84, and index s. v. “Bulgaria, on the Volga.” Cf. Beazley, op. cit., II, 462-64.

⁵ For an account of articles dug up evidencing Asiatic trade-routes, see Aspelin, *Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien* (Helsinki, 1877), pp. 123-25, with the following figures, p. 250, etc. Cf. Rabot, op. cit., p. 161, for mention of the superb Byzantine vases unearthed in

of the *Suchoi More* must have been more or less vaguely projected against the dim background of the farther East. Karli's and Thórir's spoils, then, are significant. But just those treasures of the god Jómala, if the sagas are to be trusted, went to England! For Thórir subsequently murdered Karli for his share of the booty, and thereupon escaped to England and betook himself to King Canute, having with him, we are told, "with other things all the money he and Karli had taken in Bjarmaland."¹ Once more, accordingly, and not after the fashion of a thing done in a corner, knowledge of the mysterious region came to England.

This was in the first quarter of the eleventh century. From that time to the second half of the fourteenth century, when Chaucer wrote, opportunities for scraps of information to travel southward—and more than that there is no call to establish—abundant chances that vagrant rumors should drift to England about strange regions "fer in the north countree," may, I think, be accepted without question. For we are brought at once into still closer and more definite relations with the great mediæval trade-routes to the North, and to try for a moment to see into what distant and (to most of us whose study is directed to the literature alone) what unsuspected regions Chaucer's England was steadily sending out its lines, will certainly illuminate to some degree the probabilities involved, as well as possibly throw light on other matters more important still. For just as in northern Italy, to take a somewhat parallel case, the eleventh-century baptismal names drawn from the Carlovingian epics testify to the passage of the *materia di Francia* into Italy along the *strade francesche* (the pilgrim-routes to Rome)²—just as, indeed, to come still closer, unmistakable Russian peltries, still to be seen in portraits painted in England by Hans Holbein from 1526 to 1534, give evidence of trade relations with northern and eastern Russia

the government of Perm; Beazley, *op.cit.*, II, 462, for Mohammedan coins, ranging from 698 to 1010, A. D., discovered in the valley of the Petchora. See also the references on p. 34, n. 3.

¹ Laing, *Sagas of the Norse Kings*, III, 90-98; 118-23, cf. I, 117; Rafn, *Antiquités russes*, I, 333-44, 448-59; Beazley, *op. cit.*, II, 34, 88-92.

² Pio Rajna, "Le origini delle famiglie padovane a gli eroi dei romanzi cavallereschi," *Romania*, IV, 161-83; H. Morf, "Vom Rolandslied zum Orlando Furioso," *Deutsche Rundschau*, June, 1898, pp. 370-89, especially 376 ff.

antedating Richard Chancellor's voyage¹—so it seems to be (if we may waive for the moment the Desert of Lop) a perfectly reasonable and sober conjecture that in Chaucer's Dry Sea we may recognize a similar bit of evidence for earlier, if vague, knowledge of a region commonly believed to have remained unknown in England until two centuries later. How inherently improbable such ignorance is, becomes clear so soon as one recalls that for more than a century and a quarter before 1369 the overland trade-routes that converged at Novgorod ("Lord Novgorod the Great," the Holmgard [*Hólmgarðr*] of the sagas)² had had established terminals in England. And Novgorod, we must remember, looked two ways.

On the one side, even during the period of the sagas, its trade-routes drained the very regions where our present interest lies. "Its traders spread over all that we now call the North of Russia, to the coast of Lapland, the North Sea, the Dvina, and the Petchora," and even into the lower valley of the Ob. "At the end of the ninth century, or the beginning of the tenth, the men of Novgorod had already penetrated into the basin of the Northern Dvina; from about the year 1000 they begin their visits to the more distant Petchora."³ By the year 1096 the Petchora region had become tributary to Novgorod; and a few years later Jugria followed.⁴ In 1187 the northern trade was lost through an uprising of the natives, but by 1264 the lost regions were tributary again, and so remained until the fall of Novgorod in 1477.⁵ That the Russian name *Suchoi More*, accordingly—which, to judge from all analogies of newly opened countries, we may feel fairly certain was given soon after the Russians themselves appeared at the mouths of the rivers—could have been applied before the mid-

¹ Hamel, *England and Russia* (1854), p. 115.

² For evidence of Scandinavian and Russian relations in general during the saga period, see Beazley, *op. cit.*, II, 37, n. 2.

³ Beazley, *op. cit.*, II, 38.

⁴ Rabot, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

⁵ Rabot, *loc. cit.*; Sommier, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–26, 39, 40; Beazley, *op. cit.*, II, 39. Moreover, Kholmogori—the great market town Colmogro of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century navigators, by some claimed as the true *Hólmgarðr* of the sagas (e.g., Rabot, *op. cit.*, p. 163; the editors of *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia*, *Hakluyt Soc.*, I, 23, note), situated on an island of the Dvina, scarcely fifty miles from the river's mouth—is as ancient as Novgorod itself, appearing in Russian records as early as 1355–59. See *Early Voyages*, *loc. cit.* For the early trade relations with Vologda, on the Dvina, see *ibid.*, p. 26, note.

dle of the fourteenth century to either or both of the two bodies of water which two centuries later (and for nearly two centuries after that) certainly bore it, and that, if so applied, it could and would have been known at Novgorod, admits of little question.

But, that possibility granted, another follows. For on the other side, "along with Bruges and London, Novgorod was from the thirteenth century the greatest Mart of the . . . Hanseatic League in extra-German lands."¹ And from Novgorod to London led highways enough. For us it is particularly important to notice one. Chaucer's *Shipman*, it will be remembered,

. . . knew wel alle the havenes, as they were,
From *Gootlond* to the cape of Finistere.²

Now from Gothland (for centuries the focal point of the Baltic trade, touching Arabia, Persia, Greece, Rome, Etruria, as thousands of Roman, Byzantine, Cufic, and other coins found there attest)³, often marked on the old portolanos of the fourteenth century with gold and purple to indicate its wealth and power,⁴ went in the eleventh century the first traders to Novgorod, and in their track the Germans followed.⁵ To its capital Wisby, "the Venice of the North,"⁶ with its forty-eight towers and eighteen churches, was regularly brought in the thirteenth century and locked up in a chest in the Marienkirche the accumulated money from the Deutscher Hof, the center of the Hanseatic trade

¹ Beazley, *op. cit.*, II, 40 ff.; cf. Arthur Winckler, *Die deutsche Hanse in Russland* (1886), pp. 7-14; Daenell, *Geschichte der deutschen Hanse in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (1897), pp. 44-49; etc.

² A. 407, 408.

³ Schäfer, *Die Hansestädte* (Jena, 1879), pp. 37-39, and especially the references there given, to which may be added Aspelin, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-27; Lindner, *Die deutsche Hanse* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 26; Beazley, *op. cit.*, II, 17, 18, 482-84.

⁴ Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile Atlas*, p. 52; *Periplus*, p. 85, cf. p. 103. On the *Mappemonde des Frères Perizoni*, of 1367, (Jomard, *Les monuments de la géographie*, Nos. 46, 47), beside Gothland is the inscription: "Insulla in qua sunt nonaginta parochie." See also Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile Atlas*, p. 52, for the same inscription on the map of Bianco, 1436.

⁵ Schäfer, *Die Hanse* (Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1903), pp. 20-22; Stein, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Hanse* (Giessen, 1900), p. 3; Lindner, *op. cit.*, p. 29. Nothing could better give the spirit of these old traders—the spirit, indeed, of one phase of Chaucer's own times—that the motto over the door of the "Seefahrt" in Bremen: *Navigare necesse est, vivere non est necesse*.

⁶ "Chaucer's *Shipman*" (*Essays on Chaucer*, Chaucer Soc., p. 484). See extremely interesting illustrations of the city, as it still stands, in Schäfer, *Die Hanse*, Figs. 8-23, and a large plate, giving a view of it in its glory, in the sumptuous *Théâtre des cités du monde* [Georg Bruin, Bruxelles, 1574], *Livre quatrième*, No. 39.

at Novgorod—to which chest the representatives of Lübeck, Soest, and Dortmund also held keys.¹ To Gothland, accordingly, all manner of Russian tales might come. But in 1235 merchants of Gothland are mentioned in England, and in 1237 Henry III gave them freedom of trade in the kingdom.² That "good felawes" like Chaucer's Shipman should pick up bits of geographic lore that had come down by Novgorod and Wisby from this fourteenth-century Hudson's Bay is precisely what we should expect. I have selected Gothland because Chaucer himself refers to it. But of the other havens which the Shipman knew, such great Hanse towns as Lübeck, Hamburg, Bruges, and Bremen stood in most intimate trade relations with both Novgorod and London.³ As early as the time of Henry II, in Fitz-Stephen's *Description of London* the following statement occurs: "Ad hanc urbem ex omni natione quae sub caelo est, navalia gaudent institores habere commercia. Aurum mittit Arabs . . . Seres purpureas vestes. Norwegi, Russi, varium grisium, sabelinas: Galli sua vina."⁴ Into the well-known details there is no need to enter here, but it is merely putting such details on their fair inference to suggest that it is quite within the range of possibility that, just as the ancient western-European and Eastern coins and Byzantine vases dug up on the far northern coasts of Russia bear witness to the early trade of Bjarmia,⁵ so Chaucer's phrase may be a solitary waif from the same old trading-routes, as they focused at Novgorod.

¹Schäfer, *Die Hanse*, p. 22; *Die Hansestädte*, p. 45; Riesenkampff, *Der deutsche Hof zu Novgorod* (Dorpat, 1854), p. 17.

²Schäfer, *Die Hansestädte*, p. 62; *Die Hanse*, p. 24; Lindner, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 57. See the reference to the English and the Goths quoted from Marcus Beneventanus, in Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile Atlas*, p. 66, and the passage from Matthew Paris referred to in the present paper, p. 39, n. 13.

³Lübeck, for instance, which in the fourteenth century had outstripped Wisby in the Russian trade, had its own house in London after 1277; Hamburg had had one from 1266 (Schäfer, *Die Hansestädte*, pp. 63, 64). From the middle of the twelfth century the merchants of Cologne had held the Guildhall in London (*ibid.*, p. 64). See, in general, the works already cited, and add Kunze, *Hanseakten aus England 1275 bis 1412* (*Hansische Geschichtsquellen*, Vol. VI, 1891). On early Danish trade with Russia see Beazley, *op. cit.* II, 521.

⁴Quoted in part in *Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. Yule-Cordier, II, 488; see Stow, *Survey of London*, (1720), II, Appendix, p. 10.

⁵Englehardt, *A Russian Province of the North* (1899), p. 235. See in the present paper p. 31, n. 5; p. 34, n. 3.

Moreover, it must further be remembered that for a century and a half before the time we are concerned with, the order of Teutonic Knights had been in close relations with England on the one hand, and, through Prussia and Lithuania, with Russia on the other,¹ and that Chaucer's Knight—whose itinerary, as has been already remarked, has striking points of contact with the setting of the lines under discussion—had “reysed” both “in Lettow . . . and in Ruce.” That a few years later, in 1390, one of Chaucer's own circle, the Earl of Derby, afterward Henry IV, in whose company were also Chaucer's friends Otho de Granson, Piers Bukton, and Sir Lewis Clifford, actually made such an expedition, seems at least to show how little remote such sources of information were from the Englishmen of Chaucer's time.² And it is surely a very mechanical attitude indeed toward Chaucer's vivid rehearsal of the journeys of his Knight which does not feel in it the poet's own personal interest in whatever might be “couth in sondry londes.”³

¹ See especially Winckler, *Die Hansa in Russland* (1886), pp. 12, 13; Daenell, *op. cit.* p. 46; Toulmin-Smith, *Derby Accounts*, pp. xi ff.; Lindner, *op. cit.*, p. 60; etc.

² Nor should one forget such men as Guillebert de Lannoy, long in the English service, who in 1403 made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; in 1405-8 fought, like the Knight, the Moors in Spain; in 1411 visited Granada; and in 1413 “reysed” (he uses the very word) in Prussia; and in the same year visited Novgorod and later traveled in Lithuania and Wallachia. See his own narrative in Joachim Lelewel, *Guillebert de Lannoy et ses Voyages* (Brussels, 1844).

³ There is a very curious and puzzling chain of circumstantial evidence, involving at one point an acquaintance of the poet's, which, could it be substantiated, would bring probable information about these very Northern Seas almost to Chaucer's door, a few years before the *Book of the Duchesse* was written. On the epoch-making *Universalior orbis cogniti tabula* of Ruysch, printed in the Ptolemy of 1508 (see facsimile in Nordenstiöld, *Facsimile Atlas to the Early History of Cartography*, Stockholm, 1889, Plate XXXII, cf. pp. 63-66; bibliography in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, III, 9; cf. Winsor, *Bibliography of Ptolemy's Geography*, in *Bibl. Contribs.*, Harv. Univ. Library, No. 18, p. 7), among other legends of the utmost interest occurs the following, in the north polar regions: “Legere est in libro de inventione fortunati sub polo arctico rupem esse excelsam ex lapide magnete 33 miliarium germanorum ambitu. Hanc complectitur Mare Sugenum fluidum instar vasis aquam deorsum per foramina emittentis.” Passing the interesting problem of the *Mare Sugenum*, what was the *Liber de inventione fortunati*?

At the foot of Gerard Mercator's great map of the northern regions, of 1589 (Jomard, *Les monuments de la géographie*, No. 78; Nordenstiöld, *Facsimile Atlas*, p. 95) is the following legend (the full Latin text and the English translation here used are in the *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt Soc., I, 301, 302; the text also in Lelewel, II, 231): “Touching the description of the North partes, I have taken the same out of the voyage of James Cnoyen of Hartzeyan Buske . . . and the most part and chiefeſt things among the rest, he learned of a certayne priſt in the kyng of Norwayes court, in the yeere 1364. This priſt . . . reported that in the yeere 1360, a certayne English Frier, a Franciscan, and a Mathematician of Oxford, came into those Islands, who leaving them, and passing further by his Magiſtial Arte, described all those places that he ſaw, and tooke the height of them with his

But once more, so known, the region would be projected, as in the earlier days of the sagas, against an Asiatic background. The later explorers of the sixteenth century found the country full of hints of mysterious routes to Cathay by way of Jugria. Josias Logan in 1611 wrote to Hakluyt, as "the greatest secret," of vast rivers beyond the Dvina and the Petchora of which he had heard from the Samoyeds, and gathered they were not far from Cataia and China.¹ Mercator in 1580 wrote to Hakluyt of those same rivers "Astrolabe." The Norwegian priest, Nordenskiöld (*Facsimile Atlas*, p. 95, note) suggested, might have been Ivar Baardson; the English friar was apparently the author of the *Liber de inventione fortunati*. For the extracts which Mercator made from James Cnoyen of Bois-le-Duc—whose book, like the *Liber*, is also lost; see Mercator's account in Hakluyt (ed. Hakluyt Soc., III, 281) of his bad luck with it—he sent in 1577 to the famous English mathematician and astrologer John Dee, and those extracts are preserved in the British Museum (*MS Cotton*, Vitell. C. vii, fols. 264-69; see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XL, 418). Dee's testimony may be read in Hakluyt (ed. Hakluyt Soc.), I, 303, 304: "Anno 1360 . . . a frier of Oxford, being a good Astronomer, went in companie with others to the most Northern Islands of the world, and there leaving his company together, hee travailed alone, and purposedly described all the Northerne Islands, with the indrawing seas: and the record thereof at his retурне he delivered to the King of England. The name of which booke is *Inventio Fortunatae* (aliter *fortunatae*) qui liber incipit a gradu 54 usque ad polum. Which frier for sundry purposes after that did five times passe from England thither and home againe." The account ends with mention of early English trade with Iceland.

Is it possible, however, to determine who this "clerk of Oxenford" was? On Richard Hakluyt's sole authority it is, for he heads his citation of Dr. Dee's account with the following words: "A Testimoniie of the learned Mathematician master John Dee, touching the foresaid voyage of *Nicholas De Linna*" (I, 303). Now, in the *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, as everybody knows, Chaucer writes to "litel Lowis" that, among other things mentioned, his third part shall contain "many another notable conclusioun, after the kalendres of the reverent clerkes, frere I. Somer and frere N. Lenne" (Prol. III). If Hakluyt's identification be correct, then the friar who, traveling alone, "described all those places that he sawe, and tooke the height of them with his Astrolabe," was the very clerk from whom Chaucer later drew "many a . . . notable conclusioun" regarding the astrolabe; and we may be further very certain that the man who at the Tabard, by the time "the sonne was to reste," had so spoken with his comrades "everychon That [he] was of hir felawshipe anon" would have known more about this "reverent frere" than his Kalendre!

The fullest discussion of the problem is that of B. F. Da Costa in *Bull. Am. Geog. Soc.*, 1881 (privately printed as *Inventio Fortunatae*, New York, 1881), which accepts Hakluyt's identification without question. It is especially valuable for its collection of such facts as are known of Nicholas of Lynne and for its bibliography (pp. 173-75); for its discussion of early English trade with Iceland (pp. 165-72); and for its list of later references to the *Inventio* (pp. 184 ff.). The latest discussion seems to be that in Nordenskiöld's *Periplus* (1897), pp. 95, 96, which assigns the voyage, with that of Giraldus Cambrensis, to "the romances of geographical literature," though admitting that "their stories seem, however, to have been based on actual voyages in the open ocean, and therefore deserve a place in the history of navigation." A. G. Little, in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, s. v. "Nicholas of Lynne" (XL, 418) briefly summarizes the case, and concludes that "no evidence has been discovered to connect, as Hakluyt does, the unnamed Franciscan of Oxford with the Carmelite Nicholas. Dee suggests that he may have been the Minorite Hugo of Ireland, a traveller who flourished and wrote about 1360." All one can say, accordingly, much as one might wish to say more, seems to be that about 1360 some such voyage was probably made, of which Chaucer might readily have heard. To Da Costa's full bibliography may be added Brae, *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, p. 21, note; Skeat, *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, p. 73; Oxford Chaucer, III, 353; Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile Atlas*, pp. 64, 95 note, 136.

¹ Purchas his Pilgrime, III, 546.

to the east, navigable into the heart of the continent.¹ In 1559 a Permian declared to Giles Holmes that he had actually thus gone to Cathay.² In 1525 Dmitry Gerassimow reported to Paulus Jovius, from "the fabulous narrations of merchauntes," rumors of a north route to Cathay.³ In his *Rerum Muscovitarum Commentarii*, Herberstein, who was in Russia in 1517 and 1526, translates literally a Russian merchant itinerary to the Lake of Kitai (just beyond which on his map lies Cambalik) through the country of Jugria and Lucomorya, quoting, as things by universal account held to be true, the tale of the people of Lucomorya, who die on November 27 and come to life again like frogs on April 24;⁴ of the Slata Baba, or "Golden Old Woman;"⁵ and of "a certain fish, with a head, eyes, nose, mouth, hands, feet, and in other respects almost entirely resembling a man."⁶ Thus we are brought steadily back toward Chaucer's times, and always the region is full of rumors of the East.

But in Chaucer's own day there existed real and very close connection with the heart of central Asia. The Mongol invasions of Russia in the first half of the thirteenth century concern us here only as they affected, for England, let us say, the geographic *mise en scène* of the farther North. That Asia must have loomed large behind it is clear enough. Eastern Mongolia in the thirteenth century "was connected with Persia and Russia by great highways through Central Asia."⁷ Over these roads passed couriers and envoys from Western kingdoms to Caracorum, in the depths of Mongolia, the capital of the great Khan.⁸ When John Carpin in 1246 came to the tent of Cuyne Khan, near Caracorum,

¹ *Principal Navigations* (Hakluyt Soc.), III, 279.

² *Ibid.*, II, 482.

³ *Notes on Russia* (Hakluyt Soc.), II, 243.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 40; cf. p. 37. Cf. the people in the land of Prester John, who are rejuvenated every hundred years (Z. I, 913 [E], §§ 3-5).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 41; *Purchas*, III, 443; Nordenskiöld's *Periplus*, Plate XXXV, and numerous other old maps of Russia.

⁶ *Notes on Russia*, II, 41, 42. Curiously enough, these human fishes appear also in the land of Prester John, where they go, by night, out of the water, "ac ex collisione lapidum ignem excentiunt et ligna juxta aquas comburunt, et alias pisces ad splendorem ignis attrahunt et eos capiunt et comedunt." (*Tractatus pulcherrimus*, Z. II, 177). See also the account in the *Epistola* (Interpolation D) of the fishes like *destriers* and palfreys and mules, which the Amazons ride by day, and permit to return to the water by night, as well as of the fishes like dogs and falcons, with which they hunt (Z. I, 917 [D], k).

⁷ Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, I, 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 5.

“without the doore stooede Duke Ieroslaus of Susdal, in Russia.”¹ When seven years later, in 1253, William de Rubruquis arrived on his mission at the court of the great Khan, he found in his camp near Caracorum a Hungarian servant, who recognized his order,² and a woman from Metz in Lorraine, Paquette by name;³ in Caracorum itself he found a certain master goldsmith, William Buchier, a native of Paris, whose brother was still living on the Grand Pont, and whose wife was a daughter of Lorraine, but born in Hungary.⁴ There was also “another person, Basil by name, the son of an Englishman, but born in Hungary;”⁵ there was the nephew of a Norman bishop;⁶ a German female slave;⁷ and a poor German with three children.⁸ The Chinese annals for 1330 record a settlement of Russians near Pekin, and a Russian regiment was in the Chinese emperor’s life-guard.⁹ The North and the Far East were being brought strangely close together. Machault could speak of “le quens de Tartarie A qui Lestoé est tributaire,”¹⁰ while “in the land of Tartarye,” the Squire well knew, “ther dwelte a king that werreyed Russye.” And with “le quens de Tartarie” just the Northern coasts with which we are concerned had very definite associations. In the reign of Haakon II of Norway (1217–63) Torfæus records a great migration of Bjarmians to Norway, driven out by the Mongols;¹¹ while Matthew Paris relates that in 1238 the people of Gothland and Friesland, fearing their attack, did not come to England, to Yarmouth, as their custom was,¹² at the time for catching herring.¹³ What background, then, the region of the *Suchoi More* carried with it, is evident.

¹ *Carpini and Rubruquis* (ed. Hakluyt Soc.), p. 136, cf. pp. 292 ff.; Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, II, 76, 77.

² *The Journey of Friar William of Rubruck* (ed. Hakluyt Soc., 1900), p. 168.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 176. ⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 177, 187, 207, 211, 212, 215, 222, 223, 247, 253, 254.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 211. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 222. ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 245. ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

⁹ Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, II, 80, 81. ¹⁰ Ed. Tarbé, p. 106.

¹¹ “Multi Biarmorum, Tartarorum saevitiam fugientes, sponte ad eum [i. e., Haakon] venerunt.”—Torfæus, *Historia Rerum Norvegicarum* (1711), IV, 303; cf. d’Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols* (1834), pp. 185, 186; *Carpini and Rubruquis* (ed. Hakluyt Soc.), p. 285.

¹² Note the incidental confirmation of the relations between Gothland and England; cf. pp. 84, 35.

¹³ “Unde Gothiam et Frisiam inhabitantes, impetus eorum pertimentes, in Angliam, ut moris est eorum, apud Gernemue, tempore allecis capiendi, quo suas naves solebant onerare non venerunt.”—*Chronica Majora* (Rolls Series), III, 488. In the same year Saracen ambassadors asked English aid against the Tartars.

VI

Here, then, is what we have: a veritable Dry Sea on the sides of the North, with mysterious trade-routes and Mongol highways stretching dimly into central Asia; in central Asia a veritable Carrenar, on the edge of an older Dry Sea sweeping off, like the tail of a comet, a year's journey somewhere toward the North. What does it mean?

To understand what possibly it may mean (and whether the specific point at issue prove to be right or wrong, the effort may illuminate no less the surer ground) we must divest our minds utterly of every impression derived from modern maps. For what we have to realize is Chaucer's world—its names and places, not where the twentieth century knows they are, but where the fourteenth century imagined them to be. How did the world as he knew it really lie in Chaucer's mind? What mental *image du monde* did he probably possess, on which such new facts as the Dry Sea or the Carrenar would be assigned a more or less definite position? I have already referred to Troilus's vision from the seventh sphere of "this litel spot of erthe that with the see Enbraced is," and to the line declaring Rosamunde "of al beaute shryne As fer as cercled is the mappemounde." And it is really Chaucer's *mappemounde* with which we have to do. How it must have lain in his mind one realizes vividly enough on turning the pages of Santarem's great *Atlas*,¹ where in scores of *mappemondes* Europe, Asia, and Africa lie folded close together, three cells within the circle of the Ocean stream, like the embryo of the later world. Gower, in that treatise on the education of Alexander which quite explains Chaucer's panic-stricken rejection of the Eagle's offer of instruction in astronomy, speaks of setting

. . . . proprely the bounde
After the forme of Mappemounde,
Thurgh which the ground be pourparties
Departed is in thre parties,
That is Asie, Aufrique, Europe,
The whiche under the hevene cope,
Als ferr as streccheth eny ground,
Begripeth al this Erthe round.²

¹ *Atlas de Mappemondes, Portolanos, etc.* (Paris, 1842-53).

² *Confessio Amantis*, VII, 529-36 (ed. Macaulay, III, 247).

Europe and Africa form the northern and southern quarters respectively of the western half of the habitable world, while the whole of the other segment is given up to Asia,¹

For that partie was the beste
And double as moche as othre tuo.²

Between Europe and Asia the Tanaïs, the modern Don, forms the boundary line, and

Fro that into the worldes ende
Estward, Asie it is algates,
Til that men come unto the gates
Of Paradis, and there ho!³

And about it all lies

. . . thilke See which hath no wane
[Y-] cleped the gret Occeane.⁴

Such were the outlines of Chaucer's *mappemonde*,⁵ into that scheme new facts must have been fitted and in its light interpreted. For fixed conventions ruled here as in all else, and precisely as a hundred poets spoke the language of the *Romance of the Rose*, so the Middle Ages in general believed in their own geographical discoveries, as Humboldt has observed,⁶ only in so far as some hint of them was already given in the authors of antiquity. How Chaucer visualized the Dry Sea and the Carrenar,

¹The general outline was often expressed by a *T* within an *O*, thus:  See, for instance, the following passage, quoted in Yule's *Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. Cordier, I, 131:

Un T dentro ad un O mostra il disegno
Come in tre parti fu diviso il Mondo,
E la superiore è il maggior regno
Che quasi piglia la metà de tondo.
ASIA chiamata: il gambo ritto è segno
Che parte il terzo nome dal secondo
AFFRICA dico da EUROPA: il mare
Mediterran tra esse in mezzo appare.

—La Sfera, di F. Leonardo di Stagio Dati, Lib. iii, st. 11.

²*Confessio*, VII, 558, 559.

³*Confessio*, 568–71.

⁴*Ibid.*, 591, 592. All that Gower says, however, he borrowed from the *Trésor* of Brunetto Latini, as Mr. Macaulay has pointed out (*op. cit.*, p. 522). See ed. Chabaille, 1863, pp. 151–53. Cf. Santarem, *Histoire de la cartographie* (Paris, 1849), I, 82, 83, and in general the sections on the cosmographers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, I, 75–151 (cf. 179–90), and the full accounts, in the second and third volumes, of the *mappemondes* collected in the *Atlas*. See, too, the account of John de Marignolli (1338) in Yule, *Cathay*, II, 371–73, and the figure there given. Of value for Chaucer's geography is Dr. Moore's essay on "The Geography of Dante," in *Studies in Dante*, Third Series (Oxford, 1903), pp. 109 ff.

⁵For the cosmographers of Chaucer's time, including Vincent of Beauvais, Alain de L'Isle, and others, see Santarem, *op. cit.*, I, 77 ff.

⁶*Kritische Untersuchungen*, I, 116 (quoted in Nordenstiöld, *Periplus*, p. 161); cf. Moore, *op. cit.*, pp. 142, 143; Yule, *Travels of Marco Polo*, I, 129–31.

then, was necessarily determined by the geographical conventions of his time, with the surrounding Ocean as the plane of reference.

On that Ocean would be placed, of course, the Russian *Suchoi more*, were it known at all. But the surprising thing is that the other Dry Sea, which we know to lie in the heart of the continent, was thought of as likewise on the Ocean stream. For almost uniformly on the older maps the Desert of Lop and the province of Tangut by which it lay are found, when they occur at all, directly on the Northern Ocean, where they stay, with some exceptions, until the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹ And on the earliest map on which Lop is named (that of Johannes Leardus, of 1448) from Lop straight to Russia and the head of the Baltic, and occupying all the northern zone of the map south of the Ocean rim, stretches a desert marked in great characters in red ink, *Dixerto dexabitado per fredo*.² Sixty-seven years later, on Reisch's map in the *Margarita philosophia* of 1515, between *Tartaria Tangut* on the Northern Sea and *Russia alba* there still extends a desert marked *Desertum magnum per centum dietas*;³ while on a map of unknown authorship,⁴ of about 1540, *Tangut provin.* is directly connected by a *desertum magnum* with Russia.⁵

Is it inconceivable that Chaucer may perhaps have supposed the Dry Sea of which he had possibly heard the name, lying vaguely somewhere in the North, to be the western end of the

¹ See, in addition to the maps noted in the text, in Nordenskiöld's *Facsimile Atlas* the maps from the 1513 Ptolemy (Plate XXXV), from Laurentius Frisius, 1522 (Plate XXXIX), from Orontius Finæus, 1531 (Plate XL)—where the Desert of Lop runs nearly around to Florida!—and from Cornelius de Judeis, 1593 (Plate XLVIII). The 1508 map of Ruysh (Plate XXXI) puts Caracorum up on the edge of the Mare Sugenum, and that of Sim. Gryneus, 1532 (Plate XLII), places the *Desertum Belgiam* where Tangut usually lies.

² See the map itself in Santerem's *Atlas*, and in Nordenskiöld's *Periplus*, p. 61. Cf. Santerem, *op. cit.*, III, 410, 417.

³ *Facsimile-Atlas*, Plate XXXVIII.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Plate XL.

⁵ Nor are the relative distances less amazing. On the beautiful illuminated map from the *Grand chroniques de St. Denis* (1364–72) Hungary lies equidistant from Germany and the Castle of Gog and Magog, all on the Ocean stream. On the map of Andrea Bianco, 1436 (*Periplus*, p. 19; cf. Santarem, III, 377), the tent of Koubhai-Khan, ("Imperion de medio, id est Cocobalech") is at the same distance from the "Imperio Rosie Magna" as Sweden. On the map of Fra Mauro of 1459 (Santarem, *Atlas*; also ed. Zurla, Venice, 1806; Nordenskiöld, *Voyage of the Vega*, II, 155; cf. *Periplus*, p. 62) the desert of Lop lies east of Saray and Russia, at a less distance than England, while Tangut is not so far from the Mar Bianco as the least width of England on the same map.

great and terrible desert to which the name had long before been applied?¹ If he did, to "go hoodles² to the Drye See And come home by the Carrenar" was a remarkable anticipation of that long-sought northeast route to Cathay, the failure to find which led eventually to the discovery of the New World.³

And, strangely enough, there is another possible associative link in just such a chain. For in the narrative of Johannes de Hese (1389) the *Mare arenosum* is brought into direct connection with another of the fabulous seas of the Middle Ages—the famous *Lebermeer*, which plays so startling a part in the adventures of Herzog Ernst, enters into the story of the Grail and the legend of St. Brandan, and stands, like the Sandy Sea itself, in mediæval literature as "aen de uiterste grenzen der wereld."⁴ The discussion of the origins of this *mare coagulatum, spissum, pigrum—das geronnene Meer, la mer betée*⁵—in which ships so unfortunate as to have entered it cannot move from the place, does not belong here;⁶ what we are concerned with is the fact that the *Lebermeer* was thought of as lying far to the north, "in den hohen nordwesten Europas." Only one of many testimonies need

¹ Curiously enough, there was another possible association between the two, for the Mongol *kara* appears in the records along with the *Suchoi More*. Josias Logan wrote to Hakluyt in 1611 of four rivers, "the Eastermost whereof they call *Cara Reca*, or the *Blacke Riuere*" (*Purchas his Pilgrime*, III, 546). The same river John Balak, writing to Mercator in 1581 (*Principal Navigations*, ed. Hakluyt Soc., III, 451), Anthony March in 1584 (*Purchas*, III, 805), and Randolph's commission of 1588 (*Principal Navigations*, ed. Hakluyt Soc., III, 120) had named without translating. If the one name had reached England, the other, of course, might have come too.

² That "hoodles" has any other suggestion than that of a certain romantic disregard for comfort or even defiance of hardship, in carrying out the task enjoined, seems scarcely probable.

³ If the northern Dry Sea, itself perhaps called to his mind by Machault's *arbre sec* (see p. 9), merely suggested to him the fresh application of that name to the well-known Sandy Sea, which then recalled the Kara-nor, the situation is still interesting enough.

⁴ Blommaert, *Oudvlaemsche Gedichten* (1838), I, 93, n. 1.

⁵ See for references Lexer, *Mhd. Handwörterbuch*, s. v. "leber-mer;" Müller and Zarncke *Mhd. Wörterbuch*, s. v., "MER, lebermer;" Verwijs and Verdam, *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* (1899), IV, 446, s. v. "Leversee;" Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, VI, 483, cf. V, 1051; Godefroy, I, 641, s. v. "beter;" Sainte Palaye, II, 475. See further Bartsch, in his edition of *Herzog Ernst*, pp. cxliv ff., especially cxlviii (cf. cxxxiv ff.); von der Hagen, *Deutsche Gedichte des Mittelalters* (ed. Hagen and Busching), [Part iii], pp. xii-xiii, and at greater length in *Museum f. altdeutsche Litteratur*, I, 282-311, especially 293-98; Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, VII, 276, 296; Mallenhoff and Scherer, *Denkmäler* (1864), pp. 69, 348, 349; (1873), pp. 71, 388, 389; K. Hoffmann, *Sitzungsberichte der Münchner Academie*, 1865, II, 1-19. For the connection with St. Brandan, see K. Schröder, *Sanct Brandan* (Erlangen, 1871), p. 167, cf. p. xv; Blommaert, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 93.

⁶ See especially Müllenhoff, *loc. cit.*; Bartsch, *loc. cit.*

be cited: "De occeano Britannico qui Danaim tangit et Nordmanniam magna recitantur a nautis miracula, quod circa Orchades mare sit concretum et ita spissum a sale ut vix moveri possint naves nisi tempestatis auxilio, unde etiam vulgariter idem salum lingua nostri *Libersee* vocatur."¹ Furthermore, the *Lebermeer* was (not to enter into its other wonders) from the earliest times associated with the legend of the Magnetic Mountain,² which naturally offered a fabulous-rationalistic explanation of the behavior of the ships. And so associated, the *Lebermeer* finds itself not only in the North, but in the Orient!³ It is there, for instance, that Herzog Ernst—not to speak of Reinfrid von Braunschweig—has his adventure in the *Lebermeer* with the *Schnabelleute* and the Griffins;⁴ it is there that the *Lebermeer* dissolves before the Grail like ice;⁵ it is there, finally, that it is brought into direct connection with the *Mare arenosum*. Johannes de Hese's account is as follows:

Et ulterius navigando de mare Aethyopiae infra *maria jecoreum et arenosum* per quatuor dietas veni ad terram monoculorum. Et mare iecoreum est talis naturae, quod attrahit naves in profundum propter ferrum in navibus, quia fundus illius maris dicitur quod sit lapideus de lapide adamante, qui est attractivus. Et ex alia parte est mare arenosum . . . et eidem monoculi transeunt eciam aliquando sub aqua periclitando naves. Et propter ista duo maria, infra quae navigare oportet, est periculosissimum navigare, etc.⁶

The characteristics of the two seas were, it is clear, sufficiently

¹ Schol. 144, Adam von Bremen, 4, 34. See Müllenhoff, *loc. cit.*; Bartsch, *loc. cit.* Like the Dry Sea itself, it seems to have sprung from mysterious, because not understood, experiences of actual fact, and to have become, as van den Bergh says, "verfabeld" (*Myth. Wdbk.*, p. 128). See particularly, in this connection, the very interesting discussion of the subject by Rudolph Much in Haupt's *Anzeiger*, XXIV, 321-23 (1898) in the light of certain experiences of Nansen in the "Fram" with *dædwand*, or "totwasser."

² See Bartsch, *op. cit.*, pp. cxlv ff.; Mallenhoff, *loc. cit.*; and especially A. Graf, *Mitti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo*, 1893, II, 363 ff. In the present connection it is particularly worth noting that on Ruysch's map, whose relation to Chaucer's time has been already discussed (p. 36, n. 3), the *Mare Sugenum* surrounds the magnetic rock, and that to the north of Iceland one finds the legend: "Hic compassus navium non tenet, nec naves quae ferrum tenent revertere valent."

³ See especially Bartsch, *op. cit.*, p. cxlviii, for the oriental origin of the legend of the Magnetic Mountain.

⁴ Ed. Bartsch, str. 3890 ff., especially 3935; ed. Hagen und Büsching, str. 3000 ff., especially 3210.

⁵ See p. 12, n. 2.

⁶ Z. II, 164, cf. 160.

alike to render their association a most natural one,¹ and it is a matter of the utmost interest that in Chaucer's time such an association actually occurs. The *Lebermeer* itself becomes, then, another possible middle term between the Dry Sea in the East, with which we find it definitely associated, and the far northern coasts, where still more frequently it seems to have been placed. At all events, in it we seem to have once more a curious and most suggestive meeting-point of two streams of mediæval travel-lore—the one from the farthest North, the other from the remoter East. And so far forth, at least, its behavior makes less wildly improbable than might otherwise seem the suggestion hazarded connecting the *Suchoi More* and the Sandy Sea.²

If, however, the *Suchoi More* was utterly unknown to Chaucer, the identification of the Dry Sea and the Carrenar with the Desert of Gobi and the Kara-Nor remains untouched, and gives us fresh evidence for Chaucer's day "wie sehr," as Goethe said in the case of John of Hildesheim, "die Einbildungskraft gegen Indien gerichtet war; wie sie in jenen fernen Landen als in einem Irrgarten herumtaumelte und, um halbgekannte Personen, Länder, und Städte zu bezeichnen, neue wunderliche Namen erfand oder die echten seltsam verunstaltete"—evidence, too, which shows how strangely a bit of unsuspected fact might now and then emerge from that very chaos of the fabulous. It demonstrates

¹I am indebted to Professor Kittredge for calling my attention to the fact that the *Lebermeer*, like the Dry Sea, was used in the phrase "jusque en la mer betée" as a synonym for the remote limits of the world. See Guillaume le Clerc's *Fergus* (ed. Martin), p. 74, ll. 2699 ff.:

Las! s'or le cuidoie trover
En nule terre, jel querroie:
Jamais nul jor ne fineroie
De si que l'aroie trovee.
Nom, duesques en la Mer Betee
N'est nus si perilleus sentiers
U je n'alaisse volontiers
Querre le mius vaillant dou monde.

(Cf. also *idem*, ed. Michel, p. 97, which has, instead of the second line quoted: "Em Bretaigne n'en Orkenoie"). See particularly the long list of similar passages in Godefroy, I, 641, s. v. "beter."

²Of the many interesting general references to the *Lebermeer* I shall add but one, which oddly parallels such invocations to the Virgin as I had occasion to cite in an article on the *Prologue to the Legend of Good Women* (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xix, 624, 625):

Maria, muter, reine maget,
die sam der morgenstern taget
dem wiselosen armen her,
daz uf dem wilden leber-mer
der grundlozen werlt suehet,
du bist ein licht, das immer lebet, etc.

—Conrad von Würzburg, *Die goldene Schmiede* (*Altd. Wälder*, 2, 221).

again, moreover, what cannot be too strongly emphasized, the fact that sources other than the *books* Chaucer read—sources that lie in his intercourse with men and in his reaction upon the interests, the happenings, the familiar matter of his day—entered likewise into “that large compasse of his,” and must be taken into account in estimating his work.¹ But perhaps the paramount value of the lines is, after all, just the fact itself that out of this very mass of vivid human interests which a long night has swallowed up, because, unlike these waifs, they lacked their bard—that out of those once absorbing interests they have preserved for us these bits of flotsam and jetsam, *rara nantia in gurgite vasto*.

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¹ May we not hope that Professor Manly's long-promised paper “dealing . . . with the question of Chaucer's relations to some men who had travelled a good deal” (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XI, p. 362, note) may yet appear, to throw further light on this neglected side of Chaucer's activity?

SOME EXAMPLES OF FRENCH AS SPOKEN BY ENGLISHMEN IN OLD FRENCH LITERATURE

French as spoken by an English mouth has been proverbial since Chaucer humorously described the language of his prioress as French

After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,
For Frenssh of Parys was to hire unknowe.

Yet similar pleasantries had been current long before him. Already Gautier Map in his work,¹ *De nugis curialium*, relates an anecdote in which he laughs at the English pronunciation of French, adding the explanation that “apud Merleburgam fons est, quem si quis, ut aiunt, gustaverit, gallice barbarizat; unde cum viciose quis illa lingua loquitur, dicimus eum loqui gallicum Merleburgae.” Various instances of this French of Marlborough have been preserved in Old French literature, and the intrinsic interest which they present prompts me to collect them here. Langlois called attention to several of them in an article entitled “Les Anglais du moyen âge d’après les sources françaises,” in the *Revue historique*, 1893, pp. 298 ff., and some have been briefly commented upon by the editors of the texts in which they occur. The collection is probably incomplete, but, such as it is, it may induce others more favorably situated to add similar examples that have escaped my notice.

I am able to cite three strictly literary instances of the use of this French of Marlborough, belonging in round numbers to the thirteenth century: the *Fabliau de deux Angloys et de l'anel*² the story of Renart disguised as an English *jongleur*,³ and the language of the Duke of Gloucester in Philippe de Beaumanoir’s poem *Jehan et Blonde*.⁴ To the same general period belong two political documents: the “Song of the Peace with England,”

¹ Published by Thomas Wright (Camden Society, 1850) p. 238.

² Published by Raynaud and Montaignon, Vol. II, pp. 178-82.

³ *Roman de Renart*, ed. Martin, Vol. I, pp. 62 ff.

⁴ Ed. Suchier, 1885.

1264,¹ and a similar little document of the year 1299, published by Raynaud.² I have no example of the fourteenth century, but in the fifteenth century a portion of the dialogue in the *Mystère de Saint Louis*³ is written in the same amusing jargon. For the purposes of this study it will be convenient to separate the earlier examples from the younger.

The *fabliau* of the two Englishmen is a jest in the style of this category of literature, turning upon an Englishman's pronunciation of the word *aignel* as *anel*. During a visit which two Englishmen make to France one falls sick and is nursed by his comrade. When the crisis is past and the patient begins to recover his health and appetite, he says to his companion

Trian . . . par saint Tomas,
Se tu avez i anel cras
Mi porra bien mengier, ce croi. (25-27)

The comrade sets out at once to find the desired delicacy. Entering a house, he addresses the owner in French:

Au mielz qu'il onques pot parler;
Mais onc tant ne s'i sot garder
Que n'i entrelardast l'anglois
Ainsi farsisoit le francois. (35-38)

In his best French he asks for an *anel cras*, but the Frenchman fails to understand him. He says to him:

Ge ne sai quel mal fez tu diz:
Va t'en, que tes cors soit honiz!
Es tu Auvergnaz ou Tiois? (49-51)

And the answer comes back

Nai, nai . . . mi fout Anglois. (52)

Then he explains his errand, that he desires to purchase an *anel* for a sick friend. Now the she-ass of the Frenchman has just presented him with a young donkey, and, understanding the Englishman to be in search of such an animal, he sells it to him. The stranger takes it home and prepares it for his convalescent

¹ Published by Thomas Wright, *The Political Songs of England* (Camden Society, 1839) pp. 63-68.

² *Romania*, Vol. XIV, p. 280.

³ Ed. Michel, 1871.

countryman. When the meal is over, the patient begins to suspect the mistake and accuses his friend of having served him some other animal than an *anel*. The skin, with head, ears, and feet, is produced, and when he sees it, the patient exclaims:

Si fait pié, si faite mousel
Ne si fait pel n'a mie ainel.

.
Cestui n'est mie fils *bèhè*. (99-103)

The friend agrees:

Tu dites voir, par saint Felix,
Foi que ge doi à saint Joban,
Cestui fu filz *ihan, ihan*. (106-8)

When the patient sees what has been done, he laughs so heartily that he recovers his health.

The passage in point in the *Roman de Renart* occurs in the second half of the first branch, commonly known as *Renart teinturier*; a better title would be *Renart jongleur*.

For his offenses Renart has been put under public ban. Any-one finding him is ordered to kill him. During his flight he arrives on the top of a hill, and, turning his face to the east, he prays God to aid him to find a disguise that will conceal him from his pursuers. Presently he arrives before the house of a dyer, who has just prepared his colors for the purpose of dyeing some cloth yellow. Finding the window open, and not aware of the vat which stands on the other side, he jumps into it. When the dyer returns, he induces him very skilfully to aid him to clamber out of the involuntary bath, in which he has almost found his death, and runs away colored a beautiful yellow.

Now he meets his arch-enemy, Ysengrin, but, reassured by the thought that he will not be recognized in his disguise, he resolves to change his language. When the wolf comes up and asks him who he is, Renart replies:

Gode helpe . . . bel sire
Non saver point ton reson dire. (2351, 2352)

and upon the further question whether he is a Frenchman, he answers:

Nai, mi seignor, mais de Bretaing. (2357)

He has lost his companion and his way, has hunted for him through France and England, and wishes now to return to his home, but would first visit Paris, since he has learned to speak French. Ysengrin asks him what his business is, and he replies:

Ya, ge fot molt bon jogler. (2370)

but he has been robbed the day before and has lost his *viel* (i. e., *vielle*). If he could recover it, he would sing; he has not eaten for two days, and his name is *Galopin*. He inquires after the king, suggests that Ysengrin might supply him with a *vieille*, and continues:

Je fot servir molt volenter
Tote la gent de ma mester.
Ge fot savoir bon lai Breton
Et de Merlin et de Noton,
Del roi Artu et de Tristran,
Del chevrefoil, de saint Brandan. (2387-92)

Upon the question whether he knows also the lay of *dam Iset*, he replies:

Ya, ya: goditoët,
Ge fot saver . . . trestoz. (2394, 2395)

Ysengrin then asks whether by chance he has seen Renart, and the fox has to listen to a very uncomplimentary description of himself.

Finally the two set out to steal a *vieille* in the house of a *vilain*, and during this expedition Ysengrin is as usual maltreated, while Renart escapes with the booty. He goes into retirement for a fortnight, learns to play the instrument, and at the end of this period, still in disguise, he arrives at his own home just as his wife, who thinks him dead, is about to marry Poncet, the cousin of Grinbert, the badger. Renart serves as *jongleur* at the wedding. In the evening he plays one of his characteristic tricks upon the bridegroom, and in the end makes his identity known to his wife.

In *Jehan et Blonde* the English dialect comes in with one of the characters of the story. Jehan de Dammartin had left his home to seek fortune in England, had found a protector in the Count of Oxford, and had won the love of Blonde, the count's

daughter. Called back to his home by the news of his mother's death and the serious sickness of his father, he makes an agreement with Blonde that he will return to carry her away a year from their night of parting. In the meantime the Count of Oxford decides to marry her to the Duke of Gloucester, and, as Jehan returns to fulfil his promise, he falls in with the duke, who is on his way to the wedding. The picture of this Englishman is drawn by Philippe de Beaumanoir with not a little skill. He is loud and boisterous, overbearing and patronizing, the very opposite of the sharp, sly, and quiet Frenchman. From the moment that he sees him, he is ready to laugh at the Frenchman, yet his natural stupidity prevents him from appreciating the jokes which the latter aims at him. He receives them with bursts of stupid laughter, and later in the day, when he relates the incidents to the Count of Oxford, he laughs again at the stupid fellow, who had given him such amusement. He is a typical picture of the French conception of the English character.

Meeting the young Frenchman on the highway, he asks him for his name:

Si vaut a lui parler franchois
Mais sa langue torne en Englois. (2635, 2636)

Jehan answers that he is called Gautier, and he replies:

Gautier? Diable! ce fu non sot. (2643)

Then he offers to buy the palfrey which Jehan's squire is leading along upon which Blonde is to escape with him.

Voelle vous vendre? Je cater,
Si vous vol a raison donner.
Il fuit mout bel prendre deniers. (2649-51)

Jehan sets a price so high that he exclaims:

Nai, par la goiffe biu, nai, nai!
Quo deble! ce sera trop chere.
En vous a bone sote entere.
N'en voelle plus, tiene vous pes. (2658-61)

Presently it begins to rain, and the duke's finery becomes soaked. Jehan laughs, and when the duke asks for the reason of this levity, he replies that a man as rich as he ought always to

carry his house with him, and the Englishman bursts into a shout of stupid laughter. His companions agree:

. . . tout voir Francis sont
Plus sote c'un nice brebis. (2704, 2705)

On crossing a ford the duke misses the way and falls into the water. Jehan suggests that, if he were as rich as he, he would always carry his bridge with him, and this remark calls forth new shouts of laughter from the English party.

Arrived at their destination, the duke invites Jehan to go with him to the castle. He replies that a year ago he had set a trap to catch a bird, and he now wishes to see whether he had caught him. The English laugh again and the duke adds:

Laisse vous pes, viene vous fete
Garder de le plus bel porcel
Dont puisse homme baisier mosel.
Demain la puès veoir bouser
A moi, se tu voeles aler. (2836-40)

The duke goes to the castle, where he relates to the Count of Oxford the good jokes which he had heard from the foolish Frenchman (3103-68). In the meantime Jehan meets Blonde at the appointed place, and together they escape to Dover, where a ship lies in waiting for them. They are pursued by the duke and his men, but Jehan performs miracles of bravery, and the duke is forced to give up the fight. His men counsel him to desist.

Ce sont debles et anemis
En combatre de par Francis.
Deble puissent vers aus aler!
Lesse vous vo pourcel pouser.
Vous trouvera pourcel plenté;
N'as plus vers ceste volenté. (4491-96)

And the duke accepts the advice:

Vous disa bien . . . nai;
Mauvais sont, et que faire n'ai. (4497, 4498)

Jehan is allowed to bring Blonde in safety to France.

The dialect in these passages is not strictly an English brogue. In fact, it would be difficult to say, not perhaps what should be present, but what should be absent from such speech.

The authors make use of inaccuracies of all sorts, such as are common in the mouths of foreigners speaking a language incorrectly. These may affect the pronunciation or the morphology and syntax. The former can be reproduced but imperfectly without the aid of phonetics; the latter are not subject to definite rules. It is evident, however, that in the thirteenth century, as today, three main types of brogue seemed humorous to the Frenchman—that of the Provençal, the German, and the Englishman; a fact which is clearly brought out by the question of the Frenchman in the *fabliau*, l. 51: “Es-tu Auvergnaz ou Tiois?” Each of these brogues has distinct traits of its own, but careful observation is necessary to reproduce them. In the passages under consideration they are confused, and the language of these Englishmen contains traits that belong properly to the Auvergnat or the German.

The English elements, to be sure, predominate. We may note first the various methods employed of giving local coloring to the speech. There are names of English saints, as *saint Thomas of Canterbury* (*Fabliau*, *Renart*), *saint Colas* (*Renart*), or peculiar names, the idea evidently being that a foreigner will have patron saints of his own, as *saint Jursalen* (*Renart*), *saint Almon* and *saint Joban* (*Fabliau*), though one is tempted to see in the last name an imperfect manuscript reading for *saint Johan*.

We find, in the next place, a certain number of English words: *have* and *ave* (*Fabliau*, 19, 20), *godehelpe* (*Renart*, 2351), *goditoet* (*ibid.*, 2397). The last word I take to be the English “god it wit.” To be sure, we should regularly expect “god it wot,” as it is found in *Haveloc*, 2527 (“woth”), but the vowel *i* is found in the singular; cf. “god it wite” (*ibid.*, 517, etc.). Martin¹ suggests that it represents the Dutch *god weet*, but this leaves the syllable *it* unaccounted for. We have further *nai* (*Jehan et Blonde*, 2658, etc.; *Renart*, 2357), *de* (= “the”) in *par de foi* (= “by the faith”) (*Jehan et Blonde*, 2685), and *mi* (= “my”) in *mi pareil* (*Jehan et Blonde*, 3142), *mi seignor* (*Renart*, 2357), *mi companon* (*Fabliau*, 37). There may be added a few Anglo-

¹ *Loc. cit.*, Vol. III, Supplement, p. 19.

Norman forms, such as *busoing* (*Jehan et Blonde*, 3123), *deble* (*ibid.*, 2659); but this list is soon exhausted.

Local coloring is also added by the literature cited by the *jongleur* Renart, ll. 2389–93. He knows good Breton (i. e., English) lays, such as those of Merlin and Noton,¹ of Artus and Tristran, of the *chèvreuil*, of St. Brandan, and of Iseut.

Turning to the pronunciation, several distinct English traits are evident. The most prominent is the inability of these individuals to pronounce the sound of *ü*, which is constantly written *ou* or *o*; cf. *foustes*, *fou*, *fout*, *tou*, *mousel*, *soué* in the *Fabliau*; *fot* constantly in *Renart*; and *fou*, *fout*, *mosel*, *mouser* in *Jehan et Blonde*. In the case of the preterit of *estre* this gives rise to *double entendre* in the *Roman de Renart*, but when the Duke of Gloucester pronounces *pucelle* as *pourcel*, it gives the author the opportunity to turn the laugh against him, when he invites Jehan to come with him and see him marry

le plus bel porcel
Dont puisse homme baisier mosel. (2838)

In one word, *triant* (*Fabliau*, 25), *ü* has become *i*, perhaps to cause association with *triant*, a variant of *traint* = *téton*.

We may note, in the next place, confusion in regard to the presence or absence of final *e*. This well-known development of the pronunciation in England has determined the form of many a French word in English.² Our texts are not uniform in this regard. No examples in point are found in the *Fabliau*. In the *Roman de Renart* this *e* is constantly omitted; cf. *Bretaing*, *enseing*, *Engleter*, *quer*, *arier*, *lecher*, *Cantorbir*, *jogler*, and in *Jehan et Blonde* it is in addition very frequently written where it does not belong; cf. *besoing*, *cos*, *merveil* and *chere*, *sote*, *entere*, *fute*, *lasser*, *oiselete*, etc.

¹ Martin, *loc. cit.*, Vol. III, Supplement, p. 17, note, suggests that *Noton* is a corruption of *Goron*, so that the reference would be to the "Roman de Guiron le courtois." I rather think that *Noton* = *Neptunus*, and that the lay referred to related a story of a water-spirit uniting with a mortal, as told, for instance, in the "Lai de Tydorel," *Romania*, Vol. VIII, pp. 66 ff.; cf. also *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 557 ff. This passage, it seems to me, has not been given sufficient weight in the well-known controversy concerning the introduction of Breton tradition into French literature.

² Cf. Suchier, *Ueber die dem Matthaeus Paris zugeschriebene Vie de Saint Auban* (Halle, 1876), pp. 36–39; and Stimming, *Der anglonormannische Boeve de Haumonte* (Halle, 1899), p. 181.

Of similar Anglo-Norman color is the loss of certain initial syllables (*a-*, *es-*, *en-*, *de-*, *re-*) which occurs in all three texts; cf. *Fabliau*: (*a*)*chatera*, 41; *chat* (*achate*), 58; (*a*)*chatai*, 85; (*a*)*porté*, 81; (*es*)*gardai*, 86; *Renart*: (*a*)*pris*, 2364; (*a*)*pelez*, 2420; (*a*)*lumer*, 2941; (*a*)*tendez*, 2978; *boucez* (*espousez*), 2927; (*en*)*gendarer*, 2942; (*de*)*more*, 2966; (*re*)*sambler*, 2438; *Jehan et Blonde*: (*a*)*cater*, 2649; *complie* (*acompli*), 3156; (*a*)*corder*, 3370; (*a*)*pelé*, 2640; (*a*)*pris*, 3150; (*a*)*prochier*, 3125; *trapés* (*atrapez*), 3363; (*a*)*venu*, 3135; (*es*)*conser*, 3112; (*es*)*garder*, 2699; (*es*)*pervier*, 3158; (*es*)*pouser*, 3164; (*es*)*suier*, 3138; (*em*)*bati*, 3127; (*en*)*gané*, 3121; (*en*)*ganames*, 3146; (*en*)*tendre*, 2702.

One is tempted to see a broad English *a* in *malart* (= *malade*) (*Fabliau*, 57), and the characteristic English pronunciation of *r + consonant* is certainly present in the confusion of *pucelle* and *porcel*, already mentioned.

Confusion between palatal¹ *n* and dental *n* (*aignel* and *anel*) is the center of the jest of the *Fabliau*; note also *companon* (*ibid.*, 23). It is present also in *Jehan et Blonde*: *compainons*, 2697, *ganames*, 3146; *gané*, 3121. Similarly² *l'* becomes *l*; *Jehan et Blonde*: *melor*, 2698; *vol*, 2650; *voelle*, 2661.

The distinct English traits in this brogue are, however, soon exhausted. The confusion of voiced and voiceless labials, which occurs in the *Roman de Renart* and *Jehan et Blonde* is German; cf. *Renart*: *boucez*, 2932, *bosez*, 2950 (= *espousez*); *Jehan et Blonde*: *bouser*, 2839 (= *espouser*); *Renart*: *basse* (= *passe*), 2950; *fotre merci*, 2459, 2851 (= *votre merci*). In the word cited last there is the same obscene suggestion already mentioned. I am also inclined to attribute to German influence the *ya* (= *oui*) of *Renart*, 2394.

The speech of the Duke of Gloucester is characterized by a second person plural in *-a* or *-as*; cf. *Jehan et Blonde*: *avas*, 2697, 2702; *conta*, 2819; *disa*, 4497, 2779; *savas*, 3168; *seras*, 2832; *trouvera*, 4495; *verras*, 3164. This is explained, and no doubt correctly, by Suchier³ as a Provençal element. I remember hearing in Paris a dialect recitation representing the speech of an

¹ Cf. Stimming, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 212.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 415.

Auvergnat, and the most striking feature of it was the ending *-a* of the verb without regard to its form. I am inclined to look upon certain other verb-forms in *-a* in this same text as having the same origin; cf. *ava* (= *avoie*), 3109, 3125, (= *avoit*), 3157; *disa* (= *disoie*), 3161, (= *disoit*), 3106, 3110, etc.; *faisa* (= *faisoit*), 3368; *fera* (= *feroit*), 3111, 3143; *ira* (= *iroit*), 3159; *ria* (= *rioit*), 3149; *sera* (= *seroit*), 3123, 3129, etc.; *vena* (= *venoit*), 3105, 3151; *vola* (= *voloie*), 3153, (= *voloit*), 2700, 3165, *volra* (= *voudroit*), 3118, 3143. The first person singular of the preterit and future in *-a* presents, however, more probably confusion with the third person singular; cf. *cevauba*, 3126; *fera*, 3362; *metra*, 3375; *sera*, 3374; and others. Suchier looks upon *plouvina* (third person singular preterit), 3107, as a word borrowed from the Provençal, but the references in Godefroy, *s. v. ploviner*, show that it is not at all improper in Old French.

We have now exhausted the phonetic elements of this dialect, that can be referred to the direct influence of the pronunciation of English or other languages. The remaining features represent inaccuracies affecting the morphology and the syntax.

Here one of the most striking traits is the confusion in the gender of nouns, the effect of which is very humorous. In *Jehan et Blonde* this confusion is not infrequently brought about by the improper addition of a mute *e*, as in *bone sote entere*, 2660; *oiselete*, 2835; or by its absence, as in *le rivier*, 3132; *un rivier*, 3127; but in general the error is more direct cf. *Fabliau*: *bones deniers*, 42; *si faite mousel*, 99; *si fait pel*, 100; *Renart*: *ton reson*, 2352; *ma compaing*, 2359; *mon viel*, 2372; *bon chancon*, 2801; *un candoil en ton mein* 2939; *la martir*, 2974; *Jehan et Blonde*: *mon meson*, 2701; *mon cote*, 3109; *son volenté*, 3119; *bon feste*, 3147; *un bon sotie*, 3155.

Of the same type are the inaccuracies in the conjugation. All verbs tend toward the first conjugation; *Fabliau*: *querer*, 29; *Renart*: *saver*, 2352; *perdez* (= *perdu*), 2358; *diser*, 2374; *voler*, 2810; *giser*, 2956; *faser* (= *faire*), 2937; *devener*, 2969; *Jehan et Blonde*: *dolé*, 3134; *vené*, 2639, past participles of *douloir* and *venir* respectively; *voelle*, first person singular, *voeles*, second person singular present indicative of *vouloir*. In one instance—

prendre, 2651—there is an indefinite verb-form used as an infinitive.

In the case of the finite verb there is to be noted great confusion in the use of the persons. The third person singular stands for the first or second person; *Renart*: *pot*, 2463; *fot*, 2462, constantly (*fot* = second person singular, 2466); *Jehan et Blonde*: cf. the similar confusion of *ai* and *a* in the future and preterit, already noted. In other instances one verb or tense is used for another; *Jehan et Blonde*: *avra* (= *j'ai*), 3150; *ava* (= *avoie*), 3130; *sara* (= *je sais*), 3167; *sera* (= *avoit*), 3142, (= *étoit*), 3123, 3129, 3135; *seras* (= *êtes*), 2832; *puisse* (= *peut*), 2834; *puisse* (= *pouvez*), 2817; *fui* (= *suis*), 3139, (= *fut*), 3160; *viene* (= *venez*), 2818, 2836, 3163. From these examples it is seen that *avoir* and *être* are confused as auxiliaries. This is particularly true of the *Fabliau* and *Roman de Renart*, where *fot* or *fout* is practically the only auxiliary in existence. In *Jehan et Blonde* the two verbs are used more accurately, but the tense, or person, is confused; *Fabliau*: *mi fout Anglois*, 52; *mi companon fout malart*, 57; *Renart*: *moi fot perdez*, 2358; *ge fot pris* (= *j'ai appris*), 2802; *vos fot oré* (= *vous avez oré*), 2965; *Jehan et Blonde*: *ce fu non sot*, 2643; *cil varlet fou il vostre gent*, 2645; *il fout mout bel*, 2651; *s'il sera pris* (= *s'il est pris*), 3159; *pour çou k'il me sera venu* (= *pour çou ki m'étoit avenu*), 3135, etc.

Hand in hand with this confusion in the morphology of the language goes a general relaxation of the rules of syntax. The subject pronoun of the first person is apt to appear in its accusative form; *Fabliau*: *mi¹ fout Anglois*, 52; *mi porra bien mengier*, 27; *mi vos ira moustrer*, 92. Very frequently a quasi-compound tense will then be made with the auxiliary *fot* and the infinitive, the subject being sometimes correct, sometimes *moi*, or again absent altogether; *Renart*: *moi fot aver non*, 2380; *je fot rober* (= *je fus robé*), 2371; *je fot servir* (= *je servirois*), 2387; *ge fot savoir* (= *je sais*), 2389; *fot moi diser* (= *je dirai*), 2464; *bien fot sembler* (= *il semble bien*), 2808; *por toi qui fot sembler prodom* (= *qui sembles*), 2466. Many similar examples might

¹ One is tempted to look upon *mi* as Anglo-Norman; cf. Vising, *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, Vol. V, p. 68. However, this form is much more frequent in certain continental dialects, and should probably be referred to them.

be cited from the *Roman de Renart*, while in *Jehan et Blonde* the complexion of the syntax is in general better preserved, though cf. *je li fis respondu* (= *je lui ai respondu*), 3120; *par de foi qu'il doit tous Franchis* (= *par la foi que doit tout François*), 2685; see also 3135 and 3145. But here it is impossible and unprofitable to indicate all the licenses taken with the language, which are particularly frequent in the *Roman de Renart*; cf. 2363, 2365, 2366, 2368, 2434, 2809, 2810, 2973.

Finally, it is of interest to point out certain plays on words having a humorous effect; *Fabliau*: *triant*, 25, has already been commented upon; *malart* (*mi companon fuit moult malart*) = *malade*, 57, is the name of a duck; *Renart*: *France* (= *français*), 2364; the two words *char* and *chief* are confused, 2855; and a song of *Olivant et Rollier* is cited 2854; *Jehan et Blonde*: there is confusion between *bretesce* and *boresce*, *cors* and *col*, *pecheor* and *pescheor*, *porcel* and *pucelle*, *reveler* and *relever*; *gent*, 2645, has the meaning of *man*, *Franchis* means *François*, and the archaic *Francor* appears, 3140.

The two political documents of this same period cited above do not differ seriously from those just studied as far as their language is concerned, and this simple reference will suffice our purpose.

As already stated, my list includes no similar composition of the fourteenth century. The remaining example to be cited occurs in the *Mystère de Paris*, preserved in a manuscript of the year 1472. Here the king of England and his knights speak a broken French, cf. *ed. cit.*, pp. 55–74. The quantity of outright errors is here increased to such a degree that the general effect of the picture is much less pleasing and artistic, but from the following enumeration it will appear that the method of constructing the brogue has not changed.

Local coloring is given by the constant appeal to *St. Gorg*. In the thirteenth century the saint's name of most decided English color was that of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Though officially recognized as the patron saint of England since the year 1222, evidently the acceptance of the name of "St. George" among the masses was gradual. The name occurs three times in the

Roman de Renart, but is not used by the fox while he impersonates the English *jongleur*. The English king and his knights constantly swear *bigot*, and address each other as *milort* or *millort*; they affirm *by me fay*, 58, and *bi me trot*, 66, and say *adiou*, 70, on leaving. We note the following additional English words: *het* (=“head”), 58; *hect* (=“head”), 66; *hardely*, 57, 59; *yé* (=“yea”), 59; *meny*, 56; *faroual* (=“farewell”), 63. Others may have escaped my notice. A very interesting passage occurs on p. 56, intended to represent English directly. The lines appear to consist of a mere jumble of letters without meaning, though the king of England to whom they are addressed replies *Bigot! j'entendy bien cela*; yet a few not very complimentary words, such as *hourson* (which occurs also p. 69), and *dog* are evident. Others I may have failed to understand.

The phonetic traits are partly those familiar from the earlier portion of this study. (1) The final *e* is absent where it should appear; *arm*, *mer* (=*mère*), *guis*, *batail*, *dac* (=*dague*), *banier*, *vach*, *pag*, *Frans* (=*France*), *lans* (=*lance*), *dyt* (=*dites*), *vot* (=*votre*), etc. (2) Accented syllables disappear: *pas* (=*passer*), *frap* (=*frapper*). (3) Initial syllables fall: *pelé* (=*appelé*), *semblé* (=*assemblé*), *Gleter* (=*Angleterre*), *presté* (=*appresté*), *trape* (=*attrape*), *sommy* (=*assomé*), *tent* (=*entends*). (4) *r* before consonant is silent: *palé* (=*parlé*), *paillarde* rimes with *salade*, 57. (5) *l'* and *n'* have become *l* and *n*: *Vuilam* (=*Guillaume*), *compenon*.

Others are new. (1) *y* or *i* stands for final *é*, which evidently represents the English pronunciation of closed *e*: *army* (=*armer*), *ally* (=*allez*), *scavery* (=*saurai*), *copy* (=*couper*), *asommy* (=*assommer*), *crii* (=*crier*), *porty* (=*porter*), *donny* (=*donner*), *tuy* (=*tuer*), *j'aury* (=*j'aurai*), *embly* (=*embler*), *pily* (=*piller*), *logy* (=*logé*), *clochy* (=*clocher*), etc. (2) *ien* becomes *in*: *bin*, *vin* (=*viens*), *bintot*. (3) *v* becomes *w*: *wacarm* (=*vacarme*).

For the morphology we may note (1) a general verb-ending in *y* or *é* which serves all the demands of the sentence: *futy* (=*soit, sont*), *fouty* (=*je serai*), *faity* (=*je fais*), *sy se trouvy* (=*s'il se trouvait*), *ally* (=*allons, aille*), *alé* (=*allez, je vais*),

dity (=dites), *ameny* (=amener), *fré* (=ferons), *veny* (=vien-
nent or vient), *parly* (=parlez), *j'entendy* (*j'entends*), *pende*
(=pendre), etc.; this feature is constant. (2) The preterit of
être serves as general auxiliary: *que je fut army* (=que je suis
armé), 56; *futy* (=vous êtes), 56, *fut sommy* (=sont assommés),
70; *que tout futy pelé* (=que tout soit appelé), 57, etc. (3) A
constant confusion of gender: *arm de mon mer* (=armes de ma
mère), 55; *tout mon gent*, 56; *mon grant lans* (=ma grande
lance), 56; *de bon larm* (=de bonnes armes), 57; *la bon lom*
(=les bons hommes), 57; *la milort ma cousin*, 59; *la grant
Saint Gorg.* 59; *Dieu gart la cont, aussy son fam*, 66; *sa
col* (=son cou), 66; *la mondam de mer* (=madame ma
mère), 66.

Errors in syntax are constant in every line. (1) The infinitive
stands for a finite verb: *moi alé a pilag*, 57; *moy voulت parté*
(=je veux partir), 60; *moi non reentry jamais*, 74, etc. (2)
The article is erroneously used: *l'army de bon l'arm* (=armé de
bonnes armes), 57; *qui fut bon larcher*, 57; *par ton lam* (=par
ton âme), 57; *futy vous bien larmé* (=êtes-vous bien armé), 56;
vailant lom, 59, etc.

There are many other particular errors that might be cited,
some of which give a rather humorous turn to the language of these
Englishmen speaking French. But enough has been brought out
to show that the brogue attributed to Englishmen in Old French
literature is to a certain extent made up of various sources, that
some are the result of exact observation of the pronunciation, and
that the greater part of the humor comes from morphological and
syntactical errors which do not belong solely to the French of
Marlborough or the school of Stratford atte Bowe.

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AHASVER IN DER KUNSTDICHTUNG

Kaum ein zweiter Stoff hat vermöge des in ihm schlummern den Reichtums an moralphilosophischen sowohl als romantisch-phantastischen, daneben auch an wahrhaft poetischen Motiven die neuere Dichtung so lebhaft beschäftigt wie die Sage vom ewigen Juden. Erst gegen Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts griffen die Literaten die treuherzige Erzählung von dem zum Ewig lebenmüssen verdammt Beleidiger des Heilands auf, die bereits in der ersten Hälfte des dreizehnten ihre halbtausendjährige Wanderung durch die Niederungen des volksmässigen Schrifttums angetreten hatte und, durch Chronisten zuerst aufgezeichnet, seit Beginn des sechzehnten durch Volksbücher und Flugblätter weithin verbreitet worden war. Mit grosser Schnelligkeit bür gerte sich nunmehr der verschiedentlich als Cartaphilus, Dudulaeus, Buttadeus, Laquedem, in Deutschland gemeinhin als Ahasverus bekannte Held der Sage in der Kunstdichtung ein. Fast gleichzeitig tritt er in der Lyrik und Epik, nicht gar viel später in der Dramatik auf, und beweist, bald als Haupt-, bald als Nebenperson, in zahllosen Erzeugnissen deutscher, französischer, englischer Schriftsteller eine beispiellose Umgestaltbarkeit.

Übereinstimmend bemühen sich alle ernst zu nehmenden Bearbeiter des Stoffes, der farblos überlieferten verhängnisvollen Freveltat eine psychologische Erklärung unterzulegen. Bahnweisend wird hierin Goethe, wenn er dem unseligen Schuster eine wohlwollende Gesinnung gegen den Heiland imputiert¹ und seine Versündigung sowie die seines Gefährten Judas Ischariot als eine heillose Folge irregeleiteten Patriotismus auffasst.² Auch fehlt es nicht an Dichtern, die für Ahasver als einen unschuldigen Dulder oder doch einen weit über das Mass seiner Verfehlung

¹S. Goethes *Werke*, Hempelsche Ausg., Bd. XXII, pp. 179, 180 und *passim* (s. Register dasselbst); *ibid.*, Bd. XXIV, p. 112.

²Allerdings denken in Goethes unausgeführt Schema diese beiden sehr verschieden über Christus. Spätere Bearbeiter übertragen den Fanatismus des Goetheschen Judas auf Ahasver.

hinaus gestraften Sünder Partei ergreifen,¹ ja, in echter Sturm- und Drangstimmung sich mit dessen ungebrochenem Trotze gegen den göttlichen Despotismus identifizieren. Anderseits macht sich der Wunsch geltend, auch den Urteilsspruch des Heilands ethisch zu begründen, das über Ahasver verhängte Strafgericht mit dem christlichen Glauben an des Gottsohns unbegrenzte Güte und Barmherzigkeit in Einklang zu bringen, und dies fromme Bemühen führt mit logischer Konsequenz zur Postulierung einer höheren erzieherischen Absicht, die in der gewollten und durch den Fluch bereits eingeleiteten Bekehrung Ahasvers besteht. Im Zusammenhang hiermit steht wohl auch die allmähliche Milderung oder Beseitigung der dem Stoffe anhaftenden Cruditäten, die Verinnerlichung des tragischen Leides, die endliche Erlösung Ahasvers.

Dass die individuelle Auffassung der Sage im allgemeinen oder in besonderen Zügen stark unter dem Einfluss der die Zeit jeweilig beherrschenden Weltanschauungen steht, bedarf keines nachdrücklichen Hinweises.² Ohne, trotz der erwähnten Bemühungen, gleich seinem Sagenvetter Faust eine endgültige litterarische Gestaltung erfahren zu haben, hat doch der ewige Jude die Phantasie manch eines wirklich bedeutenden Dichters in Erregung versetzt. Und es muss deshalb wundernehmen, dass die Forschung die immerhin verlockende Aufgabe,³ die Entwicklungsgeschichte des fesselnden Stoffes in der modernen Literatur eingehend zu verfolgen, noch nicht ernstlich in Angriff genommen hat.

Was die sagengeschichtliche Behandlung des Gegenstands

¹ Wie schon Ch. F. D. Schubart. Sein Gedicht erschien zuerst im *Schwäbischen Musenalmanach* für 1784; dort pp. 173 f.: der ewige Jud. Während jedoch Schubart die Tendenz am Schlusse in religiösem Sinne umbiegt, trägt bei seinem Nachfolger Shelley der ewige Jude, so oft er in den reifen Werken des grossen englischen Lyrikers auftaucht, die Stürmer- und Drängernatur unverhohlen zur Schau. S. unten p. 6, Anmkg. 3.

² So sei z. B. unter neueren Versionen das Epos *Jehovah von Carmen Sylva* (Leipzig, 1882) erwähnt, worin mit glühender Überzeugung der evolutionistische Glaube vorgetragen wird. Ja, bei Johanna und Gustav Wolff sowie bei dem tschechischen Dichter Machar tritt Ahasver geradezu als Apostel des Lebens auf (s. den unten zitierten Aufsatz von Rudolf Fürst, Spalte 1546. Mir selbst blieben die beiden letztgenannten Dichtungen unzugänglich.) Eine krass antichristliche Tendenz — Ahasver will nicht sterben, bis Christus wiederkommt, um dann ihn zu entlarven — atmet u. a. das anonyme Gedicht *Ahasver, ein Monolog von Ego*. (Zürich, 1890).

³ Die ihr schon H. Mielke, *Der deutsche Roman des 19. Jahrhunderts*, p. 19, ans Herz legt.

betrifft, so ist der Mythus vom ewigen Juden bereits recht eingehend untersucht,¹ wiewohl, entgegen der allgemeinen Annahme, keineswegs erschöpfend. Aus dem zuletzt angeführten Grunde nehme ich hier Gelegenheit, auf ein merkwürdiges Analogon aufmerksam zu machen, das allerdings bereits im Jahre 1844 der Forschung erschlossen wurde,² jedoch gänzlich unbeachtet blieb, und auf das neuerdings ein japanischer Gelehrter hingewiesen hat.³ Sollte nun in der Tat die der chinesischen Sam-yuktagama-Sūtra und der sanskritischen Divijāvadāna zufolge von Buddha über seinen Jünger Pindola Bharadvāja wegen verbotenen Wunderwirkens verhängte Strafe mit der Sage vom ewigen Juden im Zusammenhang stehen, so wäre die erste Aufzeichnung der Sage um nicht weniger als achthundert Jahre hinter den bisher angesetzten Terminus zurückzudatieren. Auch würde in dem Falle bis auf weiteres die Theorie vom ekklesiastischen Ursprung des Ahasver-Mythus unhaltbar.⁴

Indessen, ist auf diesen wichtigen mythographischen Punkt hier nicht näher einzugehen. Die nachstehenden Ausführungen beschränken sich vielmehr darauf, den gegenwärtigen Stand der Forschung über die Ahasvertypen der neueren Literatur

¹ In neuerer Zeit zuerst von I. G. Th. Graesse, *Die Sage vom ewigen Juden* (Dresden, 1844) und von demselben Verfasser, *Der Tannhäuser und der ewige Jude* (Dresden, 1861); sodann von Charles Schoebel, *La légende du Juif-Errant* (Paris, 1877); viel wissenschaftlicher von Gaston Paris, *Le Juif-Errant* (Extrait de l'Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses; Paris, 1880); erwähnenswert ist Abbé Crampom, "Le Juif Errant," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences etc. d'Amiens*, Bd. L; am gründlichsten L. Neubaur, *Die Sage vom ewigen Juden* (Leipzig, 1884; 2. verm. Ausg., 1893).

² Durch E. Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhismus indien* (2. Ausg., 1876), p. 355; zitiert nach A. J. Edmunds (s. unten).

³ Kumagusu Minakata, in *Notes and Queries* (London, 1899), pp. 121-24; den Nachweis verdanke ich einem Aufsatz von Albert J. Edmunds in *The Open Court*, Bd. XVII (1903), No. 12, pp. 735, 736 ("The Wandering Jew, a Buddhist Parallel"). Doch hatte der oben genannte Japaner schon mehrere Jahre vorher in *Nature*, Bd. LIII (1895), p. 78, eine Parallele zwischen der Sage vom ewigen Juden und einer indischen Legende aufgestellt.

⁴ Sonderbarerweise ist übrigens Herrn Edmunds eine etwas spätere Mitteilung des selben Gewährsmanns im gleichen Jahrgang der *Notes and Queries*, p. 166, entgangen. Dort zitiert Minakata nach dem Poh-wuh-chi des Chinesen Chang Hwi (232-300 A. D.) eine weitere Sage, die seines Erachtens in noch engerer Beziehung zur Ahasver-Sage steht als die von Pindola, weil der vom Tode Übergangene — er heisst Pan-Yu-Ming — ein Jahrhundert nach dem Tode seines Herrschers in dessen Grabe lebendig aufgefunden wird und seit dieser Zeit rastlos wandern muss. Der im Grabe fortlebende Ahasver begegnet, nebenbei bemerkt, auch öfters in der modernen Dichtung, so namentlich bei I. Ch. Freiherrn v. Zedlitz, "Die Wanderungen des Ahasverus" (*Gedichte*, Stuttgart, 1859, pp. 495-545). Ist Pan-Yu-Ming das Urbild Ahasvers, so wäre die Entstehung der Sage vom ewigen Juden gar um mindestens tausend Jahre weiter hinaufzurücken.

einigermassen zu beleuchten.¹ An Schriften über diesen Gegenstand ist fürwahr kein Mangel; nur ist darunter leider keine einzige von wirklichem kritischen Werte. Gleichwohl kämen für eine etwaige umfassende wissenschaftliche Behandlung des Themas die folgenden drei Vorarbeiten in Betracht:

1. F. Helbig, *Die Sage vom ewigen Juden, ihre poetische Wandlung und Fortbildung*;² ein Buch, das wenig mehr als geschickte Inhaltsangaben bietet, einen grossen Teil des Materials übergeht und an der Schwelle einer für unser Thema äusserst fruchtbaren Produktionsperiode Halt macht.

2. Moncure D. Conway, *The Wandering Jew*;³ ein umfangreiches Werk, hinsichtlich der englischen Ahasverliteratur recht belehrend, hinsichtlich der deutschen unkritisch und zum Teil unselbstständig.

3. Rudolf Fürst, *Ahasver-Dichtungen*;⁴ viel knapper und gehaltvoller als die vorgenannten, lässt aber in Bezug auf Vollständigkeit viel, auf rationelle Anordnung und Verwertung des Materials das meiste zu wünschen übrig. Der Verfasser, der seltsamerweise von Helbig überhaupt nicht zu wissen scheint während ihm die ziemlich verbreitete Conway'sche Schrift "unzügänglich" blieb, unterzieht im ganzen dreiunddreissig Dichtungen einer gelegentlich feinen, überall klaren, doch nirgends in den Gegenstand vertieften Besprechung. Elf weitere Bearbeitungen werden von ihm bloss titelweise angeführt. Meines Wissens bezeichnet die eben erwähnte, mit den Mängeln einer Zwitterform von Feuilleton und wissenschaftlicher Abhandlung behafte Arbeit dennoch den ungefahren Höhepunkt der literaturhistorischen Produktion auf dem in Frage stehenden Gebiete.⁵ Einzig aus diesem Grunde wird sie im folgenden so stark herangezogen.

¹ Sie sollen gewissermassen dazu dienen, die vorhandene Literatur über Ahasver in der Kunstdichtung zu ergänzen. Mithin glaubte der Verfasser die ziemlich allgemein bekannten und übereinstimmend beurteilten Ahasverdichtungen von Lenau, Hamerling, Quinet, Grenier, Béranger, Andersen u. a. unerwähnt lassen zu dürfen. Auch eine Reihe der von Rudolf Fürst (s. unten) verzeichneten Fassungen geringeren Wertes (z. B. die von F. Horn) brauchte aus dem angeführten Grunde nicht genannt zu werden.

² Berlin, 1874.

³ New York und London, 1881.

⁴ *Literarisches Echo*, VI. Jhgg., 21. u. 22. Heft, Spalte 1467-77, u. 1539-49.

⁵ Von Spezialarbeiten wie e. g. J. Minor, *Goethe's Fragmente vom ewigen Juden und vom wiederkehrenden Heiland* (Stuttgart, 1904) ist natürlich hier nicht die Rede.

Dass einem so wohlgeschulten und fleissigen Nachforscher wie Fürst eine stattliche Reihe bedeutsamer Erscheinungen der Ahasverliteratur entgehen konnte, deutet zur Genüge an, wie misslich es mit der Bibliographie derselben bestellt ist. Zwar gibt Neubaur¹ ein erschöpfendes Verzeichnis der Volksbücher und sonstiger frühen Drucke. So weit hingegen die kunstliterarischen Fassungen in Frage kommen, lassen die üblichen Hilfsmittel, sogar Goedeke² nicht ausgenommen, den Sammler so ziemlich im Stich.³

Es ist somit kein Wunder, wenn es Fürst nicht viel besser gelang als seinen Vorgängern, von der Zahl und Verschiedenheit der Variationen über unser Thema einen entsprechenden Begriff zu geben.

Im Nachfolgenden seien mehrere falsche, auch in Fachkreisen verbreitete und neuerdings von Fürst abermals vertretene Ansichten bezüglich dieser Literatur in Kürze berichtet.⁴

Am vielwendigsten bewährt sich Ahasver keineswegs, wie von Fürst nachdrücklich versichert wird, in Frankreich, sondern in erster Reihe in Deutschland, sodann in England. Der Reichtum und die Bedeutung der englischen Ahasverdichtung werden leider in Deutschland nicht nach Gebühr gewürdigirt. So erwähnt denn Fürst ausser der Ballade bei Percy,⁵ die schwerlich ohne weiteres in die Kunstdichtung einzureihen ist, und dem verschollenen Zweiaukter von Andrew Franklin,⁶ der eigentlich nur weitläufig in diesen Zusammenhang gehört,⁷ nur einen amerikanischen Schauer-

¹ *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Bd. X., pp. 249-67 u. ebenda pp. 297-316.

² *Grundriss*, Bd. II, pp. 569-70, und ebenda Bd. IV, p. 645.

³ K. Engel, *Zusammenstellung der Faustschriften, etc.* (Oldenburg, 1885), pp. 618 f., kennt nur 34 wirklich hierher gehörige Schriften.

⁴ Fürsts bibliographische Angaben sind nicht überall zuverlässig, weshalb bei den meisten der unten besprochenen Bücher der genaue Titel nebst Ort und Jahr vermerkt ist.

⁵ *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765; ed. Edw. Walford, London, o. J. [1880]). S. pp. 253, 254: "The Wandering Jew." Diese Ballade war schon in der Pepys'schen Sammlung (1700) enthalten.

⁶ *The Wandering Jew or Love's Masquerade* (London, 1797).

⁷ Der Held tritt als ewiger Jude verkleidet auf. Ähnlich wird die Rolle Ahasvers in scherhafter Weise zur Täuschung leichtglaublicher Landleute simuliert von der Hauptperson des Romans *Mon Oncle Benjamin* von Claude Tillier (1801-44) (Paris, o. J.), pp. 79 ff.

roman¹ und dessen englisches Muster.² Und doch dürfen Shelley,³ Southey,⁴ Wordsworth⁵ zu den Ahasverdichtern gezählt werden. Dass immerhin beachtenswerte Leistungen wie das Epos der Lady Maxwell⁶ unerwähnt bleiben, mag noch hingehen. Dagegen ist es recht sonderbar, dass die Dichtungen der beiden Schotten W. E. Aytoun⁷ und Robert Buchanan⁸ wiewohl sie zu den grosszügigsten und formvollendetsten gehören, die der Stoff überhaupt gezeitigt hat, der Forschung nicht minder fremd geblieben sind als der deutschen Lesewelt.

Unhaltbar ist ferner die oft aufgestellte, auch von dem neuesten Forscher wiederholte Behauptung, die ehrwürdige Gestalt des ewigen Juden trete nur selten in der Verzerrung auf. Die Anfänge der satirischen Verwendung Ahasvers liegen recht weit zurück.⁹ Von Tillier's *Mon Uncle Benjamin* war bereits oben die Rede. Klassisch in ihrer Art ist die kostliche, noch heute geniessbare Travestie von Eugène Sue's vielgelesenen Machwerk,¹⁰ verfasst von Ch. Philipon und Louis Huart.¹¹ Über

¹ Lew Wallace, *The Prince of India*, 2 Bde. (New York, 1893).

² Rev. Geo. Croley, *Salathiel: A Story of the Past, the Present, and the Future*, 3 Bd e (London, 1828?).

³ Mit seinem Vetter Medwin zusammen (?) schrieb er schon in seiner Schulzeit eine Ahasver-Erzählung, die kurz darauf in gemeinschaftlicher Arbeit zu einem Epos umgestaltet wurde (1809-10). Dies Jugendwerk steht unzweifelhaft im Zeichen des bekannten Gedichtes von Ch. D. F. Schubart. S. *The Complete Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (Boston and New York), Bd. IV, pp. 346-90; "The Wandering Jew." Die Spuren Ahasvers durchziehen übrigens, in dem weiter oben (p. 2, und *ibid.* Anmkg. 1) erwähnten Sinne, Shelley's Dichtung bis an sein Lebensende.

⁴ *Poems by Robert Southey, Chosen and Arranged by Edward Dowden* (London: Macmillan, 1895), pp. 115-55: "The Curse of Kehama" (begonnen 1801, vollendet 1809). Zwar keine Ahasver-Dichtung im eigentlichsten Sinne, jedoch von unserer Sage ausgängen und im Geiste mit ihr identisch.

⁵ *Complete Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, edited by John Morley (London, o. J.); p. 151: "Song for the Wandering Jew" (geschrieben 1800).

⁶ The Hon. Mrs. Norton (Caroline Elizabeth Sarah Norton), *The Undying One* (London, 2. Aufl., 1830).

⁷ Theodore Martin, *Memoir of W. E. Aytoun* (Edinburgh and London, o. J. [1867?]); pp. 50-56: "The Wandering Jew" (geschrieben um 1834).

⁸ *The Wandering Jew: A Christmas Carol* (London, 1893).

⁹ S. Goethes *Werke*, Hempelsche Ausg., Bd. III, pp. 181-89: "Des ewigen Juden erster Fetzen" (geschrieben c. 1769-75, nach Strehlke grösstenteils 1774; gedruckt erst 1836); hierzu s. auch unten, p. 7, Anmkg. 4. Satirisch ist aber die Gestalt Ahasvers selbst vielleicht zuerst (wenigstens in Deutschland) bei Achim v. Arnim, *Halle und Jerusalem: Studentenspiel und Pilgerabenteuer* (Heidelberg, 1811); *Werke* (Berlin, 1846), Bd. XVI.

¹⁰ *Le Juif Errant* (Paris, 1845).

¹¹ *Parodie du Juif Errant* (Bruxelles, 1845).

die zeitsatirische Benutzung der Ahasvergestalt bei W. Hauff in den *Mitteilungen aus den Memoiren des Satans* vgl. Fürst, Spalte 1474, 1475.

Vollends in der Gegenwart begegnen wir dem heitern und komischen Ahasver an zahlreichen Stellen. Aus der langen Galerie modernisierter ewiger Juden verdienen wegen ihres besonderen literarischen Interesses zwei amerikanische Schöpfungen hervorgehoben zu werden.¹ Auch in der modernen deutschen Literatur tauchen zahlreiche Karikaturen des ewigen Juden auf.² Natürlich haben sich die Witzblätter die groteske Figur nicht entgehen lassen.³ Mit feinsinnigem Humor hat sie Rudolf Baumbach in seiner reizenden Ballade⁴ behandelt. Wer den ewigen Juden auf seinen Wanderungen durch die neuere deutsche Literatur zu begleiten wünscht, der darf vor öden Strecken und dürren Gegenden nicht zurückscheuen. Die Fassungen von Eduard Duller, Bernhard Giseke, Alex. Graf von Würtemberg, F. Theremin, Christian Kuffner, Gustav Pfizer, L. Köhler, Leop. Schefer, Theodor Oelckers, Joh. Gabriel Seidl, Hermann Lingg u. a. bilden freilich auch für den mutigen Forscher keine besonders dankenswerte Lektüre. Hoch über ihnen allen ragt das einsam grosse Ahasvergedicht des unverdient in Vergessenheit geratenen schwäbischen Dichters Joh. Georg Fischer.⁵

Nicht ohne Wichtigkeit sind die von Fürst gleichfalls übergangenen holländischen Bearbeitungen von J. J. L. Ten

¹ F. R. Stockton, *The Vizier of the Two-Horned Alexander* (New York: The Century Co., 1899; vorher in *The Century Magazine*, Bd. LVII u. LVIII serialim) und F. Marion Crawford, *A Roman Singer* (New York, 1883). Von minderwertigen amerikanischen Ahasver-Produkten kenne ich etwa ein Dutzend.

² Z. B. Aug. Silbermann, *Der verwandelter Ahasver: Glas- und Rauchbilder im St. Peterskeller zu Salzburg* (Leipzig, o. J. [1899]); Carry Brachvogel, *Die Wiedererstandenen: Cäsarenlegenden* (Berlin, 1900), pp. 99-134: "Götter a. D." Hierher gehört gleichfalls die anonyme Parodie *Der ewige Jude in Monte Carlo: ein Wintern Märchen von der Riviera* (Dresden und Leipzig, 1892).

³ S. z. B. *Unsere Gesellschaft*, 8. Jhrg., Nr. 32, pp. 316, 317: "Ahasver" (mit 2 Illustr.) u. *Der Scherer*, 3. Jhrg., Nr. I, pp. 4, 5: "Ins neue Land," Dichtung von Anton Reuk.

⁴ R. Baumbach, *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen* (Leipzig, 1878), pp. 9-11: "Ahasver." Schon Goethe plante, Ahasvers Schusterhandwerk humorvoll auszunützen: "Ich hatte ihn mit eines Handwerksgenossen, mit Hans Sachsen's Geist und Humor bestens ausgestattet." —*Goethe's Werke*, Hempelsche Ausg., Bd. XXII, p. 179.—Carry Brachvogels Sam A. Hasveros (S. oben Anmkg. 2) ist ein reicher Schuh-Grosshändler.

⁵ *Gedichte* (Stuttgart, 1854, 2. Aufl. 1858), pp. 188-190: "Der ewige Jude;" den Nachweis verdanke ich Herrn Prof. Dr. Jas. T. Hatfield in Evanston, Ill.]

Kate¹ und C. van Nievelt,² die russische, auch ins Deutsche übersetzte, des Schillerenthusiasten W. A. Shukoffsky³ und die dänische von B. S. Ingemann.

Schliesslich vermag ich auch der Ansicht, dass es der Dichtung der letzten Jahre vorbehalten geblieben, dem bleichen Schatten Ahasvers neues Leben einzuhauchen,⁴ nicht gänzlich beizutreten. Die Vermutung ist wohl richtig, dass die entscheidende Anregung von Adolf Wilbrandts *Meister von Palmyra* (1889) ausging; an dieses ihr mutmassliches Muster reichen die Ahasverdichtungen von Josef Seeber,⁵ Johannes Lepsius,⁶ Johanna u. Gustav Wolff,⁷ Wolfgang Madjera,⁸ Fritz Lienhard,⁹ Gustav Renner¹⁰ nicht heran.

Auf einer höheren künstlerischen Stufe als die vorgenannten stehen, wiewohl zum Teil älteren Ursprungs, die Dichtungen von Hans Herrig,¹¹ Adolf H. Povinelli,¹² Max Haushofer,¹³ Willi Soendermann¹⁴ und Maurice Reinhold von Stern.¹⁵

Als Nebenfigur ist Ahasver in neuerer Zeit in eindrucksvoller Weise in Werken von Eduard Grisebach,¹⁶ Prinz Emil von Schönaich-Carolath,¹⁷ u. a. angebracht werden.

¹ *Dramatische Poëzy* (Leiden, o. J.), pp. 246-86: "Ahasverus op den Grimsel;" pp. 286-300: "De Wandelende Jood tot Rust gekomen."

² *Ahasverus: Nieuwe Phantasieën* (Leiden, 1884), pp. 1-47: "Baron von Goldstetten."

³ *Ahasver, der ewige Jude*: Aus dem Russischen übersetzt. (Oppeln, 2. Aufl., 1884). Der Dichter starb im Jahre 1852. Ahasver war seine letzte Dichtung.

⁴ Fürst, loc. cit., Spalte 1544.

⁵ *Der ewige Jude: Episches Gedicht* (Freiburg i. B., o. J. [1894]).

⁶ *Ahasver, der ewige Jude: Mysterium* (Leipzig, 1894).

⁷ *Ahasver* (Berlin, 1899); über dieses Buch kann ich allerdings nicht aus eigener Kenntnis sprechen.

⁸ *Ahasver: eine Tragödie* (Wien, 1903).

⁹ *Ahasver: Tragödie* (Stuttgart, 1903; zitiert nach Fürst).

¹⁰ *Ahasver: eine Dichtung* (Leipzig, 1902). ¹¹ *Jerusalem: Drama* (2. Ausg., Berlin, 1884).

¹² *Ahasverus in Tyrol: epische Dichtung aus düsterer Zeit* (Leipzig, 1890).

¹³ *Der ewige Jude: ein dramatisches Gedicht in drei Teilen* (Leipzig, 1886).

¹⁴ *Ahasver, der ewige Jude: Tragödie in 5 Akten* (Dresden u. Leipzig, 1902).

¹⁵ *Die Insel Ahasvers: ein episches Gedicht* (Dresden u. Leipzig, 1893).

Die vorgenannten fünf Dichtungen fehlen bei Fürst; ebenso eine ganze Reihe weniger gelungener Versionen, wie z. B. Karl Esselborn, *Ahasver: Epos* (Leipzig, 1890).

¹⁶ *Der neue Tannhäuser* (Stuttgart, 1869), pp. 124-37: "Faust und der ewige Jude."

¹⁷ *Dichtungen* (Leipzig, o. J. [1883]), pp. 108-32: "Don Juans Tod."

SOME PRINCIPLES OF ELIZABETHAN STAGING¹

PART II

Besides the objections against accepting alternation as the universal method of Elizabethan staging, there is another consideration which, though not absolutely excluding the possibility of alternation, suggests the existence of an entirely different practice.

Some plays, no matter how thoroughly proved alternation might be, could not be explained by it. Specific scenes from them have already been alluded to, but it is as complete plays that they present difficulties not easily to be solved. They illustrate a dramatic convention long since disused; never, indeed, fully recognized by modern students as existing in plays of the Shakespearean theater. This convention allowed the presence upon the stage of a property or furnishing which was incongruous to the scene in progress, and which, during that scene, was thought of as absent, though standing in plain sight. This incongruity took two forms: either the close juxtaposition upon the stage of two properties which in reality should have been a much greater distance apart, or the presence of a property in a scene where it could never naturally have been; as a tree, for example, in the midst of a room scene. It is directly in contradiction to our modern ideal of securing complete illusion and a perfectly harmonious stage picture. A stage with such incongruity could attempt no stage picture at all; it would rather by its properties suggest as by symbols the scene of action. That the Elizabethan stage could have been so unrealistic seems to us absurd and improbable, but the probability of this staging does not depend upon whether it would be acceptable to us. If pre-Elizabethan staging exhibited this same incongruity, if there were Elizabethan customs tending to create a similarly symbolic stage, the belief that such a stage actually existed in Shakespeare's time becomes, not absurd and impossible, but thoroughly reasonable. As to

¹ For illustration of the principle of staging described in Part I in connection with *Jocasta*, see Bapst, *Essai sur l'histoire du théâtre* (Paris, 1893), esp. p. 253; or (as earlier and better) the plate attached to *Il Granchio, Comedia di L. Salvatici*. In Firenze 1566.

pre-Elizabethan conditions no special investigation is necessary, for Chambers in the *Mediæval Stage*, and Creizenach in his *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, in tracing the development of staging from the origin of the modern drama to the time of Shakespeare, have given ample proof that a similar staging, indeed, that the identical conventions, had existed for centuries. I do not attempt even to summarize the points which they make, but only to indicate briefly how the mediæval staging with *sedes*, "houses," etc., was closely related to the staging of these plays of Shakespeare's day.

When the drama began within the churches with the liturgical plays, there was, of course, no attempt to make a completely congruous stage picture. The sepulcher¹ of the Easter play and the crib of the Christmas play² were actually and more or less realistically represented, but only symbolically suggested the rest of the picture to the auditors. The action of the play might be before a cave, on the way to the sepulcher, in the city of Jerusalém, in Galilee, where the author willed, but the place of the play was always the church. Any complete stage picture was undreamed of. When the plays moved out into the churchyard and the market-place, they kept, as Chambers shows,³ their method of presentation much as it was. He prints a plan of the Donaueschingen passion-play dating from the sixteenth century, in which the *loci*, "houses," etc., are arranged as follows, beginning at the west (?) end—hell, Gethsemane, Olivet; Herod's palace, Pilate's palace, the pillar of scourging, the pillar of the cock, the house of Caiphas, the house of Ananias, the house of the Last Supper; the graves of the dead who arise, the three crosses, the sepulcher, heaven. The incongruity of this staging is, of course, marked, consisting especially in the close juxtaposition of widely separated places. When such plays, however, came to be played on stages with these *sedes* and "houses" crowded together as portrayed by the miniatures of the Valenciennes Passion,⁴ it amounted to the presence of properties in scenes where they were not supposed to be, and both forms of incongruity were illustrated. Heaven,

¹ Chambers, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 22 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 42 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 80 ff.

⁴ 1547; see Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature franquaises*, Vol. II, p. 416; or Jusserand, *Shakespeare in France*, p. 63.

beneath it a hall, then Nazareth, the temple, Jerusalem, the Golden Gate, a square sea upon which rides a ship, hell mouth—all are crowded upon the Valenciennes stage at one time. This must have been the condition in any play of the mediæval type played in a limited space. Jusserand¹ comments on this sort of staging in the following way:

Plays being acted now within a small space, inside a closed building, "simultaneous scenery" was used. On the same canvas were painted in summary fashion and in close juxtaposition all the places where the events in the play were located: a forest was represented by a tree; the Lybian mountains, by a rock; Athens, Rome, or Jerusalem, by a portico with the name written above, as in the mystery mansions, as in Gozzoli's frescoes at Pisa, as on the English stage under Elizabeth, "'Thebes' written in great letters upon an olde doore" said Sidney.²

He also quotes³ a scene-shifter's description of the scenery used in a performance of *Pandoste* at the Hotel de Bourgogne, 1631, and reproduces the original sketches: "In the center of the theater there must be a fine palace; on one side, a large prison where one can be entirely seen; on the other side a temple; below, the prow of a ship, a low sea, reeds, and steps."⁴ This was for the first day. The second day of the play required "two palaces, a peasant's house, and a wood." This play and the Valenciennes picture, therefore, show much the same condition which occurs in the Elizabethan plays under discussion—places represented close together which really should have been miles apart, and properties incongruous to all scenes but the ones they were supposed to locate, these two customs uniting to make impossible any congruous stage picture.

In English dramatic history writers have emphasized the processional plays more than the standing plays; but Chambers mentions several which he thinks were not of the former type. So a series of London plays, traceable perhaps to the beginning of the sixteenth century, was "cyclical in character but not processional."⁵ The *Creed Play* at York was stationary, and was

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

² Lawrence (*Englische Studien*, Vol. XXXII, No. 1, p. 41) writes to the same effect. Neither of these writers, however, suggests the survival of the custom on the Shakespearean stage.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 69, 70.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 75.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 119.

acted in the common hall.¹ "The parochial plays," common throughout England, "were always, so far as can be seen, stationary."² The *Ludus Coventriae* Chambers thinks also a stationary play.³ Sometimes the play was actually on a platform, as at Chelmsford, Kingston, Reading, and Dublin.⁴ *The Satire of the Three Estates*, played at Cupar in 1535, was certainly a stationary play, and so was the Digby *Mary Magdalen*. In this latter were represented Mary's castle, perhaps at Bethany, Jerusalem, a stage for the devil with a place under it for hell, an arbor in which Mary lies down to sleep, Lazarus' tomb, and "Marcylle," which is separated from Jerusalem by a sea on which Mary embarks in a ship. There is apparently a rock in this sea, and a temple at Marcylle, though this is not quite so clear. Heaven seems an elevated place, to which Mary is raised; from it clouds and angels descend. The Cornish plays, given in circular playing-places, must also have been stationary; so was the Lincoln play of *Tobias*. The following passage in the town records shows its character:

1564, July: A note of the perti the properties of the staige played in the moneth of July anno sexto regni reginae Elizabethae, &c., in the tyme of the mayoralty of Richard Carter, whiche play was then played in Brodgaite in the seid citye, and it was of the storie of Tobias in the Old Testament.

The properties are described as follows:

Hell mouth, with a neither chap, a prison with a coveryng, Sara[']s chambre, a greate idoll with a clubb, a tombe with a coveryng, the citie of Jerusalem with towers and pynacles, the citie of Raignes with towers and pynacles, the citie of Nynyvye, the Kyng's palace of Nynyve, olde Tobyes house, the Isralytes house and the neigbures house, the Kyng's palace at Laches, a fyrment with a fierye clowde and a duble clowde.⁵ Its cities, palaces, tombs, etc., since it was a "standing" play "played in Brodgaite," must have been used at one playing-place, and, in view of what we know of mediæval custom, simultaneously. In principle the staging could not have been very different from that represented in the Valenciennes miniature. Yet it was played in 1564, five years after Elizabeth began to reign.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

² *Ibid.*, p. 122.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 421. The division into separate pageants is due to the modern editor.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁵ *Hist. Mes. Com. Reports*, XIV-VIII, pp. 57, 58.

Creizenach,¹ moreover, thinks that the "houses," etc., mentioned so frequently in the records of the Revels office were for plays staged after this same manner. So ca. 1571² *Lady Barbara, Effiginia, Ajax and Ulisses, Narcisses, Cloridon and Radiamanta*, and *Paris and Vienna* were furnished with "apt howses, made of Canvasse, fframed, ffashioned and paynted accordingly; as mighte best serve theier severall purposes;" 1579-80,³ a *History of the Duke of Millayn and the Marques of Mantua* was furnished with "a Countie howse a Cyttye;" a *History of Alucius*, with "a Cittie, a Battlement;" a *History of the Foure Sonnes of Fabyous*, with "a Citie, a Mounte;" a *History of Serpedon*,⁴ with "a greate Citie, a wood, a castell." Unless one supposes changes of setting, which would be difficult with such heavy properties, one must consider these plays as mediaevally staged. But since they were presumably from the regular repertoire of the professional companies, these court presentations could not have differed greatly, especially in such fundamental matters, from the usual public performances of the same plays, and these records are, therefore, especially valuable not only as showing the existence in Elizabethan times of incongruous staging, but as leading to the inference of its existence on the popular stage of that time. *Thersites*⁵ also, Creizenach considers⁶ a play practically of the mediæval type. Here, then, is a direct line of English plays which were doubtless staged in the mediæval fashion, and which clearly bring the custom of the mediæval stage down to the time of Shakespeare.

Instead, therefore, of its seeming unreasonable and impossible to Englishmen to have incongruous properties on the stage, it was quite an accustomed thing, something they had long been used to. Preceding stage custom, the best possible justification and explanation of any dramatic convention, had sanctioned such staging practically since the origin of the drama. There were, moreover, numerous customs of the contemporary stage, partly

¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 571.

² Cunningham, *Revels Accounts*, Vol. II, p. 13, Shak. Soc., 1842. I do not pretend to collect here from the accounts of the Revels all the information of value which they furnish concerning the properties and customs of the Elizabethan theater. That is a subject in itself deserving a separate discussion.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 153.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 155.

⁵ Ward, 1537; pr. 1567, or later.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 540.

perhaps the result of this incongruous staging, but certainly similar to it in effect,—the creation of a symbolic rather than a picture stage, that is, a stage on which the properties are intended only to suggest the scene rather than to picture it completely, congruously, and realistically. Some of these customs have already been alluded to; for example, the unlocated scene. In all the Elizabethan plays these scenes are common. They contain no hint as to the place of the supposed action; they could be imagined as occurring anywhere. Everyone admits their existence; it is therefore quite unnecessary to discuss them at length. It is necessary, however, to notice how consistent they were with the symbolic stage, but how inconsistent with our own. The old-time audience, its imagination left for the moment unemployed, did not attempt to give them any specific background, but accepted them for what they were—unlocated scenes—merely noting the progress of the plot. Modern editors feel called upon to give each its proper setting—a street, a court, a hall, a corridor—as the fancy strikes them. On a stage where the stage picture is of dominating importance such scenes are impossible; on the symbolic stage they caused no difficulty whatever.

Another custom, almost as commonly illustrated as that just spoken of, is the change of scene before the eyes of the audience. Generally without the stage being cleared of actors, the supposed place of action suddenly shifts to an entirely different place. Creizenach¹ notes illustrations of this in Zeigler's *Infanticidium*, III, 1, and in his *Nomothesia* (1574), where a three days' journey is indicated by walking about the stage. The English craft-plays also furnish examples; for instance, in the fourth play of the Towneley cycle the three days' journey of Abraham and Isaac to the mount of sacrifice is indicated in twenty-six lines (139–65). Among the illustrations in Shakespearean times are the following:

Romeo and Juliet (quarto 2, 1599; 4, undated; folio, 1623), I, 4, 5. Romeo and his friends are at first before the house of Capulet, but with the direction, "They march about the Stage, and Serving men come forth with their napkins," the scene changes to the interior of the house.

¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 101.

Alphonsus (1599), I, 1102: The scene up to this point has been in the palace of Amurack. "Amuracke, rise in a rage from thy chaire" (1060). He banishes his wife, and as she is angrily leaving, Medea enters, and says: "Fausta, what meanes this sudden flight of yours? Why do you leave your husbands princely Court, And all alone passe through these thickest groues." The scene has changed before our eyes from the palace to a solitary place.

Dido (1594), I, 1, l. 120: The scene up to this point is not definitely located at all, but since it is between Jupiter, Venus, and Ganymede, one would naturally assume it to be upon Olympus. It certainly is not in the midst of a wood on the seashore near Carthage, where the action from that point on is situated.

Dido (1594), II, 1, l. 306: So far, the scene is in the hall of Dido. At this line it changes suddenly to a grove.

Antonio's Revenge (1602), II, 1 (in the Quarto this is divided into two scenes, but the stage is not cleared): Up to l. 17 the action plainly is in a church about the coffin of Andrugio; the latter part of the scene is before Mellida's chambers.

The illustrations so far advanced might perhaps be explained by supposing a curtain drawn at the point where the scene changes; but no such theory will make the following comply with modern ideas of dramatic congruity. In them the scene changes by the exeunt and immediate re-entry of the characters.

The Brazen Age (1613), p. 177: Hercules, having won Deyaneira, is going away with her when he meets Nissus, and then is stopped by a stream. Nissus exits to carry Deyaneira across the stream, which is thought of as off the stage. Hercules, rushing after him, shoots him with an arrow, and Nissus at once enters, pierced by the arrow, and we learn that the stage is now supposed to represent the other shore.

English Traveller (1633), IV, 3, p. 66: "Tables and Stooles set out; Lights: a Banquet, Wine." At the end of the banquet all the family retire to their chambers, but a guest, Geraldine, is left to rest on a pallet. He cannot sleep and decides to seek the room of his hostess. "He goes in at one doore, and comes out at another"; (p. 69). The scene, in spite of the continued presence of the pallet, and perhaps of the table, is now plainly in the cor-

ridor before the bedroom. He listens at the door, hears voices within, and decides to leave the house.

Old Wives' Tale (1595): The play begins in a lonely place: travelers who have lost their way meet a smith returning home; they approach his house with him. He says: "Come, take heed for stumbling on the threshold. Open door, Madge, take in guests." She enters and says: "Come on, sit down;" and the scene is supposed now to be before the fire in the cottage. Probably they knocked at one door, were greeted by the wife, went in, and then re-entered at another door, so indicating the change of scene.

Iron Age (1632), p. 379: The Greek soldiers are besieging Troy. "Now with a soft march enter at this breach," they say. "They march softly in at one doore, and presently in [out] at another." After this direction the scene is near the wooden horse, which stands within the city.

Sometimes the scene is changed merely by the characters walking about the stage, as it probably was in the illustration just cited from *Romeo and Juliet*. *Faustus* (1604), sc. 11: Faustus having astonished the emperor by his powers, says he wishes to go home, and that he prefers to walk "in this fair and pleasant green," rather than ride. By the end of the scene he is at home, and sits down to sleep in his chair. The 1616 version has no such confusion of place.

George-a-Greene (1599), ll. 1037, 1038. The shoemaker seated at his work sees Jenkins and picks a fight with him which is to occur at the town's end. "Come, sir, wil you go to the townes end now sir?" "I sir, come." In this interval they are supposed to go. The line continues: "Now we are at the townes end, what say you now?"

If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody (1605), p. 244: The scene opens with a great procession. "Queen takes state"—that is, she ascends her throne; after which she pardons her enemies and oppressors. When this is over, Elizabeth says: "And now to London, lords, lead on the way." "Sennet about the Stage in order," is the following direction. Then the mayor of London meets them, saying, "I from this citie London," bring gifts.'

Sir John Oldcastle (1600), ll. 491–701: At the beginning the scene is before Lord Cobham's house (499); by 600 it is before an inn, and by 680, where the Aleman says, “You draw not in my house,” it is within the inn, all without any clearing of the stage. In 902–1162 a journey to Lord Cobham's is similarly made. At 1008 the house is supposed to come in sight; at 1132 the action is before it.

Arden of Feversham (1592), III, 6: Arden is on his way to Raynum Downs. His servant's horse is lame, and the servant leaves Arden, being told to overtake him before reaching the downs. Lines 61–94 indicate the rest of the journey before the downs are reached.

Captain Thomas Stukeley (1605), ll. 120–335: An old man is going to Tom's chamber. He walks from an inn to the house of Stukeley, the scene being supposed to change finally to the chamber itself.

Sometimes, instead of the scene's shifting, the stage *at the same moment* represented two widely separated places. Creizenach, in discussing another point of mediæval staging,¹ gives the following which is applicable here: “Noch 1609, in der Widmung vor seinem *Paulus Naufragus* rthmt sich Balthasar Crusius, er stelle nicht verschiedene Orte zugleich dar und dehne das Theater nicht aus wie eine Landkarte.”² This parting of the stage into different continents, this labeling of the doors, what is it but a modernization of the mediæval staging? Sidney's ‘Asia of one side and Africa of the other,’ Mayne's “the stage was still a stage, two entrances Were not two parts o' the world disjoin'd by seas,” already quoted, show that the same thing was true in England. A typical illustration of this from the plays of Shakespeare is to be found in *Richard III* (1597), V, 3, where the tents of the two rival generals are represented upon the stage at once, and therefore of course much closer together than they could naturally have been.

A slightly different example occurs in *Travels of the Three English Brothers* (1607, Queen's), p. 90. “Enter three seuerall waies the three Brothers; Robert with the state of Persia as

¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 102.

² See also *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 101, 102.

before, Sir Anthonie with the King of Spaine and others, where hee receiuues the Order of Saint Iago, and other Officers; Sir Thomas, in England, with his Father and others. Fame giues to each a prospectiue glasse, they seme to see one another and offer to embrace, at which Fame parts them, and so: *Exeunt.*" Fame goes on to explain that each is in the country in which he was just represented, and the play closes.

A very similar scene occurs in *Eastward Ho* (1605), IV, 1. The scene is laid near the Thames at Cuckold's Haven. "Enter Slitgut with a pair of ox-horns, discovering Cuckold's Haven above"—probably a scene-board to that effect. He mounts a tree to leave upon it, according to custom, his master's tribute of the ox-horns, and from that height—either of a tree upon the stage or of the balcony—comments on what he sees. "And now let me discover from this lofty prospect," he says, "what pranks the rude Thames plays in her desperate lunacy." He sees a boat cast away and one of her passengers swimming; "his next land is even just below me." At these words Security enters and Slitgut greets him. Security exits and Slitgut again looks about him. He sees a woman swimming to shore at St. Katharine's and immediately the woman and a waiter in a tavern at St. Katharine's come on the stage below him and, acting their parts, are supposed to exit into the tavern there; Slitgut sees Quicksilver land at Wapping, and Quicksilver appears on the lower stage in a short soliloquy; then a party appears on the stage as at the Isle of Dogs; they meet Quicksilver, who a moment before was at Wapping, and a little later Security, who landed at Cuckold's Haven, enters to knock at the tavern in St. Katharine's. Finally, when all on the lower stage have gone, Slitgut descends with the words: "Now will I descend my honorable prospect; the farthest seeing sea-mark of the world; no marvel then, if I could see two miles about me." The tree or balcony was throughout the scene supposed to represent Cuckold's Haven, but the lower stage at the same time was Cuckold's Haven, St. Katharine's, Wapping, the Isle of Dogs, St. Katharine's, and then Cuckold's Haven again.

These examples of change of scene and of absolute simultane-

ity of scene show how greatly the Elizabethan stage differed from our own in its very conception and principle. It is plainly enough not a picture stage, but almost exactly analogous to the old stage of mediæval days. So far nothing corresponding to the "houses," etc., has been called attention to, but the juxtaposition of places far apart is plainly of frequent occurrence. The stage represents now this place, now that, without any division of scenes; or, even more boldly, this place *and* that at the same moment. Actors remain upon the stage, while it, like the magic carpet, shifts them about wherever the dramatist wishes. We are accustomed still to the convention of dramatic time by which we allow two hours to pass in ten minutes; or, in the act intervals, twenty years in a quarter of an hour. We have lost the very similar convention of dramatic distance, if one may coin a new term, which, no more illogically nor unreasonably, allowed two feet to represent as many miles, and annihilated space as the other does time.

The plays, however, do show exact parallels to the incongruous "houses." Percy's play, *Cuckqueens' and Cuckolds' Errands* (MSS dated 1601),¹ does not differ in principle from the plays of the Middle Ages. Instead of hell, Galilee, Nazareth, Jerusalem, represented by some sort of structure, Harwich, Maldon, Colchester are represented by labels displayed *simultaneously* upon the stage. When the scene was at Maldon, for example, the sign of Harwich was as incongruous and realistically improbable as the presence of Nazareth and Jerusalem on the same stage. All plays with scene-boards which represented different places must have offered similar illustrations. The only reason why the *Faery Pastoral* (MSS dated 1603) and *Aphrodisial* (MSS dated 1602) do not clearly indicate this same thing is because their scenes are laid in imaginary places where distance is unknown. The quotations from Sidney and Mayne must be a third time referred to, to remind the reader how long the custom of scene-boards continued; it will be noticed that it is not against the scene-boards themselves, but against this very matter of unreality, that both critics were contending.

¹ See the directions quoted in Part I of this study.

It may be objected that scene-boards are not real properties and do not correspond to the old "houses." One can allow incongruous signs more readily than incongruous settings. But the *Errands* with its ladder and its Image of Tarlton, and the *Faery Pastoral* with its chapel, kiln, cot, oak, etc., certainly show incongruous properties which cannot be disputed, and which would have spoiled the complete realism of the stage picture, had any been attempted. The scene already referred to in the *English Traveler* (1633), IV, 3, was also incongruously staged; for though the scene had changed from a dining-room into a corridor, the pallet on which Geraldine had slept must still have remained in sight. So in the scene of *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody*. While the procession passed about the stage symbolizing the journey to London, the throne Elizabeth had used still remained in its place. Practically all the examples of clashes noted in the preceding discussion of the alternation theory could be used as proofs of this incongruous staging. The weaker the argument to prove that the doors and balcony were outside the curtains, the stronger is the evidence for incongruity of staging. If the doors and balcony were all on the rear stage, so that it could not be concealed while they were in sight, the following scenes, already described, must, for example, have presented incongruity:

Antonio's Revenge (1602), II, 1: The hearse of Andrugio certainly remained on the stage till the end of the scene, and would be an incongruous property when in the midst of the scene the place of action changed to the space before Mellida's chamber.

Wounds of Civil War (1594), V, 2: If the balcony was not outside the curtain and there was no pause in the play, the throne used in sc. 3 must have been on throughout sc. 2, even though the throne was the seat of Sulla at Rome and the scene was happening before Preneste.

David and Bethsabe (1599), I, 2: If the curtain did not hide the balcony and there was no pause in the play, the "spring" in which Bethsabe bathed must have remained on in this scene, before the walls of Rabath.

Probably these scenes are best explained by supposing the

alcove stage. There are scenes, however, in the old plays which the alcove stage will not explain, and which no assumed confusion or omission of the text will account for—scenes in which it is clear that properties were on the stage during scenes to which they were not at all suitable.

Tamburlaine (1592), IV, 2: The scene is described as before Damascus: “Now may we see Damascus’ lofty tower” (l. 102). Tamburlaine orders Bajazeth brought forth and makes him serve as his footstool: “Tamburlaine get up on him to his chair” (l. 30). Though the scene is clearly out of doors in the open country, an elevated regal chair is nevertheless introduced without comment or explanation. Similar scenes occur in *David and Bethsabe*, II, 4, and *Wonder of Women*, V, 2.

English Traveller (1633), IV, p. 79: The scene is outside a house. A number of gentlemen, in order to entrap Reignald, a servant who has been deceiving them, “withdraw behind the Arras,” says the direction. Whether this arras were the curtain or not, whether it was open or drawn across the stage, it certainly was not a suitable furnishing for a street scene. Such incongruity must have existed in practically every scene where the stage was supposed to represent anything but a room, for the curtain in every out scene was ever present.

Titus Andronicus (1600), I, 1: We have become accustomed to this scene from its presence in Shakespeare; but what is the congruity of having a private tomb represented in the same scene as a meeting of the Senate? It only shows that, in the matter of dramatic convention, custom and not reason dominates. Whether we should so lightly pass over the incongruity of this scene if it were actually represented on our picture stage is doubtful.

Sapho and Phao (1584), IV, 3: Sapho, presumably in bed, and her maids tell each other their dreams. At the end Sapho orders them to “draw the curtaine.” The maids are not directed to go out. Scene 4 is at the shop of Vulcan where he and his men make the arrows for Venus. There is no direct demand for a forge, but something, it seems, must have been used, since the making was plainly acted upon the stage. Bond supposes the

forge to have been behind the curtain; when the curtains were closed after sc. 2 the room furnishings may, it is true, have been removed, and the forge setting put in their place, the curtain being opened in sc. 4 when the making of the arrows began. Act V seems to continue without a break, however, Venus and Cupid continuing upon the stage. Venus says she "will tarrie for Cupid at the forge," while he goes to Sapho—a remark useless and meaningless unless the forge is on the stage and she actually does remain by it. Venus continues to wait for Cupid into sc. 2, which is in Sapho's chamber again, until finally, in the middle of the scene, she detects Cupid in Sapho's lap. Yet the forge has not been removed. The next and final scene of the comedy is before the cave of Sybilla. Clearly, if a forge existed—and if it did not, why the useless speech of Venus?—it was on the stage at the same time that the scene of action was in Sapho's court. If there is anything at all in the "clashes" of properties—that is, if the performance was continuous—and if anything represented the cave, it also must have been upon the stage during the same scene, and, since it is used frequently in the play, perhaps was on during the whole performance.

Parasitaster (1606), IV, 1: Bullen says the scene is within the palace. Gonzago enters in full state. But at l. 638 Dulcimel, his daughter, says: "Father, do you see that tree, that leans just on my chamber window?" Line 650, she says to him: "To Dulcimel's chamber-window A well-grown plane tree spreads his happy arms." Line 700, the Duke says to Tiberio: "This plane tree was not planted here To get into my daughter's chamber." This sounds very much as if an actual tree were intended, though it need not necessarily be on the stage. But the next act shows that it probably is. The action of V, 1, obviously in the same scene, is told sufficiently in the directions: "Whilst the Act is a-playing, Hercules and Tiberio enter; Tiberio climbs the tree, and is received above by Dulcimel, Philocalia, and a Priest: Hercules stays beneath;" (l. 128) "The Duke enters . . . and takes his state;" (l. 145) several people "lead Cupid to his state;" (l. 461) "Tiberio and Duleimel above are discovered hand in hand." In short, a tree and a throne were both on the

stage at one time, the scene being supposed to be *at once* the inside and the outside of the palace; or, to state it more exactly, nowhere at all, because no scene, no background, was conceived of.

The Brazen Age (1613): This highly spectacular play, surprising as it is in its demands upon the staging, was performed upon a public stage, or, if not performed, written by Heywood, an experienced playwright, who would not absolutely violate theatrical custom.¹ The objection that the *Brazen Age* is too much like a masque to use it for evidence of popular methods does not apply either, for it was played, if played at all, in a popular playhouse and must have conformed to playhouse customs. There could have been little difference anyway between masques and popular plays in such fundamental dramatic conventions as these. If anything, the masques, appealing to the cultured and critical audience at the court, would have been the more realistic and the less likely to use this staging under discussion. Any illustration of it from the *Brazen Age* gets therefore added force from this consideration as well as the later date of the play.

Act 5, sc. 3, is as follows: Scene 2 was at Omphale's, where the Greek heroes have come to rouse Hercules from his effeminate captivity. He goes to make a vow at Jove's altar, Omphale remaining in soliloquy. Scene 3 begins with: "Enter to the sacrifice two Priests to the Altar, sixe Princes with sixe of his labours, in the midst Hercules bearing his two brazen pillars, six other Princes, with the other six labours, Hercules staies them." Lychas brings him, as in the familiar story, the poisoned shirt, and Hercules puts it on. "All the Princes kneel to the Altar." Hercules is seized with agony and goes out raging, the others except Lychas following him. Hercules returns directly to Lychas and kills him. The scene meanwhile must have shifted, for Omphale says:

¹That these plays of the Ages were probably performed the following quotations show: In "To the Reader" of *The Golden Age*, Heywood says: "This is the *Golden Age*, the eldest brother of three Ages that have aduentured the Stage, but the onely one yet that hath beene iudged to the Presse." *The Brazen Age* is in its address to the reader called "the third brother," but has no mention of acting. "To the Reader" of *The Iron Age*, after speaking of the *Gold, Silver, Brass, and Iron Ages*—the last in two parts—continues: "Lastly, I desire thee to take notice, that these were the Playes often (and not with the least applause) Publickely Acted by two Companies, vpon one Stage at once, and haue at sundry times thronged three severall Theaters, with numerous and mighty Auditories." Though "these plays" could refer to the two parts of *The Iron Age*, this is, as Ward says (Vol. II, p. 578), quite improbable. All four were probably given on the stage.

"Beneath this rocke where we haue often kist, I will lament." "Enter Hercules from a rocke aboue, tearing downe trees." Hercules kills Omphale with a peece of a rocke," and appeals to the Princes to help him in his agony. "All the Princes break downe the trees and make a fire, in which Hercules placeth himselfe." "He burnes his Club, and Lyons Skin." "Iupiter aboue strikes him with a thunder-bolt, his body sinkes and from the heauens discends a hand in a cloud, that from the place where Hercules was burnt, brings vp a starre and fixeth in the firmament." A report comes of Deyaneira's death and at the command of Jason to "take vp these monuments of his twelue labours", the princes exeunt, bearing off the pillars, which in spite of the change of scene from temple to open wilderness, have remained upon the stage. Even if this play were not performed, Heywood obviously writes it with the stage in mind: the conventions it illustrates are those of the stage, and one of those conventions is certainly that of incongruous properties.

These are not all the possible examples of scenes where a property is upon the stage during a scene to which it is unsuitable, but they are the best and clearest I have found. Other plays, however, illustrate the incongruous staging in another way. Suppose a play shows in several scenes scattered through it the use of the same property or setting, which is heavy or for some reason difficult to fix in place. Or suppose a property so used is small and unobtrusive. Is it not reasonable to suppose, in view of the fact that incongruous properties were allowed upon the stage, that these plays illustrate such a usage? Some examples have already been given: the tree in the *Parasitaster* used through acts IV and V; the cave, if one existed, in *Sapho and Phao*, referred to in II, 1, 2, 4; V, 3; the lodge, etc., of the *Faery Pastoral*; the ladder of the *Cuckqueens' and Cuckolds' Errands*; and the labels of the same play. *The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* (1590) has hung up through most of the play the arms of the Three Lords, for they are all alluded to again and again (pp. 378, 403, 458, 473, for example). The scene does not change very much, almost approaching to a classical type of staging, but certainly does a little; and in these scenes the arms were incongruous.

The Case is Altered (acted 1599), III, 2, is another example of the small unobtrusive property. Jacques in this scene hides his gold in a hole in his yard and covers it with horse-dung. Scene 3 is at Ferneze's house; IV, 1, 2, are in the same; in sc. 3 Juniper is in his shop singing, presumably on the rear stage; but sc. 4 is the same as III, 2, with the pile of horse-dung undisturbed as Jacques left it. To imagine that it had remained there all the time is not difficult, and, in view of the other illustrations presented, perhaps it will not be too much to suppose that the tree into which Onion climbs had also been on the stage throughout the intervening scenes. Since the shop scenes almost certainly, and the house scenes, very probably, were on the rear stage, the tree and dung would be both on the front stage, and incongruous during those scenes.

Alphonsus (1599, but written 1589?): This play is an illustration of incongruous staging, if any property for woods existed. It is one of the plays which go far toward proving that such a property did exist, for it so uselessly, and yet so consistently, alludes to it. It is easy enough to see why a dramatist, when a plot imperatively demands a background of woods, might put in lines referring to them, even though no real setting was employed; but when the imagined situation does not require woods, or when it is actually out of keeping with the presence of woods, such textual allusions can be explained most naturally by supposing that some such setting actually existed, and that the textual allusions perhaps arise from its presence upon the stage.¹ Scene 1 is practically unlocated, but in it Venus, whom the stage directions bade to "stand aside," comes forth saying: "From thickest shrubs dame Venus did espie The mortall hatred which you ioyntly beare." (92, 93). In sc. 2 Carinus bids farewell to his son Alphonsus, and says: "Meantime Carinus in this sillie groue Will spend his daies with praiers and horizons" (179, 180).

In II, 1, Alphonsus overcomes Flaminus, the usurper of the

¹ The proof for wood settings, though not absolutely convincing, is stronger than that for almost any other property, the existence of which must be established from the plays alone. It is too long to be given here, but will be discussed in a later paper on Elizabethan properties. Brodmeier admits their existence (p. 65). If they existed, they took sometimes the form of separate trees, for in a large majority of cases a single tree is used as part of the wood scene.

throne, and bids one of the nobles bring back his army "Into this wood" (455). Though this is not the same wood as that in sc. 2, nor probably that in sc. 1, the setting seems the same. But in the midst of the scene is the direction, "Alphonsus sit in the Chaire;" and the place of action seems quite uncertain. Near the end of the scene Laelius leads in the soldiers spoken of before, and says to them: "Let vs lurke within the secret shade Which he [Alphonsus] himselfe appointed vnto vs" (699, 700).

Act III, sc. 1, is before Naples, but requires either chairs for three kings or one long seat. Sc. 2 is at the Turkish court, and since the scene is one of ceremony and Amurack is certainly sitting, it is possible that "chaire" means a throne. After the visitors are gone, Amurack—his wife Fausta and his daughter sitting at his feet—falls asleep, and Medea conjures up visions before him, Colchas rising up through a trapdoor "in a white Cirples [surplice] and a Cardinals Myter." The visions concern the fate of his daughter, and Amurack describes them in his sleep. They anger his wife, who wakes him. "Amuracke rise in a rage from thy chaire." He banishes her, but (the direction is addressed to Fausta) "Make as though you were agoing out, Medea meete her and say, 'Fausta, what meanes this sudden flight of yours? Why do you leaue your husbands princely Court, And all alone passe through these thickest groues.'" Fausta replies: "No toy . . . nor foolish fancie ledde me to these groues." The groves and chair were on the stage at the same time; probably the grove remained on through all the play, or at least to the end of this act.

Two Lamentable Tragedies (1601): This play tells in alternating scenes the story of two murders, one in London, the other in Italy. The London story uses two shops. If anything besides the doors represented the two shops—and it is necessary to see into both—it is not easy to imagine that the shops were taken off during each scene in Padua. Perhaps labels above the doors and signs were all the furnishings; but even then incongruity would result.

Alexander and Campaspe (1584): Bond¹ supposes the tub of

¹ Vol. II, p. 545.

Diogenes brought on and carried off each time, this being necessary sometimes in the midst of scenes. It is much simpler to imagine the tub on the stage all the time, and that it was supposed included in the scene of action only when alluded to.

Wonder of Women (1606, Blackfriars): This play has already been alluded to several times, once to prove that the doors were not concealed by the curtain. I believe that the evidence of the play shows this statement to be true; but if it does not, and if the doors did open on the rear stage, the result is to make the staging only more incongruous than ever. The principal illustration occurs in the third and fourth acts. Act III, sc. 1, is in the palace of Syphax at Citra. He is trying to compel Sophonisba to yield to him, and enters, dragging her in. She finally feigns consent, only stipulating that she be allowed to offer a private sacrifice. He gives the desired permission, but leaves behind him Vangue, his slave, to watch her, and bribes her maid Zanthia. "Enter under the conduct of Zanthia and Vangue the solemnity of a sacrifice; which being entered, whilst the attendants furnish the altar, Sophonisba sings a song." She sends away all but Vangue and Zanthia, and, making Vangue drunk, "They lay Vangue in Syphax' bed and draw the curtains." Then Sophonisba escapes through a vault which leads from the bedchamber to "a grove one league from Citra." Syphax enters immediately, and, "offering to leap into bed, he discovers Vangue," whom he kills, and then, sending Zanthia before him, he goes through the vault in pursuit of Sophonisba.

So far all is congruous enough. If the curtains referred to are those of the rear stage, the door presumably, the trap and the altar certainly, are on the front stage. If only bed curtains are intended, all, so far as yet appears, may be on the rear stage. Sc. 2, however, begins with the direction: "Enter Scipio and Laelius with the complements of Roman Generals before them. At the other door, Massinissa [the husband of Sophonisba] and Jugurth."¹ This mention of the doors shows that the doors cer-

¹ It may be objected that all the rear-stage furnishings might have been removed while the curtains were closed, and the curtains again opened for sc. 2. But the succeeding scenes make this unlikely. Of course, if one wished to suppose even sc. 2 played with the bed, etc., in view, the doors may have opened upon the curtained space. This, however, would only add another example of incongruity—and throughout this argument I am endeavoring to accept every possible objection and to limit myself to unmistakable illustrations.

tainly were outside the curtains, but does not make clear whether altar and trap were or not. The scene is unlocated, and is only eighty-five lines long.

Act IV opens at the other end of the secret passage. "Enter Sophonisba and Zanthia, as out of a cave's mouth." From the textual allusions this is clearly in a forest. One may doubt, however, that any wood-setting was used, since this is the only scene in the play requiring it. Yet if the theater had such a setting for other plays, perhaps it was used here also. Syphax enters soon after Sophonisba, and, once more failing in winning her, sends her away. Then he summons up a witch, Erictho, who promises to put Sophonisba in his power by means of charms. When he sees Sophonisba approaching his bed, he is to say nothing and have no light by. While Erictho is off the stage working her charms there is much music, among other directions indicating this being: "A treble viol, a base lute, etc., play softly within the canopy" (l. 201); then "Enter Erictho in the shape of Sophonisba, her face veiled, and hasteth to the bed of Syphax." After a short speech, "Syphax hasteneth within the canopy, as to Sophonisba's bed," and the act closes.

Here three things are noticeable: first, the change of scene without clearing the stage, with the sudden reference to a bed in the midst of a wood scene; second, the use of the term "canopy" as if the bed were concealed behind it; and, third, the position of the trap outside the canopy. The "canopy"¹ seems equivalent to the curtains of the rear stage. Yet the use of incongruous properties here is not as yet illustrated, unless one assume a wood-setting on the front stage, for the bed was concealed by the curtain, and the curtain, so commonly incongruous in out scenes, may for the moment be disregarded.

Act V continues the action from the point where Act IV left off. The direction reads: "Syphax draws the curtain," certainly from within, "and discovers Erictho lying with him"—perhaps this is the bed curtain. "They leap out of bed." "Erictho slips into the ground as Syphax offers his sword to her." Syphax

¹ This term seems used with a similar meaning in other plays; e. g., Percy's *Faery Pastoral*, "Lowest of all over the Canopie ΝΑΙΠΑΙΤΒΟΔΔΙΟΝ or Faery Chappell. In V, 5, characters went into this chapel and "seated themselves both."

kneels at the altar cursing when "Out of the altar the ghost of Asdrubal ariseth."

The altar was near the trap, probably in front of it, so the ghost could seem to rise from the altar; the trap was outside the canopy, as we saw in the preceding act; therefore the altar was also outside the canopy or rear-stage curtain. It would hardly have been removed from there during Act IV, and, if not, would in that scene have been an incongruous property. Why should it have been removed? This incongruity would not have disturbed anybody, for in V, 2, where the scene is a battlefield, there is a textual allusion, "Seize that hill," and the following directions; "Scipio leads his train up to the mount;" "Scipio passeth to his throne." A battlefield with a throne is no more incongruous than a wood with an altar.

The Old Wives' Tale (1595, Queen's): The stage in this play was either the alcove stage, with the alcove arranged as a study, or a stage of one of the other types, with a door or a structure for the study. The study was probably concealed by a curtain (p. 343, where Delia is discovered sitting asleep). In front of this curtain, but, if one chooses, behind the regular stage curtain, stood a large cross and a well (some arrangement of the trap), in no way associated in the play, and perhaps not on the stage at the same time; there was also, near the study or cell, a turf which concealed a glass holding a light. There were on the stage, probably all of the time, a table, chairs or seats of some kind, and perhaps a wood-setting. That the study, the cross and the turf, and the study, the well and the turf, were on the stage together, though the study and the well, and the study and the cross, are not supposed to be related at all, is shown by the following scheme of properties:

Pp. 309-13, cross; 314, interlude by harvest men; 314-18, cross; 318-22, study, turf, and light, probably a table; 322-26, cross; 327, song by harvest men; 327-31, before the cell or study; the turf and light; 331-36, well, before the study; 336-39, table; 339-41, the well; 341-47, before the study, the turf and light, the trap.

How were these plays staged? The simplest and most reasonable answer seems to me to be that at the beginning of the play

all the heavy, naturally immovable properties to be used throughout the performance were in place, either on the front or rear stage, whichever one thinks more probable; or, better, with some on the front stage and others behind the curtains. In the *Old Wives' Tale* perhaps the well-setting was not put on until p. 327 during the song, since it was not necessary until after that point. Plays in which any property was used but once probably had it placed behind the curtain, where it could be quickly and easily arranged, discovered, and removed to make way for the next. Properties like beds or banquets were, when circumstances forbade the use of the rear stage or its convenient arrangement, brought on and carried off at the point where the action demanded. But properties, either difficult to move, like the well in *Old Wives' Tale*, or so small as to be unobtrusive, like the turf and light, were, when once brought on, left upon the stage as long as they were to be used, even though some scenes intervened to which they were inappropriate. As each of them was to be noticed by the audience some allusion was made to it in the text or it was used in the action; otherwise it was not thought present any more than the Elizabethan gallants seated around it.

It may be objected that this solution is not the only possible one, that there are very few illustrations cited, and that the whole is too unreasonable to be accepted. On the contrary, this incongruity is more reasonable than the logical and harmonious alternation staging. It would be strange indeed if the mediæval customs, which the studies of Creizenach, Chambers, and Jusserand show to have continued down to the time of Elizabeth, had suddenly been obliterated. It would be stranger still if, in the midst of such incongruities as the use of scene-boards and the change of scene within a scene, absolute congruity in regard to properties should have existed. Instead of the incongruous staging being unreasonable, it is, from the point of view of history, the most reasonable of all. It is not fair to attempt to force the plays into other forms. Of course, by assuming that, in the *Old Wives' Tale*, for example, the cross was removed at the end of each scene in which it was used, and replaced again at the beginning of the next scene in which it was required, the incon-

gruity can be explained away. But why should one do so? The scenes from *Tamburlaine*, *Titus Andronicus*, *The Parasitaster*, *The Brazen Age*, etc., cannot be so explained; *The Cuckqueens' and Cuckolds' Errands* cannot by any scheme be made other than incongruous; dramatic distance, and change of scene within scenes, surely existed. Merely because our notions of propriety do not allow such things now is no reason for denying them in the past. It is true that there are comparatively few examples; if there had been many, they would not so long have escaped observation. The large number of lost plays, moreover, especially of this earlier period, must not be forgotten. For one illustration still existing, there may originally have been a dozen. It is also necessary to notice that of existing plays only a very few are at all definite as to their staging, and that, the more circumstantial and precise the directions, the more the traces of incongruous staging. If the inconclusive plays had been published with complete and specific directions, the chances are that our list of examples would be doubled. I have used as my tests of incongruity the presence in the same scene of incongruous properties, and the recurrence in a play of a property not easily moved or too small to be much in the way. This is a severe test, a situation which few plots would be likely to bring about. There are probably other manifestations of mediæval custom on the Elizabethan stage which we know nothing of and which we have as yet no means of detecting. There are other plays, such as *Dido, Histriomastix*, *Love's Metamorphosis*, which I think furnish examples when tried even by these tests, but which are not certain enough to be cited as evidence. In view of these considerations, even the few illustrations assume an importance out of proportion to their number. The fact that the plays from which they are drawn vary widely in date, in author, and in place of production, renders them all the more valuable and makes the proof of the existence of an incongruous staging on the Elizabethan stage as sure as any proof on such a subject can be.

One may almost say, indeed, that it is the only theory of staging which could have been true of the Shakespearean theater. That theater could not, in the very nature of things, have had a

picture stage: the shifts of scene just alluded to forbade it; the spectators seated upon the stage forbade it; the ever-present curtain as a background for all front-stage scenes forbade it. If the dramatists had attempted to secure perfect realism, they would have been bound to stricter rules than the Greeks. The chorus was liberty itself as compared with these conditions; for the chorus could be of any city and of any time; the Elizabethan stage audience was always Elizabethan and the scene must always have been London. The very strictness of the bonds compelled them to be broken, and the stage for the playwright of Shakespeare's day was necessarily only a platform upon which his characters stood, while the scene was anywhere his fancy dictated or his plot required. The properties did not picture the background, they only suggested and symbolized it.

This conclusion explains several things in connection with the plays. The curtain, so necessary in the view of the alternationists, becomes of secondary importance, and one understands why there are so few directions for it. Possibly not many more rear-stage scenes occurred than the directions definitely indicate. One understands, too, why there are so few directions for the use of properties, though the textual demands are more numerous, and though we know that the stage was furnished with fair completeness. If they were put in place at the beginning of the play and remained throughout the performance, directions concerning them would be useless. For example, the table, which seems so often assumed as present, probably was present most of the time, standing out of the way in one corner when not in use, and, when desired, brought into the center of the stage. Perhaps, too, this custom explains the number of textual allusions to properties: these allusions were possibly inserted, not to take the place of properties, but to indicate which, at the moment, were to be noticed. This, however, could not have been very necessary. There is no reason for supposing that a large number of properties ever crowded the stage. *The Old Wives' Tale* and the *Faery Pastoral* —the first with its cross, well, study, and turf; the second with its kiln, cot, oak, and well—are certainly more crowded than most of the plays.

Certain opinions concerning the Elizabethan theaters are confirmed by this incongruous staging. One of these is not, however, that which pictures the Shakesperean audience as primitive and childlike in imagination. That they accepted such an unrealistic staging was a result, not of any peculiar quality of their minds, but of their education and previous dramatic experience. It does not show that they were lacking in a desire for realism in their stage productions. Hardly a page of the accounts of the office of the Revels, which arranged the court plays, but shows how strong this desire was. But the desire for realism seems to have been concerned more with the individual properties than with a realistic general setting. In every consideration of the Elizabethan theater the fact must be remembered that it was not an illusion, a picture stage, but that it was largely symbolic. From that point of view, its body of stage customs is complex, but reasonable; from any other, it is absurd and inexplicable.

The opinion, often expressed, that the poetry of this drama was largely owing to the conditions of its production is in a measure true. The stage was certainly fairly provided with furnishings, but creating little scenic allusion, could not adequately create "atmosphere," and it became the task of the poet to do the work of the scene-painter. Not so much by description of the actual imagined setting—that would only increase the incongruity—but by the general tone which the poetry gives, Shakespeare and almost all the early dramatists strove to illumine their symbolic stage.

As the symbolic stage increased the task of the dramatist by requiring that he supply the background which it could not, it at the same time gave him greater freedom. Many have called attention to the influence in this way of the triple stage; the incongruous staging certainly increased it also. Because of this freedom, the drama was able to deal with many subjects no longer considered possible to it. The constructive importance of acts and scenes seems almost to have been unobserved; almost every scene began with an entrance and ended, not with a situation, but with an exit, binding the whole play into one connected story; while in many cases the plot was not dramatic, but

rather a history, a novel, or a romance told in dialogue. *Tamburlaine* is such a play; so are most of Shakespeare's historical plays. They begin at the beginning, and they tell the whole story with all its details. It is useless to attempt to fit them into the dramatic strait-jacket of exposition, climax, and resolution. What is obviously true of these plays is probably true of many others. One may be permitted to question whether it ever occurred to most of the dramatists that there was such a thing as dramatic construction in the sense in which we understand it; and to doubt if there is much advantage, except a possible pedagogic one, in striving to make their plays comply with this modern theory. Rather, theirs was a narrative art, and their subjects were often narrative subjects. They dealt with these subjects as a novelist does, giving the smaller points as well as the greater. Often the plays lack any dominating conflict, but are rather a series of dramatic situations clustered about some single figure. To say that this was all a result of the stage construction and stage customs would be extreme and untrue, but their influence must have been great. In its fulness of treatment of the story, in its narrative rather than its dramatic art, in its greater range of subject, the Elizabethan drama shows the influence of the Elizabethan stage.

Which of the four forms of staging—the simple method of the early days, the classical method of *Jocasta*, the alternation staging, or the incongruous—was most prevalent, is a question which must, in the very nature of things, remain open. The classical form could not have been very common, for the plays in their frequent changes of scene would not allow it. The others seem rather to have been used together than in any separate and carefully distinguished way. *The Old Wives' Tale*, for example, may have changed during the outer scenes the study of Sacrapant into a place where Delia is discovered asleep, so illustrating the alternation principle; but the previous presence of incongruous properties shows the staging of the play to have been symbolic also. Absolute tests for both alternation and incongruity are lacking; it is therefore impossible to give any definite answer to the question opening the paragraph. But if the question be

varied to ask what is the relative frequency of apparent confusion and consistency, some answer may be attempted. For as these changes of place within the scene, this dramatic distance, this incongruity of properties are all confusion from our point of view, so alternation is consistency and orderliness. This is, indeed, one of the arguments against it. What chance was there for orderliness or consistency, such as the alternation theory demands, on a stage where there was so much confusion and incoherence? The alternation theory really means an approach to the modern notion of an harmonious stage picture. There was no chance for the congruity it demands, unless one grant the existence of the alcove rear stage. In that case it is conceivable that the Elizabethan theater presented a stage at once modern and mediaeval in its customs. By 1603 the mediæval customs were not gone out of use; the symbolic use of properties, incongruity, the convention of dramatic distance, still existed. But on the rear stage, if we are not compelled to suppose every scene using the door, the balcony, or properties, as behind the curtain, there may have been presented a congruous stage picture, especially if the rear stage were not too large to be furnished with fair completeness. Even in the *Wonder of Women*, for example, the rear stage could then in every important detail have represented a bedroom, and though the altar, the throne, even the trees perhaps, were all in plain sight on the front stage, in mediæval fashion, the rear stage would nevertheless be coherent and harmonious in itself.

If this was actually the case, and complete realism was once really introduced even in a few scenes, it is easy to see that the tendency would be to make all the play similarly realistic, and that the mediæval customs would gradually disappear. This would be true because the people were naturally fond of realism and delighted in it, and because men like Sidney and Jonson, accustomed to classical unity and propriety, were already objecting to the old incongruity.

But it seems to me impossible to trace, during the strict Elizabethan period at least, any marked decay of mediæval custom. The illustrations which I have cited date from the last

years of the period quite as often as from the earlier years. Only two cases showing elimination of incongruity are known to me, and they may be purely fortuitous.¹

Plays really illustrating these incongruities may, of course, from our imperfect means of detecting them, pass unnoticed, and other forms of incongruity may also have existed of which we know nothing. Perhaps a critical study of all the plays produced between 1559 and 1642 would show more clearly the way in which the mediæval customs were lost in the modern, but that is outside my present inquiry. All I am attempting to show is that in 1603 the English theater still exhibited in the apparent confusion of its staging traces of mediæval influence.

"Apparent" confusion, however, for the incongruous staging is incongruous only so long as we insist upon looking at it from a modern point of view. If we once fully admit that the Elizabethan stage was hardly more than a platform for acting and not a mimic world in itself, the performance of a play with "incongruous" staging becomes no more incongruous than is the performance of a modern public reader. Genée² and Kilian³ have both noted the symbolic nature of the Elizabethan front stage, but they have not noted, or have indeed denied these farther proofs of symbolism—the scene-boards, dramatic distance, incongruous properties, etc., the very customs which make the recognition of symbolism most necessary and most important. To insist upon the modern point of view as regards the staging of the old plays is, of course, to make them seem unreasonable and absurd. So long as editors continue to introduce into the old plays their own misleading divisions into scenes and their own

¹ *Faustus* (1604), sc. 11, shows a shift of scene which the 1616 version avoids. *James IV* (1598) has two sets of actinterludes. One set (printed by Manly between each act) indicates exits at the end of each interlude, and the references to "our harbour" (351), "our sell" (369), suggests that Oberon and Bohun concealed themselves in the tomb mentioned in the Induction. This tomb would thus be an incongruous setting during the scenes of the play itself. The other set (printed by Manly, p. 351) allows the supposition that Oberon and Bohun remained in the balcony throughout the play observing the action, since there is no hint that the two went off at the end of each interlude. If the tomb were actually so used in the former set of interludes (and this is doubtful), and if the gallery were the place of observation in the other set (and this is doubtful, too), the second set would make unnecessary an incongruous property. In neither *Faustus* nor *James IV*, however, is it at all certain that the versions showing incongruity represent the earlier form of production.

² *Jahrbuch*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 139 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 231.

meaningless location of scenes, so long will the plays seem chaotic and unintelligible. But as soon as they are considered from the point of view of the symbolic stage, there is hardly an extant play which does not in its staging become reasonable, coherent, and effective. The actual restoration of the Elizabethan stage is probably neither possible nor desirable; most modern audiences, seeing one of Shakespeare's plays presented as in his day, would in all probability be only confused and irritated. Perhaps the unset front stage may still prove advantageous in Shakespearean productions, but the old customs of scene-boards, sudden shifts of place within scenes, incongruous properties, etc., are probably lost forever. But, if lost to the stage, they are not necessarily lost to the closet, and as readers, if not as spectators, of the Elizabethan drama, we can still see it as it was and not as modern conditions make it appear to be.

I have in this discussion endeavored among minor matters to make clear the existence of scene-boards, the existence of three stage doors, and the probability of the existence of an alcove rear stage, though also insisting that no one form of stage was universal or exclusive. In more general topics I have attempted only to show that the advocates of alternation, in founding their speculations on too narrow a basis and on an as yet unproved, if not improbable, idea of stage-construction, are using tests contradictory to each other and sometimes certainly untrue; that, in consequence, the theory has been supposed to apply where it certainly does not, and its importance overemphasized; that Elizabethan stage custom, instead of being the simple, essentially modern thing the alternationists would make it, was a complex growth, uniting with some realistic methods elements of incongruity similar to, if not derived from, those of the mediæval stage; and that, if we would secure a proper idea of the Elizabethan drama, we must abandon our modern notions of stage propriety, and read the old plays from the point of view of the symbolic "incongruous" stage.

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REFERENCES TO DANTE IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH LITERATURE

Apparently no attempt has yet been made to estimate in detail the extent of the influence of Dante in seventeenth-century English literature, except, of course, for articles on Milton, and for such general and guarded statements as that of Professor Ker: "References to Dante are not frequent in this age [i. e., Dryden's]; there is little to note between Davenant's disrespectful mention of him in the preface to *Gondibert* and Gray's temperate appreciation."¹ It is the purpose of this article to gather some of the references and allusions to Dante from 1600 to 1700, as a contribution to the history of his fame in England, and as a means of testing the general impression that, apart from Milton, Dante was almost unknown, or at least as good as unknown, to the authors and poets of the age.

At the opening of the seventeenth century, a knowledge of Dante might have been secured in several ways, even by men unacquainted with Italian.² First in time and in importance was the well-known use of Dante by Chaucer, whose powerful translation of the Ugolino story and whose beautiful rendering of the "Hymn to the Virgin" are among the most striking proofs that Chaucer was not only, as is too often asserted, "the poet of birds and flowers and cheerful company," and hence incapable of being much influenced by the great Tuscan, but that he was also interested in tragedy and in spiritual and theological questions. Chaucer's followers, Gower and Lydgate, both mention Dante by name; and about 1416 two English bishops, Hallam and Bub-

¹ *Essays of Dryden*, ed. by W. P. Ker, Vol. I, p. 295.

² For the influence of Dante in the sixteenth century every student of the subject must be indebted to the admirable article of E. Koeppl in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, N. F., Vol. III (1890), pp. 426 ff., and to Paget Toynbee for his "English Translators of Dante (fourteenth to seventeenth centuries)," *Journal of Comparative Literature*, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 345 f. Cf. also K. C. M. Sills, "Wyatt and Dante," in the same number of that journal, pp. 390-92. For the influence of Dante in England, cf. another article by Paget Toynbee, "The Earliest References to Dante in English Literature," *Miscellanea di studi critici edita in onore di Arturo Graf* (1903). The recently published book of Professor Kuhns, *Dante and the English Poets from Chaucer to Tennyson* (1904) is interesting for its treatment of Milton and of the nineteenth-century poets.

with, suggested to John of Serravalle his translation of the *Divina Commedia* into Latin prose, a copy of which probably reached England, as among the books in the library at Wells Cathedral, built by Bubwith, is mentioned a *Dantes translatus in carmen Latinum*.¹ There were also copies of Dante in the books given by Duke Humphrey to Oxford in 1443.² A little knowledge of Dante there must then have been in England during the fifteenth century.

In the next century, beginning with a mere citation of Dante's name by Alexander Barclay, the list of references grows, particularly, of course, after 1580, showing that in the last two decades the fame and the name of Dante were being more and more felt, though many of the allusions are by minor poets or by writers professionally interested in Italian subjects. The most interesting problems of this period—and problems which have by no means been as yet satisfactorily solved—concern Lyndsay's *Dreme*, Sackville's *Induction*, and Spenser. While it is hardly probable that Lyndsay knew the *Divine Comedy* directly, the *Dreme* yet contains so many striking reminiscences of Dante, such as Simon Magus and Bishop Caiphas "in caipis of bras,"³ as to suggest an intermediate source. On the other hand, the poetical progenitors of the *Induction* seem rather to have been the *Aeneid*, particularly in Gawin Douglas' version,⁴ and possibly the opening of Lyndsay's *Dreme*. Too much stress, perhaps, has been laid on its general Dantesqueness. In the *Orpheus and Eurydice*⁵ of Robert Henryson (1508), for example, there are stanzas as much akin to Dante in setting and treatment as are those in the *Induction*; yet no one supposes that Henryson knew Dante.⁶ In the case of Spenser almost all of the evidence is nega-

¹Cf. G. L. Hamilton in *Twentieth Annual Report of the Dante Society* (1901), p. 35.

²*Munimenta Academica*, ed. by H. Anstey (London, 1868), pp. 758, 771, 772; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³Vs. 216. I know of no satisfactory treatment of the sources of the *Dreme*.

⁴Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, Vol. II, p. 122. For verbal resemblances cf. Koepel, *op. cit.*, pp. 437, 438.

⁵Laing's *Early Popular Poetry of Scotland*, ed. by W. C. Hazlitt (1895), pp. 60, 61; cf. especially the stanza: "O dolly place and groundless depo dungeon." This suggestion I owe to Professor W. A. Neilson, of Columbia University.

⁶On the other hand, Sackville certainly knew Italian and Italians; cf. a sonnet prefixed to Hoby's *Courtier* and *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, Vol. XLIII, p. 384.

tive. James Russell Lowell, to be sure, was an earnest advocate of Dante's influence, asserting that Spenser was the first English poet since Chaucer to read the *Divine Comedy*,¹ and marking in his own private copy of Spenser's works two passages as from Dante.² Yet, while Lowell's words should justly carry much weight, the parallels which he and others cite are far from conclusive. The most positive evidence for Spenser's knowledge of Dante, it might be said, lies in the fact that his friends, Gabriel Harvey³ and Sir Philip Sidney, knew Dante. Every direct proof fails. Nor is there as much reason for supposing that Shakespeare had the slightest acquaintance with his great Italian peer.⁴

Improbable as it is, then, that seventeenth-century writers could get knowledge of Dante from the important poets of the preceding age, it is nevertheless true that they could have found him in many of the lesser lights: in tributes to English poets by Leland, Bale, Churchyard, Meres; in translations from the Italian and in Italian grammars; in men like Puttenham and Harington and Greene; in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, where Dante has almost turned Protestant.⁵ Then, too, although the fact has been overlooked, the popular courtesy books of the time must have spread Dante's name; and such passages as those in the *Courtier*, translated by Sir Thomas Hoby, and in the *Galateo*, translated by Robert Peterson, which blamed Dante for lack of grace in diction and in

¹ *Essay on Dante*. Riverside edition, p. 207, note.

² *Faery Queen*, I, 2, 30, 31. Lowell's note reads, "Virgil, Dante," but Virgil is far closer; and *Faery Queen*, VI, 10, 6f. The note is, "All this is from Dante," but "An hundred naked maidens lilly white" is not of necessity Dantesque.

³ One of Harvey's allusions to Dante apparently escaped Professor Koeppel's notice. On the death of George Gascoigne, October 7, 1577, Harvey immediately began an elegy, in which he tells Gascoigne that in Hades he will meet Madame Beatrice, and well content he is that they should meet, for few "save those twoe," Dante and her, do thrive there. The lines read:

"Tis marvell if they have the nott
To Madame Beatrice belive
Well for this once I am content
A few there save those twoe do thrive."

It is an interesting allusion when we remember that Sidney also used Beatrice. The passage from Harvey may be found in *Letter Book of Gabriel Harvey*, ed. by E. J. L. Scott for the Camden Society (1884), pp. viii, ix, and 58.

⁴ In an article in *Anglia*, Vol. XVIII, p. 450, Karl Borinski compares honorificabilitudinitatibus (L. L. L. Act V, sc. 1) with the same word in Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquio* II, cap. 7; but a reference to Murray's *New English Dictionary* will show that the word, in use even before Dante's time, is almost a stock example of the long compound.

⁵ In the edition of 1641 the Index reads: "Dante, an Italian writer against the Pope."

form, were doubtless of importance in helping to establish that standard of criticism that long led him to be regarded as inferior always to Petrarch, often to Tasso, Ariosto, and Sannazaro, and sometimes as in the same class with Marino. The popularity of these poets about the year 1600 is so well known, indeed, as to call for but little comment. If one is inclined to wonder at the paucity of references to Dante, the wonder is rather at their number when one remembers that not only in England, but in France,¹ and, to a certain extent, in Italy, Petrarch was still the master of the courtly style; the romantic epics of Ariosto and Tasso lent themselves far more readily to imitation than did the *Divine Comedy*; and the pastoral romance and the pastoral drama were yet so popular as to make it no marvel that the name of Alighieri should lag behind those of Sannazaro and Guarini.

Often indeed do the poets of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries refer to Italian writers, but seldom to Dante. Thus Bishop Hall mentions Petrarch, Poggio, Ariosto; William Browne, Ariosto, Tasso, Aretino; Giles Fletcher, Sanazzaro; Phineas Fletcher, Ariosto, Guarini, Sannazaro, Tasso's *Aminta*; Habington and many more cite Petrarch's *Laura*; but Dante they cite not. His name seems utterly unknown to the group of religious poets as well, to Quarles and Crashaw and Herbert and Vaughan.

1. In Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victorie and Triumph in Heaven and Earth* (1610), however, one passage bears such a striking resemblance in situation and tone to some of the best-known verses in the *Divine Comedy* as to call for particular comment. In *Christ's Victorie in Heaven*, Justice has just finished her speech urging "sentence on them condemn'd by their own lust,"² when

She ended, and the heav'ly Hierarchies
Burning in zele, thickly imbranded weare;
Like to an armie that allarum cries,
And every one shakes his ydraded spear,

¹ To be sure, in France attempts had already been made to translate the *Divine Comedy*, and possibly, as Plumptre (Vol. II, p. 430, note) suggests, the version of Grangier (1596) may have made the *Commedia* familiar to Englishmen who read French, but not Italian.

² *The Complete Poems of Giles Fletcher*, ed. by A. B. Grosart (1876), p. 141.

And the Almighty's Selfe, as He would teare
 The Earth and her firme basis quite in sunder,
 Flamed all in iust revenge and mightie thunder.¹

The boldness of the figure, the dignity and power of the language, even though there is not verbal resemblance, must recall immediately to the readers of Dante the passage in the *Paradiso*² where, when St. Peter has finished his terrible arraignment of the popes, all the heaven blushes

E tal eclissi credo che in ciel fue,
 Quando pati la Suprema Possanza.

The similarity of situation,³ the imaginative daring of the thought, are here so noteworthy as to justify ascribing to the possible influence of Dante what can probably never be definitely proved. Similarly the mystic vein of *Christ's Triumph after Death*,⁴ with its melody and dignity, particularly in the procession of patriarchs, prophets, martyrs, and saints, recalls Dante's description of the progress of the Church in the *Earthly Paradise*. Very possibly, then, the author of our first great English sacred poem may have known the sacred poem of Italy.

2. The evidence of any definite relations between John Donne and Dante seems to lie in the following somewhat doubtful allusion. In Satire IV, published in 1633, but written probably in youth, perhaps in 1597, Donne says:

At home, in wholesome solitariness,
 My piteous soul began the wretchedness
 Of suitors at court to mourn, and a trance
 Like his, who dreamt he saw hell, did advance
 Itself o'er me: such men as he saw there,
 I saw at court, and worse, and more.⁵

Of course, several poets have fallen into trances and seen hell; but here the allusion seems by the context to point to Dante, particularly as elsewhere in the satire there are allusions to Italian subjects.⁶ Alexander Pope thought so, at any rate, for in his

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 142, stanza 40.

² Canto XXVII, ll. 28 ff.

³ There is no passage in the *Induction* where the boldness of the figure and the similarity of situation are so striking.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 229, stanzas 17 f.

⁵ *Poems of John Donne*, ed. by E. K. Chambers, Vol. II, p. 196, ll. 155 ff.

⁶ Ll. 48, 70, for example.

adaptation of the satire in 1735 he mentioned Dante's name, showing by that very fact perhaps that the knowledge of Dante had so extended during the century as to make the literary allusion here seem absolutely unquestionable.

A Vision Hermits can to Hell transport,
And forc'd e'en me to see the damn'd at court;
Not Dante, dreaming all the infernal state,
Beheld such scenes of envy, sin, and hate.¹

3. In the poetry of this period I have found two other passages referred to Dante, but on far from substantial grounds.

It is not necessary to go back, as some do, to the *Divine Comedy* for such a common Petrarchistic conceit as occurs in these lines of Habington's *Castara*:

Fix me on some bleak precipice
Where I ten thousand years may stand;
Made now a statue of ice,
Then by the summer scorcht and tan'd.²

4. Nor is the thought in Drummond:

But ah! what served it to be happy so
Sith passèd pleasures double but new woe?³

necessarily to be ascribed to a recollection of Dante's story of Paolo and Francesca,⁴ although, of course, Drummond was so thoroughly at home in the Italian poets that the allusion is possible.

5. Coming now to actual citations, we find Dante's name in John Florio's Italian dictionary, *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (1611). In the preface to *A World of Words* (1598) Florio had given his judgment on the three great Italian poets: "Boccace is pretty hard, yet understood: Petrarche harder, but explained: Dante hardest, but commented;" yet in the list of authors consulted he omits Dante's name. In the 1611 edition, however, he includes Dante with an interesting list of commentators—Alessandro Velutelli, Bernardino Danielo, Giovanni Boc-

¹ *The Poetical Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. by George Gilfillan, Vol. I, p. 297.

² *Habington's Castara*, ed. by Charles A. Elton, p. 358. A note (p. 359) quotes *Inferno*, III, vs. 86.

³ *The Poems of William Drummond*, ed. by W. C. Ward, Vol. I, p. 87.

⁴ M. A. Scott, in *Pub. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, Vol. XI (1896), p. 426. Several other interesting parallels are given. Cf. also Kuhns, *op. cit.*, p. 68, note.

caccio, and Landini. The dictionary had two more editions or revisions in this century, in 1659 and in 1688.

6. In 1615 Dante is mentioned by Robert Tofte in *The Blazon of Jealousie*, translated from Varchi's *Lettura della Gelosia*. The author renders three lines from one of Dante's "moral canzons" (Canz. XIII, 1-3)¹ into pleasant doggerel, and in a gloss has some interesting biographical information to give about the Italian poet. Among other things, he says: "This Dant is by some learned Italians compared and equalled with Homer and Virgill, and was not alone a Poet, but a Philosopher, a Devine, a Phisitian and an Astronomer with all: yet doth Cardinall Bembo preferre Petrarch before him."² The passage is of peculiar interest because, on the one hand, it is so definite in its praise and, on the other, because it cites Cardinal Bembo as one whose authority weighed much in the criticism of the day.

7. Another lover of Italian, Henry Reynolds, the translator in 1628 of Tasso's *Aminta*,³ names Dante, but only names him, in his *Mythomystes*, "wherein a short survey is taken of the nature and value of true Poesy and the depth of the Ancients above our modern poets," published about the year 1630. Payne Collier⁴ says that in various other places Reynolds shows himself to be acquainted with the works of Dante and the other Italian poets.

8. Of the rare references in the drama, one of the earliest occurs in the *Volpone* of Ben Jonson, 1605. Based, perhaps, on Florio's judgment, the passage gives an estimate of some of the better-known Italian poets, although it should not be taken for Jonson's own verdict, as the lines may be ironical:

Lady Would Be.

Which of your poets? Petrarch? or Tasso? or Dante?
 Guarini? Ariosto? Aretine?
 Cieco di Hadria? I have read them all
 Your Petrarch is more passionate, yet he,
 In days of sonneting, trusted 'em with much.
 Dante is hard, and few can understand him.
 But for a desperate wit there's Aretine!⁵

¹ Toynbee, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

² Koeppel, *op. cit.*, pp. 452, 453.

³ M. A. Scott, *Pub. of the Mod. Lang. Asso.*, Vol. XI, p. 438.

⁴ *A Bibliographical and Critical Account of Early English Literature* (New York, 1866), Vol. II, p. 354.

⁵ Act III, sc. 2, ed. Cunningham, Vol. I, p. 365.

There seems no reason for thinking that the most learned of the dramatists ever tried to see if his judgment here was correct; at any rate, there is no apparent evidence of a study of Dante in his works.

9. Interesting likewise more for the grouping of the names than for any real criticism is a passage in humorous vein in *Love's Sacrifice* of John Ford (printed 1633). Mauruccio, the old antic, after making some absurd efforts at versifying in honor of his lady, bursts out:

O Giacopo, Petrarch was a dunce, Dante a jig-maker, Sanazzar a goose, Ariosto a puck-fist, to me! I tell thee, Giacopo, I am rapt with fury and have been for these six nights together drunk with the pure liquor of Helicon.¹

10. A really serious, though somewhat uncomplimentary, effort at a critical estimate of Dante occurs in Sir William Davenant's preface to *Gondibert*, dated from the Louvre in Paris, January 2, 1650. The passage, interesting throughout in its literary criticism, shows plainly the position to which men like the poet-laureate thought Dante should be relegated:

Tasso (who revived the heroic flame after it was for many years quenched) is held both in time and merit, the first of the moderns; an honor by which he gains not much, because the number he excels must needs be few which affords but one [i. e., Spenser] fit to succeed him: for I will yield to their opinion who permit not Ariosto, no not DuBarrias, in this eminent rank of the heroicks rather than to make way by their admission for Dante, Marino, and others.²

The criticism means, of course, that in the opinion of the day Dante was a distinctly minor epic poet.

11. To the first half of the century belongs a work of an entirely different character, interesting as being perhaps one of the very few books that seem to reflect the *Vita Nuova*. The *Private Memoirs of Sir Kenelm Digby*, written at some place in Italy about 1628, have suggested to more than one reader, by the mysticism and dignity of the first few pages, a recollection of the mood and style of Dante in the *Vita Nuova*, although later

¹ Act II, sc. 1, ed. Gifford and Dyce, Vol. II, p. 30.

² *Works of the English Poets*, ed. by A. Chalmers, Vol. VI, p. 350.

on the work in style and tone shows itself more akin to Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*.

During the century Dante is used in some way or other by all the great prose writers except Bunyan.¹ Yet of these Sir Thomas Browne, Milton, and Dryden are the only ones to show conclusive evidence of having read the *Divine Comedy*; and of these, Milton alone is deeply influenced. The following citations, however, from the very fact that Dante is mentioned at all, point perhaps to a growing regard for his fame.

12. Robert Burton in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) cites Dante twice; but in neither case does he show any evidence of having a first-hand acquaintance with his works. First he repeats one of the common anecdotes about the poet. "Dante that famous *Italian* Poet by reason his clothes were but mean could not be admitted to sit down at a feast."² Again, in writing of the center of the earth, he says: "Or is it the place of Hell, as Virgil in his *Aeneid*, Plato, Lucian, Dante and others, poetically describe it, and as many of our Divines think?"³

13. The only quotation, so far as I know, in Jeremy Taylor, does not show absolutely that he read Dante, although the allusion is very aptly used. In discussing miracles, the divine says that they are the effect of divine power without the co-operation of nature,

or that I may use the elegant expression of Dante it was such

A cui natura

Non scaldò ferro mai ni batte ancude,⁴

for which nature never did heat the iron nor beat the anvil.⁵

14. But whether or not Burton or Taylor knew Dante, Sir

¹ Samuel Johnson called attention to the similarity between the beginning of the *Pilgrim's Progress* and the opening of the *Commedia*. Yet, as he says, there was no translation of Dante when Bunyan wrote (Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, Globe edition, p. 261). Zumbini, *Studi di letteratura straniera* (p. 16, note 17) cites some other parallels. Cf. also Kuhns, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

² Burton's *Anatomy*, ed. by A. R. Shilleto, Vol. I, p. 411. Burton has a note, *Gomesius lib. 3 c. 21 de sale*. There are several versions of the story; cf. Papanti, *Dante secondo la traduzione e i novellatori*, pp. 65, 130.

³ Vol. II, p. 48.

⁴ *Paradiso*, XXIV, 101, 102. It is interesting to note that Bossuet, *Histoire universelle* (Part. II, chap. 20), uses the same arguments that Dante here employs; but there is no apparent connection between Bossuet and Dante, nor between Jeremy Taylor and Bossuet.

⁵ "The Life of our Blessed Lord and Savior Jesus Christ," Discourse XIV, in *The Whole Works of Jeremy Taylor*, ed. by Reginald Heber (London, 1822), Vol. III, p. 106.

Thomas Browne is conspicuous for his literary use of material from the *Commedia*. Perhaps his acquaintance with the great poet dates back to his residence at Padua as a medical student, where he acquired a ready knowledge of Italian and may have drunk deep from Dante, the influence of whose "daring sublimity" is strongly marked in his later writings.¹ In the *Hydriotaphia* (1658) there are three citations from the *Divine Comedy*, all of which employ Dante's name. The first, "Dante's characters are to be found in skulls as well as faces,"² has the following gloss, which proves a close reading of the text:

The poet Dante, in his view of Purgatory found gluttons so meagre, and extenuated that he conceited them to have been in the siege of Jerusalem, and that it was easy to have discovered *Homo* or *Omo* in their faces: M being made by the two lines of their cheeks, arching over the eyebrows to the nose, and their sunk eyes making O O which makes up *OMO*.

Parean l'occhiaje anella senza gemme
 Chi nel viso degli uomini legge OMO,
 Bene avria quivi conosciuto l'emme.

—*Purgat. XXIII.*, l. 31.³

A little further on in chap. iv, immediately following the far-famed passage on a dialogue between two infants in the womb, comes: "Pythagoras escapes in the fabulous hell of Dante among that swarm of philosophers wherein whilst we meet with Plato and Socrates, Cato is to be found in no lower place than Purgatory."⁴ On the next page is another allusion: "Meanwhile Epicurus lies deep in Dante's hell, wherein we meet with tombs enclosing souls which denied their immortalities."⁵ These passages in themselves are enough to prove that Browne was a close student of Dante.

15. About the same time, however, Thomas Fuller was displaying some ignorance of the very name of the poet, for in 1655, rendering in his *Church History* Leland's epigram on Chaucer⁶

¹ *Religio Medici and Other Essays* by Sir Thomas Browne, ed. by D. Lloyd Roberts (London, 1898), p. xii.

² *Sir Thomas Browne's Works*, ed. by Simon Wilkin (London, 1885), Vol. III, p. 480.

³ This passage is not in the *Religio Medici*, as Kuhns, *op. cit.*, p. 80, says, and as Plumptre (Vol. II, p. 430) had earlier remarked.

⁴ *Works*, Vol. III, p. 486. Browne's note reads: *Del Inferno, cant. 4.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 487.

⁶ *Praedicat Aligerum merito Florentia Dantem.*

into English verse, he writes: "Of Alger Dants Florence doth justly boast."¹ But in 1662, in the *Worthies*, under Sir Thomas Wyatt, he improves; for in versifying a similar epigram he says: "Let Florence for her Dantes justly boast."²

16. In 1662, another ecclesiastical writer, Edward Stillingfleet, the famous bishop of Worcester, in his *Origines Sacrae* renders several passages from the *Paradiso*, basing his version, however, on a Latin translation of the *Divine Comedy*, very probably, as Dr. Toynbee³ points out, that of John of Serravalle.

17. This is not the proper place to consider carefully Dante's influence on Milton as manifested by internal proof. Lowell's⁴ feeling that Milton's versification was mainly modeled on the Italian, especially on the *Divina Commedia*, is doubtless far-fetched. Many of the parallels given⁵ are also very puzzling. Yet some of the external evidence of Milton's knowledge of Dante is so conclusive that it is strange that it has been overlooked by most critics. That Milton took seriously to his study of Italian—a fact generally known—is proved by his letter to Benedetto Buonomattai, a Florentine, dated Florence, September 10, 1638, where he speaks of "retiring with avidity and delight to feast on Dante and Petrarch: nor," he goes on, "has Athens itself been able to confine me to the transparent wave of its Ilissus nor ancient Rome to the banks of its Tiber so as to prevent my visiting with delight the stream of the Arne and the hills of Faesolae."⁶ But it is not so widely asserted that Milton took almost a scholar's interest in his study of Dante—a fact which a close examination of his *Common-Place Book*⁷ shows. The entries, which for the most part are in Milton's own handwriting, are in English, French, Italian, and Latin, and are not so much

¹ *The Poems of Thomas Fuller*, ed. by A. B. Grosart, p. 129.

² *Ibid.*, 196.

³ Cf. his note in *Athenaeum*, November 30, 1901; also cf. *Journal of Comparative Literature*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 364, note.

⁴ Letter dated September 24, 1889 (*Letters of Lowell to C. E. Norton*, Vol. II, p. 386).

⁵ Professor Kuhns, *op. cit.*, in his chapter on Milton has gathered many interesting parallels. For some corrections in his list see *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, Vol. XI, p. 328. For Milton's translation of Dante see Toynbee, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

⁶ *Prose Works*, ed. by J. A. St. John (London, 1878), Vol. III, p. 497. Dante and Petrarch are also named together in a letter dated April 21, 1647, from London to another Italian; *ibid.*, p. 502.

⁷ Printed in 1876 for the Camden Society.

abstracts as instances and conclusions, often in Milton's own words. Of the forty-seven references to Italian writers, eleven are from Machiavelli, eight from Dante—Dante thus standing second; and there is also one curiously minute reference to Boccaccio's *Life of Dante*. Of the eight references to Dante, four are from the *Inferno*, one from the *Purgatorio*, one from the *Paradiso*, one from the *Convivio*, and one to the *De Monarchia*.¹ These citations, with the quotation of the lines on Constantine in the *Reformation in England*, the allusion to Dante's *Casella* in the sonnet to Mr. H. Lawes, and the reminiscences from St. Peter's invective in the *Paradiso* in *Lycidas*, show a pretty wide reading in Dante. The references in the *Common-Place Book*, moreover, indicate sometimes a close study not only of the text, but of the context. In a reference on usury (p. 160) there is a complete understanding of a rather difficult passage:

Usuram peccare in naturam, et in artem ait *Dantes*; in naturam quia facit ut nummi pariant nummos qui est partus non naturalis: in artem quia non laborat.

The reference is to the complicated discussion of usury at the close of the eleventh² canto of the *Inferno*; and Milton's additional note, "Daniell in eum locum," refers very probably to the commentary of Bernardino Danielo (1568) mentioned by John Florio. Another erudite reference is that under the title *Rex* (p. 182), where Milton says:

Authoritatem regiam a Papâ non dependere scripsit *Dantes* Florentinus in eo libro cui est titulo *Monarchia* quem librum Cardinalis del Poggietto tanquam scriptum haereticum comburi curavit, ut testatur *Boccatius* in vita Dantis editione priore, nam e posteriore mentio istius rei omnis est deleta ab inquisitore.

The facts are here taken from Boccaccio's *Vita di Dante*, chap. xvi; but in Marci Leone's edition of the *Vita* there is no reference to confirm the last part of Milton's statement.³ Yet another indication of Milton's interest in Dante may be seen in a passage

¹ The references in the *Common-Place Book* are pp. 12, 16, 70, 111, 160, 182, 191, (197).

² And not to Canto ii, as in the Camden Society Report; cf. the passage in the reprint of the *Common-Place Book* for the Royal Society of Literature.

³ The editions of the *Vita* are: Venice, 1477, with the first Venetian edition of the *Divine Comedy*; Rome, separately in 1544, and with the *Vita Nuova* in 1576. See Boccaccio's *Life of Dante*, translated by G. R. Carpenter for the Grolier Club (New York, 1900), Introduction, p. 10.

from his treatise on *Education*, where in discussing the importance of poetry, he writes that he means

that sublime art which in Aristotle's poetics, in Horace, and the Italian commentators of Castelvetro, Tasso, Mazzoni, and others, teaches what the laws are of a true epic poem, what of a dramatic, what of a lyric what decorum is, which is the grand masterpiece to observe.¹

The allusion to Mazzoni refers to *La Difesa di Dante* (1573),² a critical work which was the fruit of the famous literary controversy over Dante in Italy in the second half of the sixteenth century.³

Such passages as these, showing careful study, and here and there scholarly exactness,⁴ are proofs of what is so often asserted in general terms, that Milton had a definite, first-hand knowledge of Dante; that he had read, marked, learned, and in places inwardly digested the works of the great Italian.

18. Additional evidence of Milton's love of Dante is found in the writings of his nephew, Edward Phillips, who, we know, was under the instruction of his famous uncle, and that, too, shortly after Milton's return from Italy. While perhaps it is not fair to the younger man to ascribe to the poet all the acute criticisms found in Phillips' work, no doubt Milton had a hand in the preparation of a short history of poetry written in Latin under this title: *Tractatulus de carmine Dramatico Poetarum prae-assertim in choris tragicis et veteris Comoediae. Compendiosa enumeratio Poetarum (saltem quorum fama maxime enituit) qui a tempore Dantis Aligerii usque ad hanc aetatem claruerunt:*

¹ *Prose Works*, ed. by J. A. St. John (London, 1878), Vol. III, p. 473.

² Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, p. 124, note.

³ In the *Nova Solyma*, ed. by Rev. Walter Begley, 1902 (Vol. II, pp. 35, 36), there is a discussion of sin as being high treason against God: and "Adam's fall treated as inferring forfeiture to his posterity because of its character as high treason" (see George Neilson, *Scottish Historical Review* Vol. II, No. 6, p. 204, who also compares *Paradise Lost*, III, 200-10). The legal doctrine of sin here set forth may owe something to Dante, who conceives of Lucifer as the arch traitor, and who in *Paradiso*, VII, l. 79, speaks of sin as disfranchising human nature. At any rate, a careful consideration of the theological passages in the *Nova Solyma* with reference to Dante would be interesting, and might possibly throw light on the question of its authorship.

⁴ Another excellent illustration is in the passage (p. 191) on *Nobilitas*, where Milton cites "Dante Florentinus optime tractat de vera nobilitate, canzon 4," evidently referring to Conv. IV, Canz. iii; and then adds, "See Chancer, Wife of Bath's Tale, fol. 36, and Romant of the Rose, fol. 118," alluding to the passage "Wife of Bath's Tale" (ll. 1109-99, especially ll. 1119, 1120), in which passage l. 1125, "The wise poete of Florence That highte Dant," is named.

*nempe Italorum, Germanorum, Anglorum.*¹ . . . In the work itself there is this reference to Dante:

Libet igitur initium facere a *Dante Aligerio Florentino Poeta celeberrimo, & quasi Principe Antipilano Italorum qui vulgari Idiomate bene scripserunt carmina; famâ notissimum ejus operum quae extant sive Prosaica, sive Metrica Oratione est Poema ejus quod inscribitur *Paradisus*, cui adduntur *Purgatorium & Infernum*; floruit Anno Domini 1321. Imperante tunc temporis in Germania Ludovico quinto Bavaro.*²

To imply, as Phillips certainly seems to imply here, that the *Paradiso* is the most important part of the *Divine Comedy*, is unusually acute criticism, and seems in itself an indication of Milton's part in the little treatise. It is so common to find the *Inferno* in the place of honor that the precedence of the *Paradiso* here and in the following extract is worth notice. In the *Theatrum Poetarum* itself (published 1675, licensed September 14, 1674), there is in the list of modern poets a short account of Dante, a mere adaptation of the earlier notice.

Dantes Aligerus, a most renowned Florentine, and the first of Italian poets of any Fame or Note for Vernacular Verse, but that which most proclaims his Fame to the World is his Triple Poem Entitled *Paradice, Purgatory and Hell*; besides which he wrote several things in Prose: the Meridian of his flourishing time was the year 1321, the Emperour Lewis the 5th surnamed Bavarus then ruling.³

In the last quarter of the century Dante became known in England by means of French criticism. Something about him could be found in Rapin's *Reflexions sur la poetique* (1674), translated into English by Rymer the same year. In Baillet's *Jugemens des savans* (1685) the list of modern poets *depuis la renaissance des Lettres* begins with a four-page account of Dante, wherein is the following tribute:

On a coutume de mettre Dante à la tête de tous les Ecrivains Italiens, au préjudice même de son maître Brunetto Latini, soit parce qu'il est un des premiers qui se soient appliqués à défricher la Langue du Pays ou du moins à endémêler les beautés, soit parce qu'on le considère comme la Maitre de Petrarque.⁴

¹ *Theatrum Poetarum*, ed. by Sir S. Egerton Brydges (1800), Introduction.

² Transcribed from the eighteenth edition of Buchler's *Thesaurus* (London, 1679), p. 388. For a copy of this transcription and for other valuable assistance I am indebted to Professor J. E. Spingarn, of Columbia University.

³ *Theatrum Poetarum* (1674), "The Modern Poets," p. 30.

⁴ Paris, 1722, edition, Vol. IV, p. 265.

There was also information on Dante in the *Dictionnaire historique et critique* of Pierre Bayle (published in 1696, and translated into English in 1710).

19. In English the sort of information current about Dante is well illustrated by Thomas Pope Blount's *Censura celebriorum authorum* (1690; imprimatur May 31, 1690); revised 1694 and 1710, in an edition, printed at Geneva, which renders French, English and Italian criticisms into Latin. In the account of Dante¹ the list of works reads as follows:

Comoediarum liber I, De Monarchia Mundi lib. I, Epistolae plures, Disputatio de aquâ et terrâ, Carmina de Inferno, Purgatorio, Paradiso Italicè conscripta, Libellus de amore, Cantica viginti, Italico sermone composita, Libellus de Officio Pontificis et Cesaris Romani, De vulgari eloquentiâ libri duo, cum tamen quatuor se daturum polliceatur, sed hoc consilium mors ejus interruptit.²

Blount gives several quotations from writers who had spoken of Dante, including extracts from Petrarch, Boccaccio, Boissard, and Baillet, the verses on Dante's tomb at Ravenna ascribed to Bembo, the father of the cardinal, and Dante's own supposed epitaph. The most noteworthy bit of criticism is from Rapin:

Le P. Rapin dit que les pensées de ce Poete sont presque toujours si abstraites & si difficiles qu'il n'y a de l'art à les penetrer; que Dante n'a pas assez de feu; que pour l'ordinaire il n'est pas assez modeste qu'il a esté trop hardi d'invoquer son propre esprit pour sa Divinité."³

The quotation impressed Blount, for in his *De re poetica* (1694) he cites it: "Rapin says 'Dantes Algerus wanted fire'"⁴—surely not one of the least wonderful of the many wonderful verdicts of the pseudo-classicists.

20. Rymer, who had in 1674 come across Dante's name in his translation of Rapin's *Reflexions sur la poetique*, mentions Dante twice in his *Short View of Tragedy* (1693). In speaking of Chaucer's service to English literature, he mentions the Italian as follows:

But tho' the Italian reformation was begun and finished well nigh at

¹ 1690 edition, pp. 297 ff.; 1694 edition, pp. 421 ff.

² The list shows that here Blount was badly muddled. The *Convivio* is omitted altogether, the *De monarchia* is evidently referred to twice, and *Liber comoediarum* implies that Dante was a dramatist and a comic dramatist.

³ 1690 edition, p. 298.

⁴ P. 58.

the same time by Boccace, Dante, and Petrarch. Our language retain'd something of the churl; something of the stiff and Gothish did stick upon it, till long after Chaucer.¹

The second allusion is much more interesting, not only because it is a typical pseudo-classical criticism, but because it shows by the aptness of quotation that Rymer had probably read Dante. In his discussion of *Julius Caesar*, dwelling on Shakespeare's faulty art in making his Brutus inconsistent with the Brutus of history, he commends some of the earlier speeches, and then says that elsewhere Shakespeare makes his character no better than a son of a butcher.

But when Shakespeare's own blundering Maggot of self-contradiction works, then must Brutus cry out :

Stoop, Romans, stoop,
And let us bathe our hands in Cæsar's blood
Up to the elbows

Had this been spoken by some king of France, we might rememeber Villon and what Dante has recorded:

Chiamato fui di la 'Ugo ciapetta
Di me son Nati, Philippi e Loigi,
Per mi novellamente e' Francia retta
Figlivol fui d'un Beccao di Parigi.²

21. Wotton, in his *Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning*, mentions Dante;³ but evidently as an afterthought, for there is no allusion in the first edition of 1694.

22. The great poet, the date of whose death closes the century, has at least four references to Dante; and it is interesting to note that three of these are concerned with the refinement of the language and of the times. In the "Epistle to the Earl of Roscommon" on his excellent *Essay on Translated Verse* (1680), Dryden writes:

And Dante's polished page
Restor'd a silver not a golden age.⁴

The preface to *Albion and Albanius, An Opera* (1685) contains in its noteworthy tribute to the Italian tongue the following general reference:

¹ P. 78.

² P. 150. The reference is to *Purgatorio*, XX, 49-52, where Hugh Capet is speaking.

³ Third edition (1705), p. 25.

⁴ *The Poetical Works of John Dryden* (London, 1851), p. 142.

This language has in a manner been refined and purified from the Gothic ever since the time of Dante, which is above four hundred years ago.¹

And in the preface to the *Fables* (1700) Dryden, speaking of the analogous position of Chaucer and Boccaccio in literature, dwells again on the refining power of Dante:

He and Chaucer, among other things, had this in common, that they refined their mother tongues; but with this difference, that Dante had begun to file their language, at least in verse, before the time of Boccace, who likewise received no little help from his master, Petrarch.²

A passage in the dedication of the *Aeneis* (1697) is much more specific, and perhaps indicates a first-hand acquaintance with Dante on Dryden's part. Speaking of Julius Cæsar, the author says:

He being murdered by his own son, whom I neither dare command, nor can justly blame (though Dante, in his Inferno, has put him and Cassius, and Judas Iscariot betwixt them, into the great Devil's mouth)
....³

Dante must then have been more than a mere name to Dryden.

As the names from Florio and Ben Jonson to Wotton and Dryden are passed in review, the list, which does not claim to be complete, suggests that the general feeling that seventeenth-century England was not much affected by Dante is not far from wrong. Certainly criticism had by no means placed the poet where he stands a century later. On the whole, the opinion which the period held of him is not very different from that advanced in a curious bit of eighteenth-century criticism, "The Balance of the Poets," published in *Dodsley's Museum* and ascribed to Mark Akenside. There in a table of values of the various poets Shakespeare and Homer have 18; Milton, 17; Virgil, 16; Spenser, Molière, Cervantes, Corneille, 14; and, along with Sophocles, Ariosto, Horace, Pindar, Pope, and Racine, Dante gets 13.⁴ Roughly speaking, Dante was to the seventeenth century a person of no large importance, although his fame as one of the greater poets certainly grows during the century; and by 1709 it

¹ *Essays of John Dryden*, ed. by W. P. Ker, Vol. I, p. 274.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 248.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 169. Professor Ker (p. 295) does not believe the reference to Cato on p. 170 is due to Dante but to Montaigne.

⁴ Charles Bucke, *Life of Akenside* (London, 1832), p. 99.

is not surprising to find him in William King's *Art of Love* grouped with Homer, Virgil, and Chaucer.¹ Yet, while more and more Dante is being accounted a poet whom men should know by name, as men today cite Homer, for example, it cannot be said that he exercised any great literary influence in the century. Of the important poets, only Milton was indubitably under the sway of his poetic power. The great prose writers, Sir Thomas Browne, Jeremy Taylor, and Dryden, it is true, may all have been acquainted with the *Divine Comedy* at first-hand; but Milton and Browne alone used its material for important literary purposes. As for the reason for men not reading Dante more, it can only be said that the spirit of their age worked against their caring to know him. At the opening of the century other Italians overshadowed his fame; a little later Italian literature seems to have been held in waning esteem.² Moreover, by 1650, as Davenant's criticism shows, poets had set up a fixed and rigid standard for measuring the epic; and that standard would not include Dante as a safe model any more than pseudo-classical dramatic criticism would hold up Shakespeare as a safe model. If men had known Dante, they might have thought differently; but the point is that they were not interested, as the late eighteenth century became interested, in the kind of thing Dante's imagination represents and emphasizes. If they had been so interested, as Milton shows, they would have found and used Dante.

¹ *The Original Works of William King* (London, 1776), Vol. III. p. 142.

² For example, Howell, *Instructions for Forreine Travell* (1642), omits to mention any contemporary or other Italian authors, although he gives a list of French and Spanish writers that "will afford excellent entertainment" (*Arber Reprint*, pp. 25, 39). A half-century earlier a writer would have been more inclined to leave out mention of French and Spanish poets.

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"MAÎTRE PATELIN" IN THE GOTHIC EDITIONS BY PIERRE LEVET AND GERMAIN BENEAUT

Among a score of editions of the farce of *Patelin*, the Bibliothèque Nationale possesses two of great value and extraordinary interest, not merely to those who are concerning themselves with the history of printing in its infancy, but also to those who recognize the need of more accurate knowledge of the text of *Patelin*; for thus far no one has attempted to write a thoroughly scientific bibliography of this excellent and ever-youthful comedy.¹ Yet no one can hope to offer a critical text until the bibliographical work has been satisfactorily completed. We must, therefore, ascertain with all possible accuracy the age and other essential characteristics of every manuscript or printed book in which the text of *Patelin* has been handed down, but first of all we turn to the fifteenth century.

About 1485, at any rate not later than 1488, hardly a score of years after a grant of pardon,² issued by Louis XI, had recorded the existence and popularity of our farce, Guillaume Le Roy printed at Lyons what is probably the first edition of *Patelin*.³

¹The bibliography in the late Petit de Julleville's *Répertoire du théâtre comique en France au Moyen-âge* (Paris, 1886), though extremely useful, is incomplete and contains several mistakes. For instance, on p. 194 he catalogues the humbug facsimile of Levet's edition in the "Bibliothèque gothique" as if it were two different books, and he obviously was quite unaware that the *Patelin* of the "Bibliothèque gothique" is not only not a facsimile, but also not even an honest attempt to reproduce in modern Gothic type, etc., the woodcuts and the text of Pierre Levet. How anyone who had ever looked at genuine Gothic letter could have taken this clumsy imposture for a facsimile passes understanding. Baillieu's *Patelin* in the "Édition gothique" deserves to be blacklisted as a *supercherie typographique et littéraire*.

²Printed in the "Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes," second series, Vol. IV, p. 259.

³The *Livre des saints anges*, dated 1486, is commonly believed to be the last book printed by Guillaume Le Roy, but see n. 2, p. 125. Exactly the same font of type as was used for this book appears in the *Patelin*. From the exemplar of the *Livre des saints anges* preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale (D 1583) I copied the colophon, which runs a follows: Cy finist le livre des saints anges Imprime a lyon par mal || stre guillaume le roy. Le xx iour du mois de may. Lan de grace MII || cccc. lxxxvi. Of course, there exists no absolute proof that Le Roy's *Patelin* is the first edition, but it is rather unlikely that the farce had been printed before so early a date as 1485. This is the year considered most probable by Mr. Émile Picot; Mr. Anatole Claudin, who believes Le Roy's edition to be the first, holds the opinion quoted in n. 1, p. 122. As it was through a clue given me by Mr. Claudin that I found the only extant exemplar known of this edition, I avail myself of this opportunity to say how well his cour-

Le Roy's source is unknown. The only manuscript¹ of *Patelin* that incontestably belongs to the fifteenth century differs too widely and too often from Le Roy's edition to have served as a model to be followed by Le Roy, or by whoever set the type for his edition, if the typesetting was faithfully done; but Le Roy's text was destined, within five years at most, to be accurately copied and preserved in the two editions² already mentioned as owned by the Bibliothèque Nationale.

What reason have we for assuming that Le Roy's *Patelin* is so closely akin to Levet and Beneaut? May not one or several editions now lost have intervened? This may be true; but whoever compares either Levet or Beneaut with Le Roy cannot fail to conclude that Le Roy is the direct ancestor of both,³ even though one generation or more may have intervened. My own conviction, based on a word-by-word comparison of the three texts, is that either Levet or Beneaut copied Le Roy's *Patelin*, and copied with a loyalty rare indeed in that fifteenth century when printers of chapbooks, if not of more ambitious works, seldom corrected their proofs with care, or even conscientiously followed the manuscript or printed text before their eyes.

Now, if Le Roy's edition is the source of the editions by Levet and Beneaut, did each copy his text independently? Or, on the other hand, was Levet copied by Beneaut, or Beneaut by Levet? There is not one chance in a million that Levet and Beneaut independently copied Le Roy. But the evidences that Beneaut copied Levet, or that Levet copied Beneaut, are overwhelming.

tesy and knowledge availed me. I am equally indebted to the well-known bookseller, Mr. Edouard Rahir, and to Mr. A. Rosset, who gave himself the trouble to return from his country seat to Lyons in order that he might send his treasure to me at Paris.

¹ Kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale and catalogued thus: "Ms. fr., Nouv. acq. 4723." Of this manuscript, which lacks vss. 1-226, 654-56, 1357-1406, and 1581-99, I hope to give a full description at an early date.

² Levet's *Patelin* is catalogued "Réserve, Ye 243"; Beneaut's is "Réserve, Ye 237." I have accurate copies of these editions.

³ The similarity is so great that Le Roy hardly offers a score of important variants; the differences are due mainly to the ordinary changes in spelling made by uncritical printers. Mr. Claudio devotees pp. 29-112 in Vol. III of his splendid work to Le Roy. On p. 89 he reproduces in facsimile two pages of Le Roy's *Patelin*. Elsewhere I shall describe this edition at length, showing how it is related to MS 4723, *nouv. acq.*, and why it deserves to be considered the standard text. Yet it seems to me now that Mr. Claudio somewhat overrates the superiority of Le Roy's edition to those of his immediate followers.

Before I attempt to demonstrate which copied the other, it will be necessary to prove that the copying was actually done. A short description of each edition will supply the proof. We may begin with Levet.

The copy of Levet's *Patelin* in the Bibliothèque Nationale is supposed to be the only one in existence. It is in perfect condition, containing no false leaves and no restorations. Time has somewhat yellowed its pages, but not one is marred or torn, and the print is seldom blurred or broken, though the ink has probably lost some of its blackness, having been laid on thinner than in the edition by Beneaut. On the title-page, over Levet's well-known device,¹ occur these words: *Maistre pierre pathelin*. On p. 3, signed a. ii., is a woodcut showing Patelin in parley with Guillemette; then comes the *incipit*, to wit, *Maistre pierre commence*; then come five verses. There are eighty-two pages in all, with signatures as follows: a to d by sixteen, e by twelve, f by five. Levet's *Patelin* like Beneaut's, contains 1,599 verses,² normally octosyllabic, and in both editions one is struck by the omission of the second hemistich of vs. 1530, *Or n'en croyez rien*—a telltale feature of great importance when we seek to establish the genealogy of later editions. As vss. 1502-40 are all counterfeit in Le Roy's *Patelin*, it is, of course, impossible to say whether his edition omitted these words or not. Levet's *Patelin* is paged precisely like Beneaut's, and both editions are alike in size and general style; the type is similar, but not identical. On the whole, Levet's work is better than Beneaut's: fewer letters are blurred or broken, capitals are employed more consistently, and there are not so many misprints as in Beneaut. Levet's illustrative woodcuts are placed exactly like Beneaut's.

Beneaut's *Patelin* is also the only copy known. It is in excellent condition, though the margins are in a few places a little torn; but not a leaf has been lost or inserted, and the text has not been tampered with. My reason for mentioning here the condi-

¹A white heart, point down, surmounted by a white cross. Inside the heart is the monogram PL. The whole figure stands out on a black background, and round it is a square frame, white, with geometric decorative figures. Levet used this device in his *Villon* (1489), but it appears in other works of still earlier date. Mr. Claudin reproduces it in facsimile in his *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France*, Vol. I, p. 439.

²The odd number is due to the fact that three verses have a single rime.

tion of each of these editions is, of course, that my argument may rest on a firm basis.

On p. 1¹ of Beneaut's *Patelin* are the words *Pathelin le grant et le petit*. Now, what is the meaning of this odd title? In the colophon of his undated edition of *Patelin* and its two sequels,² Jehan Bonfons (fl. c. 1547–1568) says, *Cy fine le grant Maistre Pierre Pa || thelin.* Hence Beneaut's puzzling title may mean that he printed one of the sequels; yet another conjecture, not wholly new, seems more convincing. Here it is: In 1489 Levet published *Le grant testament Villon, & le petit*,³ of which an exemplar is preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale bound under one cover with Beneaut's *Patelin*.⁴ But Beneaut also published a *Villon*,⁵ though one year later than Levet, and it is doubtless to Beneaut's *Le grant testament villon & le petit* that the words *le grant et le petit* on the title-page of Beneaut's *Patelin* refer. It is pretty certain that Beneaut's *Patelin* and his *Villon* were sold together, as is suggested by the dates and by the double, partially abbreviated, title which Beneaut employs on the first page of his edition of *Patelin*. This difference between the two editions of *Patelin* by Levet and by Beneaut is striking, but it of course does not imply any real differences between their texts. Nor is it good evidence that Beneaut and Levet were allied in business, though such seems to have been to some extent the case.⁶

¹ So far as I know, no fifteenth-century book has numbered pages. Signatures alone were employed, but they were often omitted. My numbering is merely for the sake of convenience.

² The *Nouveau Pathelin* and the *Testament Pathelin*.

³ *Le grant testament Villon, & le petit || Son codicille. Le iargon & ses balades [Levet's device].* The colophon reads thus: *Cy finist le grant testament || maistre francois villon. Son || codicille, ses ballades & largō || Et le petit testament. Imprl || me a paris Lan mil. CCCC. qua || tre vings et neuf.*

⁴ Petit de Julleville's conjecture (*Rép.*, p. 191, footnote) as to a possible interpretation of this fact need not be taken more seriously than he himself takes it. The "singulière coïncidence" is quite as likely to be due to the fact that "Patelin" and Villon were both in fashion. Following out Petit de Julleville's implied theory, we might attribute *Patelin* to Guillaume Alexis.

⁵ *Le grant testament villon & le petit. son codicille, le largō & ses balades.* With this colophon: *Cy finist le grant testament maistre francois villon son codicille ses ballades & largō Et le petit testament imprime a paris par germain bineaut Imprimeur demourant au saumont devant le palois lan mil IIII C quatre vings & dix.* Notice that all the title and the whole colophon through the word *paris* in Beneaut's *Villon* are identical with the corresponding parts in Levet's *Villon*. The resemblance is due, no doubt, to the fact that Beneaut copied Levet. Is it not likely that Beneaut followed the same course in the same year by copying Levet's *Patelin*?

⁶ See Claudin's chapters on Levet and Beneaut in his *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France*.

Beneaut used two of the woodcuts in Levet's *Villon* to adorn his *Patelin*. These cuts¹ represent “la grosse Margot” (also “la belle heaulmieri”) and Villon. In other words, we have here merely a couple of stock illustrations or *passepartout*, and they are quite vague enough to pass for Patelin and for Guillemette as well as for François Villon and the two strumpets whose ways he sings.

Levet's cut of Villon portrays Patelin on p. 3 of Beneaut's edition. Beneath it are the words, *Maistre pierre commence*, followed by five verses, precisely as in the *Patelin* of Levet. As in Levet, there are eighty-two pages in all, including the title-page, which I have, for convenience, numbered 1. In Le Roy's *Patelin*, on the other hand, there were originally eighty-eight pages and no illustrations. But I should call attention to the following identical peculiarities to be found in Levet and Beneaut, but not in their indubitable prototype, Le Roy: (The features to be noted are indicated by italics.)

- Vs. 17 *homme plus saige fort le maire*
[Le Roy has *fors*]
- Vs. 52 *tenu lune des sages testes*
[Le Roy has *chaudes*]
- Vs. 60 *qui dient qui sont auocas*
[Le Roy has *quilz dient qui sont aduocas.*]
- Vs. 82 *Ce sont ne sont mie*
[Le Roy rightly omits *ne sont mie*, which reading merely spoils the verse by making it contain twelve syllables.]
- Vs. 204 *que ceulx done vous deues retraire*
[Le Roy has *dont.*]
- Vs. 386 *ie vous donne ceste yeil a traire*
[Le Roy has *cest oeil.*]
- Vs. 444 *penca aluy comment lauray ie*
[Le Roy has *penca a luy comment laurage.*]

Finally, both leave space enough for about six lines at the bottom of p. 50 (signed d. ii.) under vs. 1006 (*asses drap pour faire des robes*), yet nothing is really omitted.

Blunders or oddities such as these are unlikely to have been

In Vol. I, p. 443, he says: “Levet paraît s'être associé temporairement avec cet imprimeur [Beneaut] pour la mise au jour d'une édition des *Croniques des roys de France*.”

¹ For facsimiles see Claudin, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 440.

independently copied by Levet and Beneaut from an edition now lost, no matter how closely imitative the two typesetters of these parts of their editions may have been: we should of course expect to find a certain number of variations from the text of Le Roy; for the printers of fifteenth-century chapbooks were generally not only slavish in copying what was wrong, but also inaccurate in reproducing what was right. The fidelity shown by these three books is remarkable. It was the early sixteenth-century printers who first wofully mangled or modernized the text of *Patelin*.

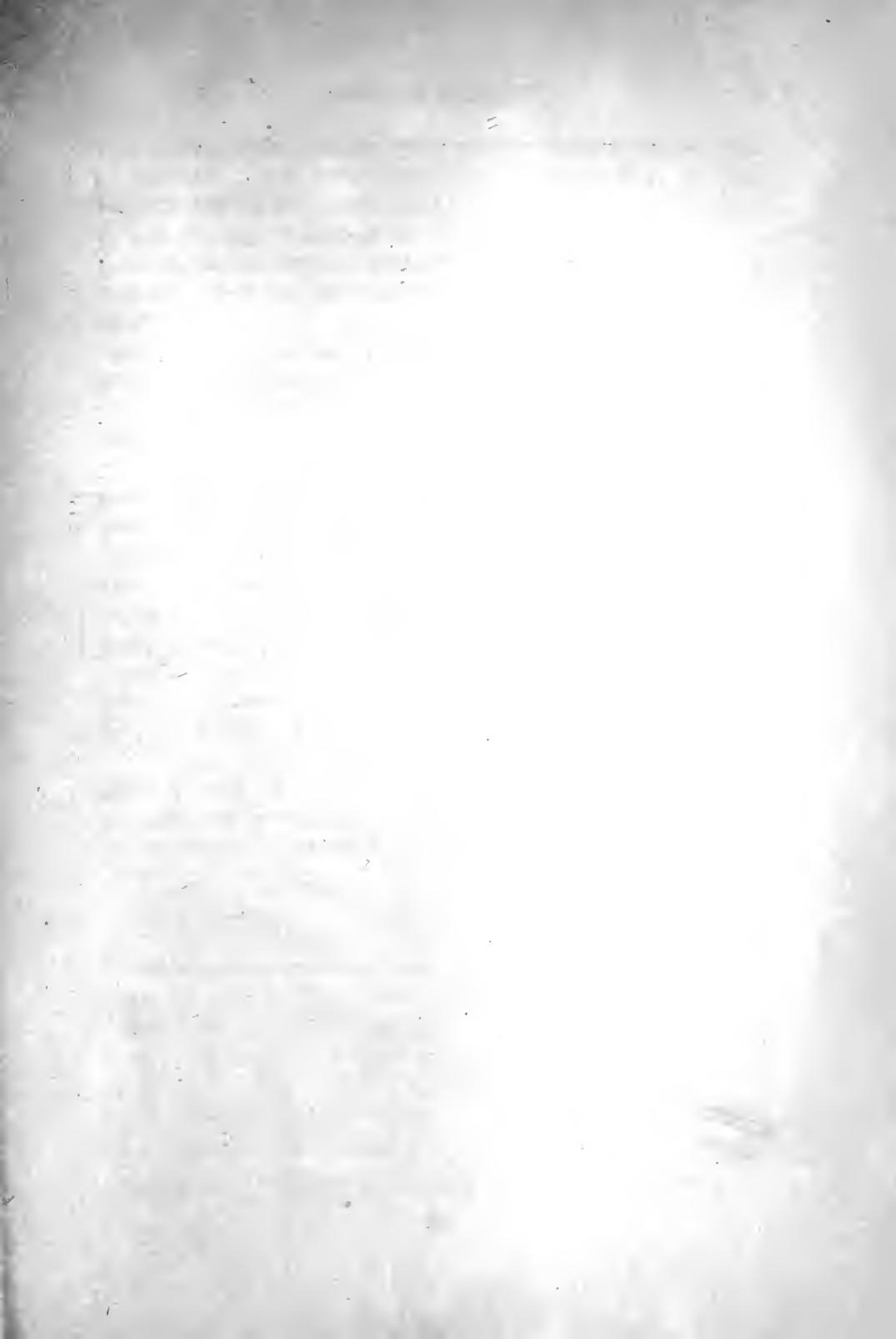
The features that I have now pointed out—to wit, the extraordinary similarity of make-up and text in these two editions—seem to demonstrate beyond question either that Beneaut copied Levet's *Patelin*, or that Levet copied the *Patelin* of Beneaut. Excellent scholars, men versed not only in literary knowledge, but also in the history of printing, have held both opinions. Some are sure that Beneaut copied Levet; others state that Levet copied Beneaut.¹ Often no reason has been given for holding one or the other opinion; often the woodcuts have been called to witness,² or other facts and fancies have been brought into play to prove either that Levet copied Beneaut or that Beneaut copied Levet. Is it possible to ascertain the truth?

So far as external evidence³ is concerned, we have, I think, only one fairly significant fact: The type used by Levet for his *Patelin* is the same as he used for his *Villon* in 1489, and appears,

¹ Among others, Mr. Claudio himself, in a letter dated July 23, 1904, writes as follows: "The best text [of *Patelin*] is the text of what I think is the first edition printed at Lyons with the types of Guillaume Le Roy, without date, but certainly before the edition of Paris, 1490, G. Bineault, or the edition of Pierre Levet without date, but published after the edition of Bineault, on account of the same cuts appearing with broken lines." That the cuts are not the same will be evident to whoever examines them closely or reads pp. 123 and 124 of the present article and n. 2, pp. 123 and 124.

² In Vol. II, p. 304, of his *Histoire, etc.*, Mr. Claudio writes: "On trouve, dans ce livre [i. e., in Beneaut's *Patelin*], des figures sur bois: ce sont les mêmes illustrations que celles de l'édition [of *Patelin*] que Pierre Levet avait publiée l'année précédente en même temps que le *Grant Testament de Villon*." What warrant the eminent scholar has for declaring so positively that Levet published his *Patelin* in 1489, I do not know. Hardly anything stronger than an inference seems warranted by the facts. In Vol. I, p. 443, *op. cit.*, Mr. Claudio had, indeed, made a much more conservative statement; for he says: "Ce livre [Levet's *Patelin*] ne porte pas de date, mais il a dû paraître vers la même époque que le *Grant Testament de Villon* [1489]." But both these statements are contradicted by that quoted in n. 1, p. 122.

³ By "external evidence" I mean all evidence not derived from the two editions of *Patelin* by Levet and Beneaut.



Vous feriez bien de la tendre
Le iuge
He dea ie ailleurs a entendre
se vostre partie est presente
deliures vous sans plus datente
et nestes vous pas demandeur

Le diappier

Sisuis



Pierre Levet's woodcut of the court scene in *Patelin*. Reproduced from the original by permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

or reappears, in good condition in his *Patelin*. This may be called "evidence," but it would hardly pass muster in court.

The internal evidence, which is infinitely more substantial, is of two kinds: first, the dimensions and condition of the two woodcuts which both editions seem to have in common; second, the text.

In Beneaut's *Patelin* two woodcuts,¹ apparently, but not really, identical, illustrate the court scene. In Levet's *Patelin* the court scene is illustrated by a woodcut apparently the same as those in Beneaut, but a close examination, even with the naked eye, reveals not only that the two cuts in Beneaut are not exactly alike, but also that the cut in Levet differs in several respects from either of the two cuts in Beneaut. Not only is the Judge distinctly and strikingly cross-eyed in both Beneaut's cuts, whereas he is looking along parallel lines in Levet, but a dozen other characteristics prove that Levet's block was not used in Beneaut's press, and we can say without hesitation that Levet did not use, in printing his *Patelin*, either of the blocks employed by Beneaut.²

¹ For a facsimile of one of the two cuts of the court scene in Beneaut's *Patelin*, see Claudio, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 304. So far as I am aware, no facsimile of Levet's cut of the court scene has ever been published. But Mr. Léopold Delisle has granted me permission to have facsimiles made of all the woodcuts in Levet's *Patelin*, and within a comparatively short time they will be published, either in my edition of *Patelin* or in some other accessible volume.

² Mr. Claudio, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 440, says: "Les bois de Pierre Levet n'ont été employés que par lui et ne sortaient pas de son atelier." Very likely this statement is quite true, yet it hardly seems to agree with the following remark on p. 443, *ibid.*: "Les illustrations de *Maître Pierre Patelin* [in Levet's edition] réapparaissent, avec des cassures dans les fllets, dans une autre édition datée du 20 décembre 1490 et sortie des presses de Germain Beneaut ou Bineault," That this is not true has already been said in n. 1, p. 122, where the evidence is indicated. See also n. 1, p. 124.

The following table of dimensions and the comparative description beneath should do away with all doubt. (The figures indicate centimeters.)

	Beneaut No. 6	Levet No. 5	Beneaut No. 7
Left border.....	9.80	9.95	9.95
Right border.....	9.90	9.95	10.20
Upper border.....	6.15	6.25	6.30
Lower border.....	6.15	6.15	6.20
Diagonal.....	11.60	11.70	11.77
Diagonal.....	11.60	11.65	11.79
From the sole of <i>Patelin's</i> shoe to the highest point of the Judge's chair	9.87	9.25	9.31

Thus Levet's woodcut has about the same dimensions as those in Beneaut's edition, but it will be seen that they are not identical. As the objection may be raised that the blocks from which these cuts were printed may have shrunk or swollen in the interval

Hence any theory as to the priority of either edition which is based on the presence of breaks¹ in the cuts falls to the ground and may be discarded for good and all.

Now, if the woodcuts betray nothing whatever that might settle the question, what clue is offered us by the textual test?

In my opinion, there is but one slender bit of evidence which at first blush might seem to indicate that Beneaut's *Patelin* came first. Here it is: At vs. 855 Beneaut reads *quant il deust canter se meesse (sic)*, which, barring the obvious misprint, *meesse*, is good Picard, whereas Levet's reading, *chanter sa messe*, is not Picard, but good French of the Ile-de-France. Now, the tendency of early scribes and printers was to modernize, or to put foreign, dialectal forms into more familiar language, and not to restore or critically edit a text; but it is quite probable that Germain Beneaut, though in all likelihood he, like Pierre Levet, was a Parisian, knew enough Picard to be aware that in Picard they said *canter* for *chanter* and *se* for *sa*? In other words, in this single case Beneaut, or perhaps his typesetter, may have been critical enough to notice and bear in mind the following words:

Le drappier
Mais comment parle il proprement
picart dont vient tel cocardie
Guillemette
Sa mere fust de picardie
pour ce le parle il maintenant.²

between the appearance of Le Roy's *Patelin* and that of Beneaut or Levet (for there is no likelihood that Levet or Beneaut preceded Le Roy) we had best consider other features.

Beneaut's woodcuts, like his type, are blacker than Levet's and have broader lines. But other differences seem to indicate more clearly still that different blocks were used by Beneaut and Levet. For instance, in L, *Patelin's* foot rests on the lower border; not so in B. In B the Judge, as has been said, is cross-eyed. In L the bottom of the Shepherd's crook is further from the lower border than in B. The upper edge of *Patelin's* left sleeve is broken in B; furthermore, the Draper's left eye is larger in B, and his jaw is broken near the ear. On the Shepherd's waist in B is a mark quite different from what we find in L. On the other hand, the outer edges of the side borders are a little rougher in L than in B, but B has a break in the right upper corner which L has not. Now, if the breakage theory (see n. 1. p. 124) is worth anything, and if the other characteristics which I have pointed out have any significance, we must make this conclusion: Levet did not use either of the blocks used by Beneaut, nor did Beneaut borrow the block used by Levet, but either they copied or used blocks employed by an earlier printer in an edition now lost, or Beneaut made his two blocks from the cut in Levet, or Levet made his block from one of the two cuts in Beneaut. If such be the case, we cannot rely on these woodcuts to decide the priority of either. We must therefore appeal to the text.

¹If either printer had borrowed a block from the other, the breaks would naturally have left the telltale blanks which Mr. Claudin calls "cassures dans les filets."

²Vss. 858-61, quoted exactly as they stand in Le Roy.

In Le Roy, whose *Patelin* is certainly the prototype, and probably the very text that either Beneaut or Levet copied, vs. 855 reads *Quant il deust chanter sa messe.* Hence Beneaut's *canter* and *se* must be due either to Beneaut's critical faculty¹ or to the highly unlikely possibility that he copied from an intermediate text now lost, and this intermediate text must have contained the Picard forms.

I have dwelt on this shred of evidence purely in order to present the case fairly, leaving no stone unturned, endeavouring to analyze scientifically every clue, whether it might speak for Beneaut's priority or for the priority of Levet. But here is one more witness whose testimony seems to me to prove beyond question that Levet's *Patelin* is the older text: Beneaut omits vs. 179, *l'ung a laultre comme len fait.* If Levet had copied Beneaut, how could Levet have given this omitted verse? Surely no one who is at all acquainted with the ways of fifteenth-century printers will imagine that Levet supplied the missing line out of his memory or out of some other edition.

Unless my argument is faulty, Pierre Levet, and not Germain Beneaut, copied Le Roy's *Patelin*, and Levet's edition must therefore have appeared between the year 1485, or thereabout,² and shortly before December 20, 1490.³ The most likely date is 1489. Yet, so far as textual criticism is concerned, it matters little; the exact year is of far greater importance to those who are trying to shed more light on the activities of fifteenth-century printers. In the firm belief that Levet's *Patelin* is not only the oldest complete edition extant, but that it is also the oldest extant example of a comedy, in a modern tongue, illustrated with wood-cuts made especially for its sake, and not borrowed with little or no sense of their fitness, we may rest content. Levet's *Patelin* was no doubt looked upon as a mere chapbook in the year 1489, or thereabout, but it is now a priceless treasure; for not only is it

¹ Or to that of one of his workmen. Whether Beneaut set all or any of the type for his *Patelin* is, of course, unknown. MS 4723 gives *canter* and *se*.

² In the letter already quoted from (n. 1, p. 122), Mr. Claudin says: “No book of Guillaume Le Roy is dated after 1488, so it is certain for me that the Lyonese edition preceded the Parisian one of 1490.”

³ Beneaut's colophon is as follows: Explicit maistre pierre pathelin || Imprime aparis au scaumō
deūat le || palois par germain̄ beneaut l'imprimeur || le xxme iour de decembre || ian mil lllclllxx et dix.

a beautiful specimen of early printing, but it contains an excellent text of the best comedy written in Europe between the last work of Terence and Udall's *Roister Doister* (1552 or 1553), and from its perfectly preserved pages we can supply the 134 verses now represented by counterfeits in the only known extant edition of the *Patelin* by Guillaume Le Roy.¹

¹ My edition of *Patelin* will be so arranged as to enable whoever chooses to do so to restore every letter of Le Roy's edition. In another article I hope to give a full description of the edition by Le Roy. Meanwhile we may be fortunate enough to get, either from Mr. Claudin or from some other authority, a little more definite information than we have now as to the activities of this Lyonese printer.

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SCHLEGEL'S FRAGMENT "DIE AMAZONEN:" A DISCUSSION OF ITS AUTHORSHIP

Three dramatic fragments found among the papers of A. W. von Schlegel, were included, under the editorial direction of Eduard Böcking, together with the essay "Über das spanische Theater,"¹ in the posthumous edition of Schlegel's *Spanisches Theater*.² The implied ascription of one of these fragments, *Die Amazonen*, to Calderon by Böcking,³ and later also by Ticknor,⁴ has, in so far as I am informed, been tacitly accepted.

The following is a brief discussion of the theme and metrical structure of the fragment: The play starts *in medias res* with a cry to arms by the Amazon warriors. Their leader, Hippolyta, and the Greek, Bellerophon, enter fighting. The Greek falls, and the Amazon's hatred vents itself in the cry: "Stirb! erbleiche!" She is about to slay him, when her comrade, Antiope, in the full flush of a sudden passionate love for him, appears, crying: "Ich will, ich muss ihn retten! er ist mein." Like Kleist's Penthesilea, she will spare his life, "den Triumph zu zieren," and rejects the command of Hippolyta that she content herself with his armor:

Und ewig stumm ist ein entseeltes Haupt;
Es kann Gestalt und Antlitz nur des Helden
Sein Widerstehen und meine Kühnheit melden.

She admits that her protection of Bellerophon is prompted through love, but says:

Diess ist ein sonnenflammend rein Entbrennen,
Das um ein Heldenbild verklärend schwebt.

As they are about to fight for possession of him, an Amazon warrior brings the news that the tide of battle is changing. Hippolyta rushes away. Alone with the Greek, Antiope expresses a

¹ *Europa*, Vol. I (1803), No. 2.

² Leipzig, 1845.

³ There is no doubt but that Böcking looked upon this fragment as Calderon's. The single departure from the title *Schauspiele von Don Pedro Calderon de la Barca* is the fragment *Numancia* of Cervantes, which is duly credited to him.

⁴ *History of Spanish Literature*, Vol. II, p. 433, footnote.

joy, mixed with regret, that she has obtained her heart's delight:

Gefang'ne des Gefang'nens, kann von Wunden
Die ich dir schlug, mein Busen nie gesunden.

To this the Greek replies:

Doch von den Blicken kann ich nicht genesen.
Ja mit der Purpurquelle meiner Wunden
Folg' ich dir.

The *gracioso* now enters and comments on his leader's action in the following lines:

Liebe macht ihn so verwegen,
In die Amazonenschaft
Ist er nach der Reih' vergaft;
Und drum sucht er gleich den Degen
Jeder in den Leib zu rennen,
Das heisst wahrlich nicht verblümt,
Wie es feinen Rittern ziemt,
Seinen Liebesdrang bekennen.

Then follows a pastoral interlude. The scene is in a valley. Mnemonia, the shepherdess, speaks at some length on the pleasures of pastoral life, the sentiment of which the following strophe shows:

Dank euch, ihr Himmelsmächte,
Dass ihr mich weihtet einem stillem Lose,
Hier wo ich Tag und Nächte
Mit Nachtigall und Rose,
Mit Wald, Fels, Blumen, Sternen einsam kose.

She is surprised by the *gracioso*. Here the fragment ends.

Metrically the fragment shows the earlier *classico-italianate* manner rather than the blending from the time of Felipe IV. The line principally used is the *endecasilabo*. The fragment begins with it. In the semi-epic narrative there is the *verso suelto* form, with pair-rimes at the end. The speech between Hippolyta and Antiope is in *ottava rima*, with full, as well as broken, strophic structure. That of the Amazon warrior is in *verso suelto*, with pair-rime at the end. Hippolyta replies in alternating *eptasilabos* and *endecasilabos* with pair-rime, after the dramatic *lira* form. Antiope replies in *verso suelto*, with pair-rime at the end. Bellerophon speaks in sonnet

form. The *gracioso* uses the *redondilla*, and the shepherdess speaks in the lyric *lira* strophe of Garcilaso. Barbelindo, a character that shows the realism of the Lope school, as well as the wit of the Plauto-Terentian, speaks in *versos sueltos*, at the close of which, with evident intent to ridicule, he uses a sonnet. The closing dialogue between him and the shepherdess is in *verso suelto*.

This fragment is not discussed by Schlegel in his lectures, nor in the *Europa* essay. He was at work on it when the first volume of his Calderon translation appeared. Friedrich Schlegel writes from Paris:¹ "Die Amazonen bitte ich mir sobald als möglich zu senden."² A. W. Schlegel writes Tieck from Berlin:³ "Mit den Amazonen bin ich noch nicht weiter."⁴ Despite the meager mention, the fragment must have been discussed and eagerly awaited by the Romanticists, as it is beyond question the initial impulse to one of the dramas of the period, viz., Kleist's *Penthesilea*.⁵

Schlegel's *Spanisches Theater*⁶ contains only Calderon plays, although we know that it was his intention to translate from other Spanish dramatists. This was due to Schlegel's demand that the Calderon plays should appear separate and not mixed with the plays of Cervantes, Lope, Moreto, and others, whose plays he and Tieck intended to bring out later in separate editions.⁷ He writes Goethe from Berlin⁸ that he will publish at Easter his *Spanisches Theater*, in which he will set apart the Calderon plays from those of the other Spanish dramatists. Schelling writes Goethe, April, 1803, of the appearance of the first volume containing the translations of Calderon's *La devocion de la cruz*, *El mayor encanto, amor*, and *La vanda y la flor*.

Work was resumed at once by Schlegel for a second volume.⁹ F. Schlegel in a letter from Paris¹⁰ comments on the first volume

¹ January 15, 1803.

² Fr. Schlegels Briefe an seinen Bruder Wilhelm, hrsg. v. Oskar Walzel (Berlin, 1895), p. 507.

³ September 20, 1802.

⁴ Holtei, *Briefe an Tieck*, Vol. III, p. 276.

⁵ Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum, Vol. XI (1885), p. 200.

⁶ Berlin, 1803; Berlin, 1809, two volumes.

⁷ Holtei, *Briefe an Tieck*, Vol. III, p. 275.

⁸ September 11, 1802.

⁹ Letter to Goethe, Berlin, September 10, 1803.

¹⁰ November 28, 1803 (Walzel, p. 522).

of *Spanisches Theater* and urges Wilhelm, in the future, to select only "ganz katholische and fantastische Stücke." Wilhelm writes Goethe¹ that he is at work on Calderon "und in der Übersetzung eines Stükkes begriffen, das vielleicht selbst nach vertrauter Bekanntschaft mit denen im ersten Band in Erstaunen setzen kann." The translation of this play, *El principe constante*, was finished by the end of the year, and Schlegel writes Goethe again from Berlin² that the *Spanisches Theater* will be rapidly pushed to an end. In his correspondence with Tieck, Goethe, and others at this time, as well as in his *Europa* essay, it is important to note that Wilhelm Schlegel insisted upon a separate appearance of the translations of other Spanish dramatists from that of his ideal poet Calderon; and, in his selections from the latter, one can further note a studied effort to select those plays which, in his judgment, best suited the German temperament, the interests of the reconstructing German drama, and the reputation of his prince of dramatic poets. In this connection he writes Goethe of *El principe constante*.³

By 1804 we reach Schlegel's point of greatest interest for Spanish literature, including even Calderon. Thereafter there is rapid wane, due, largely, to the awakened interest in the literatures of the North. In the Berlin lectures he had called Calderon as great a romantic type as Shakespeare.⁴ In the letter to Tieck of September 20, 1802, we have seen that he would no sooner think of putting Calderon and any other poet within the same covers, than of putting Shakespeare with Ben Jonson, Fletcher, etc., in the same binding in his *Englisches Theater*. The Berlin lectures are especially rich in illustration of his Calderon cult. He points to Calderon as a model for the drama of myth, mystery, and Christianity,⁵ and says that the study of Calderon is necessary to the mystic interpretation of nature.⁶ It is the time of his sonnet to Calderon,⁷ and of the interest for Spanish literature which prompted him to write Goethe⁸ that it was largely the lack of Spanish books which gave the Italian flavor to *Blumensträusse*, 1803-4. "Sollte ich einmal wieder," he writes, "solch eine

¹ October 15, 1803.

² January 17, 1804.

³ Cf. letter of January 17, 1804.

⁴ Seuffert, D. L. D. 17, 18, 19, Vol. I, p. 110.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 355.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 4.

⁷ *Werke*, Vol. I, p. 372.

⁸ Berlin, September 17, 1803.

Sammlung geben, so würde ich das Verhältnis umkehren." In a letter to Goethe¹ he refers, in retrospective pride, to himself as Calderon's first missionary in Germany. Further, the letter to Goethe from Bonn² reveals the Calderon cult in his studied attempt "das Vergessene und Verkannte ans Licht zu ziehen" through Dante> Shakespeare> Petrarcha> Calderon> *alte deutsche Heldenlieder*.

This shows us Schlegel's turning aside from Calderon. As early as March 12, 1806, he writes Fouqué³ from Geneva that Germany needs a different kind of poetry from the Spanish—one in which there is a vigorous, manly, militant, patriotic note in this period of social and political depression; that they should go to the Germanic past, to those periods of Germanic political ascendancy.

Schlegel's interest in Calderon is supposed to have come from Tieck, although his interest in Spanish literature dates from his Göttingen days. Schlegel and Tieck were mutually helpful. The former encouraged Tieck's *Don Quijote*, 1797–99, and was planning to bring out with him all of Cervantes, when they were anticipated. In order to create the atmosphere necessary to an artistically truthful attempt, they read, while engaged in this, from the Spanish lyric and drama. Of Tieck we read:

Durch diese Übersetzungsarbeit nun ward er bewogen, auch in der dramatischen Literatur der Spanier sich umzuschauen. Lope de Vega und Calderon studiert.⁴

Tieck turned from Genoveva, 1797, to Cervantes. From the final form, 1799, we see in its "Farbenpracht und Formenreichtum" the results of his Spanish studies, "vor allem Lope und Calderon."⁵

At this time Schlegel did not care for Calderon and did not share Tieck's enthusiasm for *Devocion de la cruz*.⁶ In the *Europa* essay he writes:

Ich hielt anfangs das für Manier, was ich nachher als den reinsten und potenziertesten Stil des Romantischtheatralischen erkannte.

¹ Geneva, March 15, 1811.

² November 1, 1824.

³ Briefe an Fouqué, hrsg. von Hitzig (Berlin, 1848.), Abt. 2, p. 354.

⁴ Koch, "Calderon in Deutschland" (*Im Neuen Reich*, May 25, 1881).

⁵ Haym, *Die romantische Schule*, p. 472: Ranftl, *Tieck's Genoveva als romantische Dichtung*.

⁶ Kopke, *Ludwig Tieck*, Vol. I, p. 251.

At this period of the Cervantes-Lope enthusiasm the Berlin salons read the former with delight. For the great interest in Weimar one finds ample testimony in the correspondence of Herder, Goethe, or Schiller. This was due largely to the translations of Bertuch and von Soden. Of the former Farinelli says: "Er hat mit seinen Arbeiten zur Kenntnis der spanischen Literatur den Romantikern den Weg gebahnt."¹ Aside from Tieck's connection with the Reichhardt house, his association with Rambach and Grosse strengthened the interest in Cervantes and Lope that had come to him from Dieze through Tychsen. Rambach's *Graf Mariano*,² after Lope's treatment of the Alarcos romance in Bertuch's *Magazin*, and Grosse's *Spanische Novellen*³ created at the time a great interest in Spanish literature and are potent factors in the movement to reconstruct German literature after the Spanish.

Schlegel's *Numancia* dates from this period. From Jena⁴ he writes Goethe that, among some books just received from Göttingen, there were two with which he has formed a most interesting acquaintance, viz: *Viaje del Parnaso* and *Numancia*. To Goethe he writes twice for the Spanish *Don Quijote*: "In diesem unsern Musensitze ist überhaupt kein spanischer *Don Quijote* befindlich."⁵ This interest in Cervantes, Lope, and the lyric of Góngora, Garcilaso, and Villegas, in particular, dates from his early friendship with Bürger and Heyne, the friend of Herder.⁶ To this period really belong the *Horen* articles, in particular "Briefe über Poesie, Silbenmasse and Sprache," an essay which is at the threshold of the movement to wed poetry and music. With the lectures of Bouterwek, who had been active at Göttingen in the interests of Spanish literature since 1790, Friedrich was acquainted as early as 1792.⁷ This must have been overlooked by Koch when he attributes the Schlegel-Tieck interest for Calderon to Bouterwek's *Geschichte der spanischen Poesie and Beredsamkeit*.⁸

¹ *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, Neue Folge, Vol. VIII, p. 325.

² Grätz, 1799.

³ Berlin, 1794-5.

⁴ November 5, 1799.

⁵ *Briefe*, Jena, May 30 and June 17, 1800.

⁶ Cf. Boie an Jacobi, August 28, 1767; Haym, *op. cit.*, pp. 145, 147, 869.

⁷ *Briefe* (Walzel), p. 49.

⁸ Göttingen, 1804; cf. *Im Neuen Reich*, May 25, 1881.

A glance at the literature of Spain read in Germany during the last half of the eighteenth century shows that Calderon was not so prominent as Cervantes and Lope. Cronegk had an edition of Lope. Herder in the *Fragmente* selects Lope as representative of the Catholic tendency in the romantic drama. Dieze and Schiebeler were lovers of Cervantes. The former defended Lope and Calderon in the strife over the merits of the Spanish dramatists, the latter awakened the interest of Gleim and Jacobi in Góngora, Garcilaso, and the lyricists. Bertuch translated Villegas in 1774, and emphasized the merits of Lope and Cervantes in his *Magazin*, 1780-82. The translation of *Linguet* by Zacharia und Gärtner, 1770-71, contained plays from Calderon, Lope, Moreto, Fragoso, Candamo, and Solís. Two other books of importance are: R. Becker, *Schauspiele nach spanischen Originalen*¹ and Buchholz, *Handbuch der spanischen Sprache und Literatur*.²

From Schlegel's reading we know that he was acquainted with Cervantes, Lope, de Mescua, Tirso de Molina, Guevara, de Rojas, Coello, Fragoso, Solís, and Candamo. I regret sincerely that I have not had access to the books on travel in Spain of Kaufhold³ and Fischer⁴ in the preparation of this article, since these books were widely read in the Berlin, Jena, and Weimar circles. Farinelli says that the former gives a better account of the Spanish stage than Schlegel.⁵ Schlegel had, however, but few books in Spanish at this time, nothing comparable to that rich collection which one must infer from the letters to Tieck from Bonn.⁶ The "Vorrede" to Bertuch, as well as the correspondence of Tieck and the Schlegels, show us the scarcity of Spanish books in Germany. Göttingen had perhaps the only well-equipped library. From this library, and through Friedrich's copying from and purchases of old books in Paris, Wilhelm Schlegel secured the books necessary to his work. Under date of January 15, 1803, Friedrich writes from Paris:

Spanische Bücher hat man hier sehr gute Gelegenheit zu kaufen, auch nicht sehr theuer. Mache nur dass ich Dir für die Europa recht

¹ Dresden, 1783; cf. *Europa*, Vol. I, No. 2.

² Berlin, 1801-4.

³ Gotha, 1797.

⁴ Berlin, 1799.

⁵ *Zeitschr. f. vgl. Litgesch.*, N. F., Vol. VIII, p. 358.

⁶ May 27, 1803, (Holtei, Vol. III, p. 301).

viel zu bezahlen habe, so kann ich es vielleicht in eitel Poesie abtragen.¹

Of particular interest is the edition of Garcilaso, which we know from the letter of August 14, 1803, was purchased for Wilhelm by Friedrich, at the time the former was working on *Die Amazonen*. In Wilhelm's library is found, No. 978, the edition: "Obras de Garcilaso de la Vega ilustradas con notas," Madrid, 1796."

By this time Tieck had commenced his Spanish library, to which Schlegel had access. The two editions most used were the "Apontes" Calderon, 1760-63, and the *Teatro Español de la Huerta*, 1785. Friedrich had written concerning these editions in 1803.² From the latter Schlegel read chiefly. That his acquaintance with Spanish literature was beyond this we know from his regret that it contained nothing of Lope and his predecessors.⁴ Of the eight *comedias* of Cervantes he says that they are "in der Manier des Lope." His opinion of Lope was by no means such as we are led to infer from Farinelli in his monograph, *Grillparzer und Lope de Vega*.⁵ Through his feeling that the Lope cult begins with Grillparzer, Farinelli has misread Schlegel's comments on Lope's three faults, viz., lack of sequence, prolixity, and a useless display of pedantry. What Schlegel does say is that the stage was the best place where Lope might free himself from these faults.⁶

From this lack of artistic blend and harmony in Lope and his contemporaries, Guillen de Castro, Montalban, Molina, Matos-Fragoso, Schlegel turns to Calderon, establishing a cult that continues to this day in Germany. Through his interest in Calderon he gave up his plans to rework the plays of Cervantes, Lope, Moreto, and others.⁷ Friedrich writes him from Paris concerning an edition of Moreto, "Calderon's Vorgänger," as late as November 2, 1803.⁸ Of the Calderon cult in Germany Tieck writes:

Bald war Calderon der Lieblingsdichter unserer Nation geworden . . . das wahre Heil für die Poesie könne uns nur von den Spaniern und namentlich von Calderon kommen.⁹

¹ Walzel, p. 505.

² Walzel, p. 519, footnote.

³ Cf. Walzel, pp. 505, 524.

⁴ Cf. *Werke*, Vol. VI, p. 377.

⁵ Berlin, 1894.

⁶ Cf. *Werke*, Vol. VI, p. 383; *Europa*, Vol. I, No. 2.

⁷ Cf. *Europa*, Vol. I, No. 2; *Briefe*, (Holtei), Vol. III, p. 375.

⁸ Cf. Walzel, p. 524.

⁹ *Kritische Schriften*, Vol. 3, p. 213.

This remark of Tieck certainly justifies Farinelli's statement that Calderon was "den Deutschen vor 1800 ein leerer Name und harzte noch auf die Apotheose der Romantiker,"¹ but not that of Schack, that all that Schlegel says in his *Vorlesungen* merits no other name than an ingenious and eloquent apotheosis of Calderon.²

In a vein similar to that in his remark in the above-cited letter Schlegel writes as follows in the *Europa* essay: "Ich werde seine [Calderons] Stücke nie mit denen von anderen in demselben Bande zusammenstellen, und sie durch einen zweiten Titel absondern." The question now arises: Why did not Schlegel finish *Die Amazonen*? As a Calderon play it would certainly have been finished and included in either the first or the second volume of the *Spanisches Theater*, 1803-9, despite the presence of the *Locken Absalons* in Schlegel's *Nachlass*. The play was eagerly commenced. Its completion was certainly eagerly awaited by Friedrich and Tieck³ at the very moment when the Spanish movement in German literature was at its zenith. Aside from the internal evidence, the fragment is closely related to the common interests of the three men to rehabilitate the German drama through the imitation and adaptation of the genius of the Spanish. Their correspondence shows this in the above-cited places where the fragment is mentioned.

The doubt that arises as to the Calderon authorship of the fragment from a close reading of these places is certainly strengthened by Schlegel's own treatment and exclusion of the fragment, as well as by the use of metric forms in it which we know that Calderon never used. An examination of Schlegel's translations shows that he has been true to the spirit of the two languages, and, in so far as possible, has kept Calderon's meters and rimes. Goedeke says that his translations are models "für die Übersetzung, die das Original nach Form und Inhalt, nach Ton und Stil in deutscher Sprache dichterisch nachschafft."⁴ In his own words Schlegel, in this respect, thus excludes the possibility of the fragment's being a Calderon play:

¹ *Grillparzer und Lope*, p. 342.

² Schack, *Historia de la literatura y del arte dramático en España*. Traducción de Ed. de Mier (Madrid), Vol I, p. 32.

³ Cf. Walzel, p. 507; Holtei, Vol. III, p. 276.

⁴ *Grundriss*, Vol. VI, p. 7; Vol. VII, p. 580.

Bei Stücken anderer Verfasser wird eine nähere Betrachtung ausweisen, ob Vertauschung der gereimten Verse mit reimlosen Jamben oder gar eingemischte Prosa und hier und da Abkürzung dem Zwecke vollständig entsprechen, und sie sogar in einem vorteilhafteren Lichte zeigen kann.¹

In this respect, the fragment could have been by one of the Calderon school. This does not seem possible; however. Not only the rime and strophic structure, but the atmosphere of the play, the naïve but forceful character of the language, whether of the passion, buffoon, or pastoral moods, and the simplicity in treatment of *motif* and character, argue for a much earlier time. There is in this simplicity, classic for a Spanish play of this time, treatment so similar to Kleist's *Penthesilea* as to suggest that the fragment might be Schlegel's—one of those blends after the Hispano-antique and the Hispano-Shakespearian so common to that period. The fable is not couched in so romantic an atmosphere as in Calderon's *El mayor encanto, amor*. Schlegel points out that "Calderon ist die griechische Mythologie ein liebliches Märchen."² In want of so great a part of the play, one cannot compare *Die Amazonen* with Calderon's play. We have enough, however, to show the great difference between the Circe-Ulysses treatment in *El mayor encanto, amor* and that of Hippolyta-Antiope-Bellerophon in the fragment. Hippolyta-Antiope are of the pre-Calderon spirit, of the time of the glowing passion, whether of revenge or love, of Lope's *Machtweiber*. Such characters are portrayed by Lope with less of the conceits of Calderon, in a manner realistic and true to his plastic sense. Of him Farinelli says: "Meistens besitzt das Weib jene Eigenschaften die dem Manne fehlen und dem Manne ziemen."³

The legend is handled, despite its simplicity, more or less after the chivalric romance of Ariosto and Tasso. In this pre-Calderon period this theme was of peculiar interest, as is seen in the reworkings by de Soto, the eager rivalry of Lope, the *Isabela* of Argensola, etc. The dialogue is not, as in Calderon, adorned "mit ausgesponnenen Vergleichungen,"⁴ nor does it show the unusual expressions and syntax of the Calderon school. The

¹ *Europa*, Vol. I, No. 2.

² *Europa*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 81.

³ *Grillparzer und Lope*, p. 288.

⁴ Farinelli, p. 52.

language is more in the spirit of Villegas, Figueroa, and the Argensolas. Lope's sonnet "Á la nueva lengua" refers to a later period. The lack of *asonante* and stress of *verso suelto* is only of this earlier period and not until Calderon is there extensive use of the former. The prevailing form with Lope is the *redondilla*. The *gracioso* is the only character in the fragment to use this; with this character, however, the *verse suelto* is largely used. Of Lope's school, even Montalvan avoided the *verso suelto* as unbecoming and difficult; likewise Harsdöffer in his reading from Lope.¹ Of Lupercio Argensola Schack says: "Su lenguaje y versificacion se distinguen por su pureza, elevacion y elegancia."² His plays show such interludes as we find in the *Amazonen*. It is the period of episodes so introduced as to gain the approval of the critics, poetically beautiful and artistically clever, but weakening the dramatic unity.

In the fragment there is no metrical blend, as later was the case. The only departure is the broken *ottava rima* in the Hippolyta-Antiope speech. From Lope to Calderon one can see a studied attempt to simplify the foreign measures or to adapt them through artistic blend.³ Ticknor misreads this: "Everywhere he [Calderon] indulges himself in the rich variety of measures which Italian or Spanish poetry offered him."⁴ Of the earlier period Schack says that Spanish and Italian meters exist side by side

aunque al aplicarse no constituyan un sistema métrico completo; las combinaciones métricas italianas y especialmente las octavas que mas tarde ocuparon el puesto principal, dominan ya en el diálogo ordinario.⁵

In speaking of the fixed forms which maintained in the early part of Lope's career, he says of the characters of *De la Cueva* that they speak in

redondillas, octavas, tercetos, yambos sueltos, canciones italianas, quintillas y versos octosílabos. . . . Si á las formas métricas dichas se añada el soneto. . . . tendremos la versificacion de las piezas mas antiguas de Lope de Vega.⁶

¹Cf. *Zeitschr. f. vgl. Litgesch.*, N. F., Vol. V, p. 166.

²Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 77.

³Cf. Baist in Gröber's *Grundriss*, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 466.

⁴Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 479.

⁵Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 90.

⁶Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 428.

The introduction to his sonnet by the *gracioso* shows, in part, the studied attempt of this earlier period.¹

The interpolated pastoral in the fragment is of importance for the solution of this question of authorship. This is in the *lira* form, introduced by Garcilaso, *si de mi baja lira*, a form that was affected at the beginning of Lope's career by Herrera, Fray Luis, San Juan de la Cruz, and the Argensolas, for mystic and pastoral moods. A notable example is the lyric, "*La vida del campo*" of Fray Luis. Lope's school was far superior to Calderon in "las innumerables composiciones líricas."² Shortly after, we find the *lira* enlarged in the lyric, by the blend with native measures; cf. Figueroa's *cuando cerro los ojos* and Balbuena's *que gusto es ver un simple pastorcillo*; and in the drama to the six-line paired strophe with alternating *eptasilabos* and *endecasílabos* that was later enlarged into the indefinite *silva* of Calderon. Schack writes of this as follows:

En los dramas mas antiguos de este periodo es frecuente el uso de la lira; en los posteriores, especialmente en los de Calderon, mucho mas rara, haciendo sus veces la silva.³

The interlude shows the pastoral cult of this earlier time that had received such rich expression in the *Galatea* of Cervantes, 1584; the *Don Quijote* episodes, 1605; the *Arcadia* of Lope, 1598; the *Pastor de Félida* of Montalvo, 1582; and the work of Figueroa, the *Tirsi* of Cervantes. This is the period of the final triumph of the Italianate manner and the ascendancy of the pastoral, which, tinged with mysticism, as we have seen, was to lead later to the beautiful conceits of Góngora, Quevedo, Calderon, and his school. The classic themes at this time in vogue were later set aside largely through the drama of native themes, but were revived by Calderon and his school, especially in the unsuccessful attempt of Solis to weld classic myths and native traditions, to romanticize his materials.

Lope's earlier dramas are largely pastorals. The plays of Guevara and de Castro have frequently pastoral episodes. Lope excels in the portrayal of rustic types. His *Esther* is one of

¹ For Figueroa cf. Ticknor, Vol. II, p. 312.

² Cf. Schack, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 348.

³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 212.

many dramas to show a developed comic underplot between a coquettish shepherdess and lover, inwoven for popular effect. Of his skill in this, Schack writes:

El nunca pierde ocasion de ofrecernos estos personajes y de intercalar á veces pequeños idilios de este linaje en sus dramas historicas y religiosos, aun interrumpiendo el curso de la accion . . . nos deleita por los contrastes que traza entre la vida rural y sin afectacion con la de ciudades y cortes.¹

The *gracioso* of the fragment has, in addition to the buffoon spirit shown in the early dramatic eclogues, the Plautian or Terentian qualities of the pre-Calderon school. This combination we find as early as Lope de Rueda, of Sevilla—the home of the Spanish pastorals—praised by Cervantes for his *versos pastoriles*. The dramatists *del uso antiguo* failed, like Gottsched in Germany, to banish this type. With Lope and Calderon in particular, it refines and changes into the full-blown parody on or caricature of the master or social superior. In Lope's early dramas, however, this realistic type, a blend of Italian buffoon and pastoral clown, is found.

In any discussion of the authorship of *Die Amazonen*, about which so little is known, one must carefully consider the characteristics which it may have in common with the Spanish drama at the various periods of its development. At this writing, my own conclusions, I regret to say are negative. I cannot hold with Ticknor, however, that the fragment is by Calderon, and can here only express surprise that this error failed to cause comment in the very excellent works of Münch-Bellinghausen, Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Rennert, Morel-Fatio, Menéndez y Pelayo, and others. In this respect I have the support of the very able scholar, Professor Arthur Ludwig Stiefel, from whose note to me I take the very great liberty of quoting:

Sie haben vollkommen recht, wenn Sie sagen, dass Schlegel's Fragment *Die Amazonen nicht* von Calderon herrührt. Mir ist aber auch nichts im älteren spanischen Drama bekannt, dem das Fragment entnommen sein könnte.

Several things point to this fragment as original with Schlegel. Aside from the style, of which mention has been made, we have

¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 454.

Friedrich's keen interest in the play immediately after his *Alarcos* venture and at the time of the *Ion* and *Lacrymas* experiments. In this connection most significant is his sending to Wilhelm from Paris the poems of Garcilaso, after which the *lira* is formed. Further, the only places in the correspondence where mention is made of the fragment seem to point to Schlegel's authorship. While there precedes or follows the notice some mention of Spanish literature, this is simply through the common interest in Spanish literature at this time, as well as the Calderon studies and of the latter ventures of Wilhelm. In the above-cited letter to Tieck he speaks of the *Amazonen* venture in connection with other work in the spirit and after the form of Spanish poetry. It is true that the venture is associated with a preceding paragraph in which he calls attention to the fact that he has read and studied Calderon during the summer, and is not as far along—referring to the Calderon translation—as he would like; but the association is one of accident only.¹ Of particular interest in this connection is Friedrich's letter from Paris, January 1803:

Die Amazonen bitte ich mir sobald als möglich zu senden. Besonders auch den Ion nicht zu vergessen. Mein nächstes Drama ist immer noch nicht ganz fertig; auch ist es keins von denen, die ich Dir genannt. Wirst Du denn nicht ein romantisches Drama dichten? . . . Auf die Amazonen bin ich ganz ausserordentlich begierig; ich bilde mir ein, ich könnte sie mir einigermassen denken.²

The entire spirit of these lines seems to point to the fragment as original, and this conjecture is certainly strengthened by Friedrich's eager interest, as well as by his sending the *Garcilaso* with whose *lira* the fragment ends, at the very moment of Wilhelm's greatest interest in this. Again, my own comment on the use of this *lira*, as well as the character of Mnemonia, the shepherdess, receives added support in the following opinion solicited from the Berlin scholar, Professor Gustav Roethe, whose *Säcularstudie—Brentano's Ponce de Leon*³—gives weight to his words in this field:

Ich gebe zu, dass das Gespräch zwischen Hippolyta und Antiope und der Monolog der Schäferin Mnemonia allenfalls auch Originaldichtung

¹ Cf. *Briefe* (Holtei), Vol. III, pp. 276 ff.

² *Briefe* (Walzel), p. 507.

³ Berlin, 1901.

eines deutschen Romantikers sein konnte: aber schwerlich A. W. Schlegels.

The theme had just as marked an interest *per se* to the Romantics as it had to the Spanish dramatists. Minor, for example, refers Kleist's *Penthesilea* to the "Amazonengestalten der Romantiker in Drama, Roman und Novelle."¹ Schlegel could have received the initial impulse to the fragment, if original, from Lope, Tirso, or even Solís, but certainly not from Calderon. Of all the Spanish dramatists, the work of Calderon is best known. Cotarelo y Morí writes as follows: "De Ruiz de Alarcon y Calderon de la Barca conocemos por entero su teatro;"² and Professor Antonio Restori, of the Regia University, Messina, has kindly written me: "Io non ricordo che Calderon abbia trattato il suito delle Amazzoni." The plays in Spanish, under the same or a suggestive title, have a different fable and treatment. In Solís alone is there a suggested borrowing, viz., the similarity between Lucindo and Barbelindo.

While I am inclined to the view of Schlegel's authorship of the fragment, I am unable at this writing to defend it beyond the argument hitherto cited in the paper. Unfortunately, I have not had access to a specialist's library in the shaping of my notes, and have not been in position, therefore, to follow up several conjectures. With the hope that someone may assist me in correcting this error of attribution by Ticknor, I do not believe the printing of these notes to be untimely.

If now, on the other hand, one assumes that the fragment is a translation by Schlegel from the Spanish, the original is beyond question by some writer of the pre-Calderon period. The drama must have come to Schlegel among some books sent to him by Friedrich from Paris or as a stray book from some other source, with the pirated name of Calderon on the title page, leading to a mistake similar to that of H. von Chezy in ascribing to Calderon the *Silberlocke im Briefe* of de Castro.³ The fragment was certainly in no work of which Tieck knew or which he had in his possession, if we accept with Friesen that Tieck knew all the work that

¹ *Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum*, Vol. XI (1885), pp. 193-203.

² Cf. *Tirso de Molina* (Madrid, 1893).

³ Cf. *Urania, Taschenbuch* (Leipzig, 1815).

Schlegel was translating.¹ I have not been able to find the play in any of the collections used by Tieck and Schlegel, in the Academy edition of Lope, nor in Barrera under the same or a suggestive title. Ticknor claimed to know intimately the *Comedias Nuevas*.² His ascription of the *Amazonen* to Calderon was prompted, doubtless, through the title *Las Amazonas* in Vol. IX, No. 3, p. 85, or in Vol. XLVII of the same *colección*, containing nine plays of Solís, where several titles are repeated. The former play is without author's name and, in Calderon's style, might easily lead to the conjecture that it is a Calderon drama. His failure to compare this play with Schlegel's *Amazonen* doubtless led to his error. Tieck's copy of this *colección* Schlegel did not know. His Calderon plays were taken from other *colecciones*.

If, in conclusion, the fragment is from the Spanish, the original must be by some one writing not later than Lope. Stylistic reasons, as well as Schlegel's statement, argue for this. In his *Europa* essay he writes: "Verschiedene Dichter, die zwischen Lope und Calderon fallen, kenne ich noch nicht genug, um über sie mit Sicherheit reden zu kennen." For this period, therefore, we cannot reasonably expect Schlegel to have sufficient interest to select a drama for translation. With the drama at the time of Cervantes and Lope we know Schlegel to have had a wide reading acquaintance, although Schack has written to the contrary.³ By which dramatist of this time the fragment may prove to be, should the original ever be found, I cannot say, but beg to suggest, tentatively, Argensola, Villegas, Lope, Gabriel Téllez, or, possibly, de Mescua or Guevara.

¹Cf. Vol. II, p. 177.

²Madrid, 1652-1704; cf. Ticknor Appendix F, III, p. 579.

³Cf. *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 32; Vol. IV, p. 203.

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Modern Philology

VOL. III

October, 1905

No. 2

CHAPMAN'S "AMOROUS ZODIACKE"

"*Tempore patet occulta veritas.*"

I

In my *Introduction to Elizabethan Sonnets*, 1904, I gave, for I believe the first time, a long series of instances in which Elizabethan poets had without any kind of acknowledgment appropriated contemporary French verse. I showed that Elizabethan poets of all degrees of ability and reputation did not merely adapt the conceits and ideas of French poetry, but at times slavishly translated the French words and very often employed the French meters.

I have at odd intervals, since the publication of my *Introduction*, continued my researches into the relations between French and English literature at the end of the sixteenth century, and I have more than confirmed my published conclusions. I have added considerably to my store of pieces, which, despite the fact that they were presented to the Elizabethan public as original English poems, prove on investigation to be bold plagiarisms from the French.

In one or two instances I find that I took in my *Introduction* too generous a view of the working methods of more than one Elizabethan poet. In the case of the "augmented" edition of Constable's *Diana* of 1594, I only recently discovered that a so-called original sonnet there, which I thought to be a loose and

pardonable adaptation from Ronsard, was an exact translation from Desportes.¹ A comparison of the English text with the French of Desportes is worth studying. The force of plagiarism could hardly go farther. I give the two sonnets in parallel columns:

<p>CONSTABLE, <i>Diana</i> (1594), Sixth Decade, Sonnet VIII</p> <p>Unhappy day! unhappy month and season! When first proud love, my joys adjourning, Poured into mine eye (to her eye turning) A deadly juice, unto my green thoughts geason. Prisoner I am unto the eye I gaze on: Eternally my love's flame is inburn- ing : A mortal shaft still wounds me in my mourning: Thus prisoned, burnt, and slain ; the spirit, soul, and reason ; What tided me then, since these pains which annoy me, In my despair, are evermore in- creasing ? The more I love, less is my pain's releasing : That cursèd be the fortune which destroys me, The hour, the month, the season, and the cause, When love first made me thrall to lovers' laws.</p>	<p>DESPORTES, <i>Diane</i> (1573), Livre I, Sonnet XLVII</p> <p>Malheureux fut le jour, le mois et la saison Que le cruel Amour ensorcela mon ame, Versant dedans mes yeux, par les yeux d'une dame, Une trop dangereuse et mortelle poi- son. Helas! je suis toujours en obscure prison ; Helas! je sens toujours une brû- lante flame ; Helas! un trait mortel sans relâche m'entame, Serrant, brûlant, navrant, esprit, ame et raison. Que sera-ce de moy? Le mal qui me tourmente, En me desesperant, d'heure en heure j'augmente, Et plus je vay avant, plus je suis mal- heureux. Que maudicte soit donc ma dure destinée, L'heure, le jour, le mois, la saison et l'année Que le cruel Amour me rendit amou- roux.</p>
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II

But the immediate purpose of my present paper is to show that a more eminent Elizabethan poet than Constable, a poet of the intellectual capacity of George Chapman, did not disdain

¹ The sonnet in question does not appear in the first edition of Constable's *Diana*, which was issued in 1592, and of which I have consulted the single known copy in the Christie-Miller library at Britwell, near Maidenhead. The volume of 1592 contained only twenty-three sonnets in all; that of 1594 added fifty-four new sonnets which were described on the title-page as "divers Quatorzains of honorable and learned personages." These personages have not been identified, and one of them, rather than Constable himself, seems responsible for the plagiarism from Desportes, which is cited above.

the common habit of plagiarism from the French. It would indeed, I believe, be difficult to match in the history of literature so unblushing an act of piracy on the part of a writer of great genius and repute as that which I now lay to Chapman's charge.

In 1595 Chapman published a little volume of verse bearing this title :

Ouids Banquet of Sence. A Coronet for his Mistresse Philosophie, and his amorous *Zodiacke*. With a translation of a Latine coppie, written by a Fryer, Anno Dom. 1400. *Quis leget haec ? Nemo, Hercule Nemo, vel duo vel nemo*: Persius. [Printer's device of a gnomon rising from the sea waves, and casting a shadow on the water, with motto on a scroll in the sky above, "Sibi Conscia Recti."] At London. Printed by I. R. for Richard Smith, *Anno Dom. 1592*.

This volume seems to be the second that Chapman published. His first publication, also in verse, came out one year earlier under the title of *The Shadow of Night*. Great biographical interest attaches to *Ouids Banquet of Sence*. It is a very rare book. Only two perfect copies¹ seem known in England. Of these one is at the Dyce Library at South Kensington and the other was formerly in the Corser collection.² An imperfect copy is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. I have made use of the perfect copy in the Dyce Library. It is a quarto of thirty-five leaves in admirable preservation. The signatures run from A to I₃.

The volume opens with a dedication "To the Trylie Learned and my worthy Friende, Ma. Mathew Royden." Royden or Roydon was a little-known writer of verse, who reckoned among his intimate friends Sidney, Marlowe, Spenser, and Lodge, as well as Chapman; all held him in high esteem and appreciated his critical powers. In conformity with the spirit of the quotation from Persius which figures on the title-page of *Ouids Banquet of Sence*, Chapman complains in his address to Roydon of "the wilfull pouertie" of public taste, which insists on excessive simplicity of style in poetry. Chapman argues that poetic art requires subtlety, and no mere "plainness," in the presentation of ideas. He denies the right of "the prophane multitude" to

¹ The British Museum Library contains only a copy of a reprint of 1639.

² Cf. Corser's *Collectanea*, Part IV, pp. 283-89.

judge of "high and hearty invention expressed in most significant and unaffected phrase." The poems that follow are offered as a specimen of his "high and hearty invention." Every line, indeed, of Chapman's preface is a direct assertion that he is offering to a public which is difficult to please the ripe fruits of his own individual, original, and profound genius.

Five sonnets follow the author's prefatory dedication. Of these the first is ascribed to Richard Stapleton, the second to Tho. Williams of the Inner Temple, and the fourth to I. D. of the Middle Temple (i. e. Sir John Davies), while the other two are anonymous. The general burden of the commendatory verse is that Chapman is an original English poet of an excellence which gives him a literary rank only second to that allowed to Ovid.

A close examination of the volume puts a strange and mysterious complexion on the author's declared pretensions to originality, which his friends accepted without qualification. An appreciable part of the volume, at any rate, curiously confutes the printer's motto on the title-page, "*Sibi conscientia recti.*" My research seems to illustrate more pertinently a second printer's motto at the extreme end of the volume: "*Tempore patet occulta veritas.*"¹

Four separate poems are included in the rare little book. The first, which bears the title of "Ouids Banquet of Sence," is a somewhat licentious description of the poet Ovid's emotions on witnessing the emperor Augustus' daughter Julia (otherwise called Corinna) in the bath, and of his endeavors to gratify each sense in turn as he surveys the seductive scene. The second poem is a sequence of ten sonnets entitled "A Coronet for his Mistresse Philosophie," in which the poet condemns the habitual celebration by contemporary sonneteers of "love's sensual empery." On these two poems I do not propose to dwell at present. The third poem, "The Amorous Zodiacke," is more familiar than any of the others to students of Elizabethan literature, and that alone I examine here in detail.

¹The device at the end of the volume shows the figure of Time, with his scythe and hourglass, dragging by the hand a naked woman from a rocky cave. The picture is encircled by a scroll bearing the motto, "*Tempore patet occulta veritas.*" together with the initials of the printer, R. S. (Richard Smith), at the bottom.

With regard to the fourth and last poem in the volume doubt is justifiable as to Chapman's authorship. It is avowedly no original composition, but a translation from the Latin. The title runs "The Amorous Contention of *Phillis* and *Flora* translated out of a Latine coppie, written by a Fryer, Anno. 1400." The English verse is followed by ninety-five verses,—the opening lines of a Latin poem entitled "Certamen inter *Phillidem & Floram*." The English writer is here translating with some literalness a mediaeval Latin poem, which was at one time wrongly attributed to Walter Mapes. The original probably dates from the twelfth century;¹ it is far earlier than the year 1400, to which the superscription assigns it. The rhyming metre of the Latin is carefully followed in the English. With regard to the authorship of the English rendering, it is curious to note that in 1598 it was separately reissued, and was then assigned to another's pen—to the pen of "R. S. Esquire." R. S. may very probably be Richard Stapleton, who prefixed commendatory verse to Chapman's volume of 1594. The title of the reissue of 1598 ran :

Phillis and Flora. The sweete and ciuell contention of two amorous Ladys. Translated out of Latine, by R. S. Esquire. Aut Marte vel Mercurio. Imprinted at London by W. W. for Richarde Johnes. 1598.

It is likely enough that Chapman had no hand at all in the translation of "Phillis and Flora," but civilly rendered his friend Stapleton, whose work it was, the service of including it in his volume.

III

Whatever doubts attach to Chapman's relation with the fourth and concluding section of his *Ouids Banquet of Sence*, it is quite clear that the third section, containing the poem entitled "The Amorous Zodiacke," in thirty six-lined stanzas, is his own handiwork. He led his readers to believe that the verses were his original composition. There is no truth in this pretension. As

¹ The Latin poem, "De Phillide et Flora," seems to have been first printed in the *Beyträge zur Geschichte und Literatur*, etc., von J. Christoph Freyherrn von Aretin, Part IX, pp. 301-9, Munich, September, 1806. There is a thirteenth-century copy of the Latin poem in the British Museum, MS Harleian 978, fol. 115 v° f. This was printed in 1841 in the *Latin poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, edited by Thomas Wright for the Camden Society, pp. 258-67.

a matter of fact, "The Amorous Zodiacke" is a translation, contrived with singular exactness, of a French poem entitled "Le zodiac amoureux," by a living French author, who first published his work anonymously in Paris in 1587, reprinted it again anonymously in 1588, and published it for a third time, and then under his own name, in 1594, the year preceding the appearance of Chapman's English version.

The author of "Le zodiac amoureux" was Gilles Durant, sieur de la Bergerie. He was born at Clermont in the Auvergne, about 1550, and died at Paris in 1615, after a long and successful career at the Paris bar. Durant's leisure was devoted to poetry, mostly of an amorous kind. His verse was not always free from licentious coarseness, but some of his lyrics have grace and charm. A long sequence of sonnets which he addressed to an imaginary mistress, whom he called *Charlotte*, abounds in conventional conceits. His best-known work was a spirited translation into French of *Pancharis*, a series of Latin love-poems by his fellow-townsman and close friend, Jean Bonnefons (1554–1614). To the first edition of Bonnefons' Latin *Pancharis* (1587) Durant appended a second part, which bore the title, "Imitations tirées du Latin de Jean Bonnefons, avec autres amours et meslanges poétiques, de l'invention de l'Auteur" (i. e. Gilles Durant); and among these "amours et meslanges poétiques" "Le zodiac amoureux" first appeared. This volume was reissued in 1588 without change. In 1594 Durant's contributions reappeared separately under the title of *Les Œuvres poétiques du sieur de la Bergerie, avec les imitations tirées du Latin de J. Bonnefons*.

Chapman does not seem to have been the earliest English Elizabethan poet to have studied Durant's "Le zodiac amoureux." Barnabe Barnes in his swollen miscellany of verse entitled *Parthenophil and Parthenophe*, which was published as early as May, 1593, has twelve sonnets, xxxii–xlvi, in which he likens the progress of his amorous passion to the journey of the sun through the twelve signs of the zodiac. Barnes does not translate Durant's verse literally, but he closely reflects the Frenchman's sentiment and imagery. Chapman, on the other hand, is wholly dependent

on Durant. "Le zodiac amoureux" is not free from impropriety, and Chapman is no more squeamish than his French master.

It will be seen from the reprint of the French and English poems, which is given below, that Chapman's "Amorous Zodiacke" owes nothing whatever to his own invention. Not only is Durant's language accurately, and indeed servilely, reproduced, but his meter is borrowed, and many of his rhymes are anglicized with curiously halting effect. Chapman omits five of Durant's stanzas toward the end of the poem, but he scarcely gives any other indication of striving after originality. He does not reproduce the name of Durant's imaginary mistress, "*Charlotte*"; he contents himself with addresses to "Deare Mistres" or "Gracious Loue."

Chapman's slavish endeavors to anglicize the French epithets of Durant often cause him grotesque embarrassment. Durant's "les neiges Riphées (stanza 21, l. 4) is a clear reference to the snows of the Riphæan mountains in Scythia, which are familiar to classical students. But Chapman's reproduction of this expression of Durant in the English words, "the white riphees," is a linguistic offense which it is difficult to pardon. Most of Chapman's English is clear and intelligible, but "the white riphees" has parallels, of which the following are examples (I italicize in both the French and English the words mainly concerned):

- Stanza 7.* M'empestant parmy l'or de *tes beaux crepillons*.
And fetter me in gold, *thy crisps implies*.
- Stanza 8.* La Terre encore triste, & *feroit ouverture*.
The earth (yet sad) *and ouverture confer*.
- Stanza 15.* *S'eschaufferoit encor'* dans la signe suyant.
Should still incense mee in the following sign.
- Stanza 23.* *Au sortir de ce lieu si brave et magnifique*.
To sort from this most braue and pompous signe.

IV

A comparison of the French original of Durant with the English rendering of Chapman will sufficiently attest the justice of my conclusions. In the following reprint the spelling and punctuation of the originals have been carefully respected:

THE AMOROUS ZODIACK

BY GEORGE CHAPMAN

From "Ouids Banquet of Sence. A Coronet for his Mistresse Philosophie and his amorous *Zodiacke*. With a translation of a Latine copie, written by a Fryer, Anno Dom. 1400 . . . London. Printed by I.R. for Richard Smith, Anno Dom. 1595." (In the Dyce Library at South Kensington.) Sigs. F₃ recto—G₁ verso

1. I Neuer see the Sunne, but sud-dainly
My soule is mou'd, with spite and ielousie
 Of his high blisse in his sweete course discerned :
And am displeasde to see so many signs
 As the bright Skye vnworthily diuines,
 Enioy an honor they haue neuer earned.
2. To thinke heauen decks with such a beautious show
 A Harpe, a Shyp, a Serpent, and a Crow ;
 And such a crew of creatures of no prises,
But to excite in vs th' vnshamefast flames,
 With which (long since), Ioue wrongd so many Dames,
 Reuiuing in his rule, theyr names and vices.
3. Deare Mistres, whom the Gods bred heere belowe
T'expresse theyr wondrous powre and let vs know
 That before thee they nought did perfect make
Why may not I (as in those signes the Sunne)
 Shine in thy beauties, and as roundly runne,
 To frame (like him) an endesse Zodiack.

LE ZODIAC AMOUREUX

BY GILLES DURANT

From "Imitations Tirées du Latin de Jean Bonnefons, avec autres amours et meslanges poétiques de l'invention de l'Autheur." . . . Paris, printed by Abel L'Angelier, 1588. (In the British Museum.)

Page 44

Iamais vers le Soleil ie ne tourne la veue,
Que soudain, de dépit, ie n'aye l'ame émeue,
 En moy mesme jaloux de sa felicité:
Et porte à co[n]tre-coeur qua[n]d ie uoy tant de Signes
Luyre dedans le Ciel, ores qu'ils soient indignes
 De iouyr d'un honneur qu'ils n'ont point merité.
Pe[n]sez qu'il fait beau voir deda[n]s les cieux reluire
Un serpent, un corbeau, un Nef, une lyre,
 Et un tas d'animaux qui ne servent, sinon
De nous ramenteuoir les impudiques flames,
Dont Iupiter iadis abusa tant de femmes,
 Qui sont reuiure au Ciel leurs vices et leur nom.
Charlotte, que les Dieux icy bas firent naistre
Pour mo[n]strar leur pouvoir, et no' faire cognoistre
 Qu'ils n'avoient rien créé d'autant toy de perfait ;
Que ne m'est-il permis, comme au Soleil du Mo[n]de,
De luyre en tes beautez, et d'une course ronde
 En faire un Zodiaque à iamais, comme il fait ?

4. With thee Ile furnish both the
yeere and Sky,
Running in thee my course of
destinie:
And thou shalt be the rest of
all my mouing,
But of thy numberles and perfect
graces
(To giue my Moones theyr ful in
twelue months spaces)
I chuse but twelue in guerdon
of my louing.

5. Keeping eu'en way through euery
excellence,
Ile make in all, an equall residence
Of a newe Zodiack; a new *Phoe-*
bus guising,
When (without altering the
course of nature)
Ile make the seasons good, and
euery creature
Shall henceforth reckon day,
from my first rising.

6. To open then the Spring-times
golden gate,
And flowre my race with ardor
temperate,
Ile enter by thy head, and haue
for house
In my first month, this heaven-
Ram-curled tresse:
Of which, Loue all his charme-
chains doth addresse:
A Signe fit for a Spring so
beautiuous.

7. Lodgd in that fleece of hayre,
yellow, and curld,
Ile take high pleasure to enlight
the world,
And fetter me in gold, thy
crisps implies,
Earth (at this Spring spungie
and langorsome
With enuie of our ioyes in loue
become)
Shall swarme with flowers, &
ayre with painted flies.

De toy ie fournirois & le Ciel & l'an-
née,
I'acheuerois en toy ma course desti-
née,
Tu serois le seiour de tout mon
mouement:
Mais du nombre infiny de tes graces
perfaites
(Pour rendre en douze moys mes
Lunes satisfaites)
Ie n'en voudroy choisir que douze
seulement,
Errant par ces beautez, d'une juste
cadance,
Ie ferois en chacune égale residence,
D'un nouueau Zodiaque, aussi nou-
veau Soleil:
Lors, sans rien alterer l'ordre de la
Nature,
Je rendroy les Saisons: & chasque
creature
Se reigleroit le iour à mon premier
resueil.
Pour ouurir du Printemps la saison
redorée,
Et commencer mon cours d'une ar-
deur temperée,
I'entreroy par ton chef, & auroy
pour maison
Durant le premier moys, ceste Tresse
bessonnes:
Tresse dont Cupidon tous ses liens
façonne,
Signe forte à propos pour si gaye
saison.
Couché sur la toison de ceste Tresse
blonde,
Ie prendroy grand plaisir à esclairer
le monde,
M'empestrant parmy l'or de tes
beaux crepillons:
La terre à ce Printemps, de morne &
la[n]goureuse,
A l'enuy de nos ieux, deuenue amou-
reuse,
Seroit pleine de fleurs & l'air de
papillons.

8. Thy smooth embowd brow, where
 all grace I see,
My second month, and second
 house shall be:
 Which brow, with her cleere
 beauties shall delight
The Earth (yet sad) and ouer-
 ture confer
To herbes, buds, flowers, and
 verdure gracing Ver,
 Rendring her more then Sommer
 exquisite.

9. All this fresh Aprill, this sweet
 month of *Venus*,
I will admire this browe so boun-
 teous:
 This brow, braue Court for
 loue, and vertue builded,
This brow where Chastitie holds
 garrison,
This brow that (blushlesse) none
 can looke vpon,
 This brow with euery grace
 and honor guilded.

10. Resigning that, to perfect this my
 yeere
Ile come to see thine eyes: that
 now I feare;
 Thine eyes, that sparckling
 like two Twin-borne fires,
(Whose lookes benigne, and shin-
 ing sweets doe grace
Mays youthfull month with a
 more pleasing face)
 Iustly the Twinns signe, hold
 in my desires,

11. Scorcht with the beames these
 sister-flames eiect,
The liuing sparcks thereof Earth
 shall effect
 The shock of our ioynd-fires
 the Sommer starting:
The season by degrees shall
 change againe
The dayes, theyr longest durance
 shall retaine,
 The starres their amplest light,
 and ardor darting.

Ton beau Front re-uouté, où toute
 grace loge,
Seroit mon second moys & ma se-
 conde loge;
 Ce front resioüiroit de sa sere-
 nité
La Terre encore triste, & feroit ouver-
 ture
Aux herbes, aux bouto[n]s, aux fleurs,
 à la verdure,
 Et rendroit le Printemps plus
 gaillard que l'Esté.
Le long de cest Auril, doux mois de
 la Cyprigne,
I'admireroy ce front plein de dou-
 ceur benigne,
 Ce front braue palais d'Amour &
 de Vertu:
Ce front que Chasteté tient en sa
 sauuegarde,
Ce front que sans rougir iamais on
 ne regarde,
 Ce front de toute grace & d'hon-
 neur reuestu.
Le quittant à la fin, pouracheuer ma
 route,
Le viendroy voir tes Yeux qu'encores
 ie redoute
 Tes yeux qui esclaira[n]s comme
 deux feux iumeaux
(Dont le regard benin & la douceur
 luysante
Rendroie[n]t du moys de May la face
 plus plaisante)
 Ont à bon droit le lieu du Signe des
 Gemeaux.
Me brulant aux rayons de ces Flâmes
 iumentes,
La Terre en sentiroit les viues étin-
 celles,
 Le choc de nos deux feux feroit
 naistre l'Esté:
La Saison peu à peu deuendroit al-
 terée,
Les iours seroient aussi de plus
 longue durée,
 Tant ces Astres sont pleins d'ar-
 deur & de clarté.

12. But now I feare that thronde in
such a shine,¹
Playing with obiects, pleasant
and diuine,
I should be mou'd to dwell
there thirtie dayes:
O no, I could not in so little
space,
With ioy admire enough theyr
plenteous grace,
But euer lieue in sun-shine of
theyr rayes.

13. Yet this should be in vaine, my
forced will
My course designd (begun) shall
follow still;
So forth I must, when forth
this month is wore,
And of the neighbor Signes be
borne anew,
Which Signe perhaps may stay
mee with the view,
More to conceiue, and so desire
the more.

14. It is thy nose (sterne to thy
Barke of loue)
Or which Pyne-like doth crowne
a flowrie Groue,
Which Nature striud to
fashion with her best,
That shee might neuer turne to
show more skill:
And that the eniuious foole, (vsd
to speake ill)
Might feele pretended fault
chokt in his brest.

15. The violent season in a Signe so
bright,
Still more and more, become
more proude of light,
Should still incense mee in the
following Signe:
A signe, whose sight desires a
gracious kisse,
And the red confines of thy
tongue it is,
Where, hotter then before, mine
eyes would shine.

Or' ie doute bien fort si estant en ce
Signe,
Iouissant d'un obiect si plaisant & si
digne,
Ie me contenterois d'y estre trente
iours.
Non, non, ie ne scaurois en si petit
espace
A mon aise mirer leur beauté ny leur
grace.
Le croy que ie voudrois y demeurer
tousiours.
Mais ce seroit en vain: ma volonté
forcée
Suyuroit bon gré mal gré sa course
commencée:
Sur la fin de ce moys il les fau-
droit quitter,
Et au signe d'aprés, soudain venir
renaistre,
Signe, dont la beauté m'empescheroit
peut-estre
De plus penser en eux & de les re-
gretter.
C'est ce beau Nez traitis, qui dedans
ton visage
Paroist ainsi qu'un Pin au milieu
d'un bocage,
Que Nature (ce semble) en faisant
à tasche
De bien former, afin qu'il n'y eut que
redire
Et qu'un sot eniuieux, coustumier de
médire,
Desirant s'en mocqueur se trouuast
empesché.
En un Signe si beau, la Saison vio-
lente
Tousiours de plus en plus deuenus
insolente,
S'eschaufferoit encor' dans le Signe
suyuant;
Signe qui, à le voir, desire qu'on le
touche
D'un baiser gracieux, c'est ta mi-
gnarde Bouche
Où ie me feroy voir plus chauld
qu'auparauant.

¹ Misprint for "sign."

16. So glow those Corrals, nought
but fire respiring
With smiles, or words, or sighs
her thoughts attiring
Or, be it she a kisse diuinely
frameth;
Or that her tongue, shoakes¹ for-
ward, and retires,
Doubling like feruent *Sirius*,
summers fires
In *Leos* mouth,² which all the
world enflameth.

17. And now to bid the Boreall signes
adew
I come to giue thy virgin-cheekes
the view
To temper all my fire, and tame
my heate,
Which soone will feele it selfe
extinct and dead,
In those fayre courts with mo-
destie dispred
With holy, humble, and chast
thoughts replete.

18. The purple tinct, thy Marble
cheekes retaine,
The Marble tinct, thy purple
cheekes doth staine
The Lilies dulie equald with
thine eyes,
The tinct that dyes the Morne
with deeper red,
Shall hold my course a Month, if
(as I dread)
My fires to issue want not
faculties.

19. To ballance now thy more ob-
scured graces
'Gainst them the circle of thy
head enhaches
(Twise three Months vsd, to run
through twise three houses)
To render in this heauen my la-
bor lasting,
I hast to see the rest, and with
one hasting,
The dripping tyme shall fill the
Earth carowses.

Aussi ces beaux couraux rie[n] que
feux ne respire[n]
Soit qu'ils forment un riz, qu'ils par-
lent, qu'ils soupirent,
Soit que mignardement ils se lais-
sent baiser:
Soit que la langue encor' s'élanç &
se recule
Pour redoubler l'ardeur, comme la
Canicule
Brule, au Lyon, le Monde & le fait
embrazer.

De là, pour dire adieu au Maisons
Boreales,
Ie viendroy visiter tes Ioües Virgi-
nales,
Pour temperer mes feux & dompter
mon ardeur,
Qui bien tost se verroit esteinte &
amortie
Dedans ce beau seiour, couert de
modestie,
Remply de sainte honte, & de
chaste pudeur.

La pourprine couleur de tes Ioües
marbrines,
La marbrine couleur de tes Ioües
pourprines,
Ces liz si proprement aux oeillettz
égalez,
Ce taint qui fait rougir celuy-là de
l'Aurore,
Me retiendroient un moy: & si ie
crains encore
Que mes feux au sortir n'en fussent
dé-solez.

Aprés (pour balancer tes graces plus
secretes,
Contre celles qu'on voit dessus to[n]
chef pourtraitez)
Ayant usé six moys à courir six
maisons,
Pour rendre dans le Ciel ma peine
continuë,
Ie viendroy voir le reste, & tout d'une
venüe
Aux humains ie rendroy les plus
mornes saisons.

¹ I. e., "shakes"; var. lect., shoots."² Misprint for "month."

20. Then by the necke, my Autumne
Ile commence,
Thy necke, that merrits place of
excellence
Such as this is, where with a
certainte Sphere,
In ballancing the darknes with
the light,
It so might wey, with skoles¹ of
equall weight
Thy beauties seene with those
doe not appear.

21. Now past my month t' admire
for built most pure
This Marble piller and her lyneatur,
I come t' inhabit thy most gracieus
teates,
Teates that feed loue upon the
white riphees,
Teates where he hangs his glory
and his trophes
When victor from the Gods
war he retreats.

22. Hid in the vale twixt these two
hils confined,
This vale the nest of loues, and
ioyes diuined
Shall I inioy mine ease; and
fayre be passed
Beneath these parching Alps;
and this sweet cold
Is first, thyss month, heauen doth
to us vnfold
But there shall I still greeue
to bee displaced.

23. To sort from this most braue and
pompous signe
(Leauing a little my ecliptick
lyne
Lesse superstitious then the
other Sunne,) The rest of my Autumnall race
Ile end
To see thy hand, (whence I the
crownē attend,) Since in thy past parts I have
slightly runne.

Ie commenceroy donc par to[n] Col
mon Autonne,
Col qui merite bien qu'une place on
luy donne
Telle que celle-cy, ou d'un certain
compas
En balançant la Nuit avecques la
lumiere,
Il puisse balancer en semblable ma-
niere
Tes beautez que l'on voit & que
l'on ne voit pas.
Ayant passé mon moys, à mirer la
structure
De ce pilier de marbre & sa linea-
ture,
Ie viendrois habiter tes Tetons gra-
cieux:
Tetons qu'Amour poistrist da[n]s les
neiges Riphées,
Tetons où il append sa gloire & ses
Trophées
Quand vainqueur il revie[n]t de
co[m]batre les Dieux.
Tapy dans le Vallon d'entre ses deux
collines,
Vallon Nid des Amours & des Graces
divines,
Ie serois à mon aise; & auroy beau
passer.
Sous l'abry de ces mons, la premiere
froidure
Dont le Ciel en ce moys nous feroit
ouuerture,
Mais aussi ie seroy fasché d'en de-
placer.
Au sortir de ce lieu si brave & ma-
gnifique,
Me destournant un peu de ma ligne
Ecliptique
(Moins superstitieux que n'est l'autre Soleil)
I'iroy paracheuer le reste de l'Au-
tonne
A voir ta belle Main, dont i'attens la
couronne
Que i'ay peu meriter en chantant
ton bel oeil.

¹ Misprint for "scales."

24. Thy hand, a Lilly gendred of a Rose
 That wakes the morning, hid in nights repose :
 And from *Apollos* bed the vaile doth twine,
 That each where doth, th' Idalian Minion guide ;
 That bends his bow ; that tyes, and leaues untyed
 The siluer ribbands of his little Ensigne.

25. In fine, (still drawing to th' Antartick Pole)
 The Tropicke signe, Ile runne at for my Gole,¹
 Which I can scarce expresse with chastitie.
 I know in heauen t'is called *Capricorne*
 And with the suddaine thought, my case takes horne,
 So, (heauen-like,) *Capricorne* the name shall be.

26. This (wondrous fit) the wintry Solstice seasest,
 Where darknes greater growes and day decreseth,
 Where rather I would be in night then day,
 But when I see my iournies do encrease
 Ile straight dispatch me thence, and goe in peace
 To my next house, where I may safer stay.

27. This house amongst thy naked thighs is found,
 Naked of spot; made fleshy, firme and round,
 To entartayne loues friends with feeling sport :
 These, *Cupids* secret misteries enfold,
 And pillers are that *Venus Phane*² upholt,
 Of her dear ioyes the glory, and support.

Main qu'un Liz enge[n]dra d'une Rose vermeille,
 Main qui resueille l'Aube alors qu'elle sommeille,
 Qui du lit de Phoebus entr'rouure le rideau :
 Main qui guide par tout le mignon d'Idalie,
 Main qui bande son arc, Main qui lie & de-lie
 Les ribans argentez de son petit bandeau.

En fin, tira[n]t tousiours vers le Pole Antarctique
 Ie viendrois attraper l'autre Signe Tropique,
 Signe que ie ne puis chastement exprimer :
 Ie sçay qu'icy le Ciel l'appelle Capricorne,
 Et puisque en y pensant soudain mo[n] cas prit corne
 Ie le veux, comme au Ciel, Capricorne nommer.

Ce lieu fort à propos tient l'hyuernal Solstice
 Ou l'obscurité croist & le iour s'apetisse,
 Aussi plus volontiers i'y seroy nuit que iour :
 De fait quand ie verroy les iournées s'accroistre,
 Ie le quiteroy là, et m'en iroy pa-roistre
 En la maison suiuante où ie feroy seiour.

Cestre Maison d'apres, ce sont tes Cuisses nuës
 Nuës de toute tache, arrondies, char-nuës,
 Qui servent aux Amans d'ébat & d'entretien,
 Qui cachent le secret des amoureux mysteres,
 Cuisses les deux pilliers du Temple de Cytheres,
 Des doux ieux de Cypris la grace & le soustien.

¹ Misprint for "goal."² Misprint for "fane."

28. Sliding on thy smooth thighs to
thy months end;
To thy well fashond Calues I
will descend
That soone the last house I
may apprehend,
Thy slender feete, fine slender
feete that shame
Thetis sheene feete, which Poets
so much fame,
And heere my latest season I
will end.

Glissant au bout du moys sur ces
Cuisses polies,
Je me larrois aller par tes Greues
iolies
Pour gaigner vistement la derniere
Maison :
Ce sont tes petis Pieds, petis Pieds
qui font honte
Aux beaux Piés de Thetys, do[n]t
l'o[n] fait tant de conte,
En eux ie finiroy la derniere sai-
son.

[Not translated by Chapman.]

Alors, assez recreu d'une si belle
traite,
Au lieu de reposer & de sonner retraite
(Pour rendre mon labeur tousiours
continuel)
Je me r'efforcerois, et sans reprendre
haleine,
I'iroy voir de rechef mon Mouton &
ma laine,
Poursuivant sans repos ce trauail
annuel.

L'ENVOY

29. Deare mistres, if poore wishes
heauen would heare,
I would not chuse the empire of
the water ;
The empire of the ayre, nor of
the earth,
But endlessly my course of life
confining
In this fayre Zodiack for euer
shining,
And with thy beauties make
me endles mirth.

Mignonne. si souhaits avoie[n]t lieu
par le Mo[n]de,
Je me souhaiteroy ny l'Empire de
l'onde,
Ny l'Empire de l'air, ny de la Terre
aussi ;
Je voudroy seulement, sans cesse, me
conduire
Par ce beau Zodiaque, & tousiours y
reliure
Ioüissant à iamais de tes beautez
ainsi.

[Not translated by Chapman.]

Cela m'estant permis : ces coureurs
de Planettes
Qui font couler çà bas tant de vertus
secretes
Et forgent (ce dit-on) les heurs &
les malheurs,
N'y seroient plus logez : la seule mere
nue
Du petit Archerot y seroit bien venüe
Tous les autres iroient chercher
log:s ailleurs.

[Not translated by Chapman.]

30. But gracious Loue, if ielous heauen deny
 My life this truely-blest varietie,
 Yet will I thee through all the world disperse,
 If not in heauen, amongst those brauing fires,
 Yet heere thy beauties (which the world admires)
 Bright as those flames shall glister in my verse.

LONDON.

Saturne est trop resueur : Jupiter
 est trop sage :
 Ce grand Dieu belliqueur est de trop
 fier courage :
 Le messager des Dieux ce n'est
 qu'un babillard :
 La deesse des bois elle est trop in-
 constante :
 Venus demeureroit, son humeur me
 contante,
 Ie ne voudrois icy rien qui ne fust
 gaillard.

[Not translated by Chapman.]

N'elle ne moy n'aurions maisons par-
 ticulieres,
 Car indifferemment reluairoient nos
 lumieres
 En chasque station ; mais si i'estoy
 force
 D'en prendre une à mon gré que ie
 pourrois élire,
 Souuent au Capricorne on me verroit
 reliure
 Ce resueur de Saturne en doit estre
 chassé.

Charlotte, si le ciel ialoux de mon
 envie
 Par si beau changement ne veut heu-
 rer ma vie,
 Tu ne lairras pourtant de luyre à
 l'univers :
 Sinon dedans le Ciel entre les feux
 celestes,
 Pour le moins icy bas tes beautez
 manifestes
 Comme les feux du Ciel luiront de-
 dans mes vers.

SIDNEY LEE.

ON THE ORDER OF THE CANTERBURY TALES: CAXTON'S TWO EDITIONS

When William Caxton printed his second edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, he prefixed to it a brief but famous "Prohemye," in which he tells the story of its origin. He had printed the first edition, he says, believing the copy which he used to be true and correct, not knowing that it was one of those which "wryters haue abrygyd it and many thynges left out / And in some places haue sette certayn versys / that he neuer made ne sette in hys booke." But some unknown "gentylman," having made Caxton aware of these defects, offered him the loan of a true copy, according to Chaucer's "owen first book," in consequence of which Caxton set again to work, and delivered from the press, some six years after his earlier edition, a copy of the *Canterbury Tales* which he says he had "dylygently ouersene and duly examyned to thende that it may be made accordyng vnto his [Chaucer's] owen makynge."

Full appreciation of the way in which Caxton performed his self-imposed task is possible when parallel reprints of the two texts, the earlier and the later, shall lie before us, and not until then. But, failing that comparison, some general notes on the differences between the two editions may demonstrate, not only the marked divergences of the second from the first, but also the impossibility of discussing the relations of the manuscripts and prints of the *Canterbury Tales* on the limited body of evidence yet before us.

I have used for this comparison the Caxtons owned by the British Museum, the first edition from the Royal Library, the second from the Grenville collection. The former is $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of 372 leaves, 29 lines to the full page; the second is $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of 312 leaves, 38 lines to the full page. A manuscript note by Grenville, affixed to the fly-leaf of his copy, states that he had had the twenty-one leaves missing from his

volume facsimiled from the perfect copy in St. John's College, Oxford, at heavy expense.

The superficial appearance of the page in the two editions presents marked differences. In Caxton II the stanzaic poems are well spaced (except "Sir Thopas"); the headings and colophons are also spaced and mark off distinctly the divisions between tales; and running-titles throughout, as well as signatures in the lower recto, give the book a practical usable clearness not seen in Caxton I. Caxton I is without these features; the division between tales is noted, but the line or two of "Here endeth . . . And foloweth . . ." is merely inset, not spaced so as to catch the eye. Both editions have small black directors, over which are printed the somewhat rude and thinly colored red capitals at the beginning of tales and of important paragraphs. The second edition is adorned with woodcuts¹ of the pilgrims, at the beginning of each tale and before the corresponding section of the Prologue; not the least interesting of these is one, in the Prologue, representing the pilgrims seated at a round table² presided over by the Host, who has at his right hand a man with a feather in his cap, evidently the Knight, and at his left a woman in a high pointed headdress. There are twenty-four people at the table.

Neither edition has title-page, place, or date. The second has the "Prohemye" before the Prologue, with Caxton's name at its close. Both conclude with the Retractation, after the Parson's tale.

In indicating the textual differences of the two Caxtons, I have used a tabular form to show the arrangement of tales in each; and a second table gives the number of lines in each tale, with subjoined notes on important points.

¹ See the Bibliographical Society's *Transactions*, Vol. VI, face p. 33, for woodcut of the Shipman and a few lines from this Caxton; in Pollard's *Early Illustrated Books* (1893), p. 222, and in Garnett and Gosse's *English Literature*, Vol. I, p. 152, is reproduced, reduced, the page bearing the cut of the Canon's Yeoman. See also Dibdin, *Typographical Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 300; and the woodcut of the Squire in Duff's *William Caxton*, to face p. 58.

² This cut, according to Pollard, *loc. cit.*, p. 225, was afterward used by de Worde in Lydgate's *Assembly of the Gods*. It is reproduced in Simonds' *Student's History of English Literature* and in Mather's edition of *The Prologue, the Knight's Tale*, etc.

TABLE I
THE ORDER OF THE TALES

SKEAT	CAXTON I	CAXTON II	SKEAT
A.....	{ Knight Miller Reeve Cook	{ Knight..... Miller..... Reeve..... Cook.....	{ A
B ¹	Man of Law	Man of Law.....	B ¹
F ¹	Squire	Merchant.....	E ²
E ²	Merchant	Squire.....	{ F
D	{ Wife of Bath Friar Summoner	{ Franklin..... Wife of Bath..... Friar..... Summoner.....	{ D
E ¹	Clerk	Clerk.....	E ¹
F ²	Franklin	Second Nun.....	{ G
G	{ Second Nun Canon's Yeoman	Canon's Yeoman.....	
C.....	{ Doctor Pardoner	{ Doctor..... Pardoner.....	{ C
B ²	{ Shipman Prioress Sir Thopas Melibeus Monk Nun's Priest	{ Shipman..... Prioress..... Sir Thopas..... Melibeus..... Monk..... Nun's Priest.....	{ B ²
H	Manciple	Manciple.....	H
I.....	Parson	Parson.....	I

According to Professor Skeat's note on the arrangement of the Tales,¹ there are four leading types among the manuscripts, as follows:

I. A, B¹, D, E, F, C, B², G, H, I.

This is Tyrwhitt's order, and is found in the Ellesmere and related texts. In the opinion of Henry Bradshaw,² this arrangement of tales, accompanied by other peculiarities discussed below, was "the result of editorial supervision exercised after Chaucer's death." To Professor Skeat, however, this arrangement appears the only Chaucerian one, though neither in the

¹ *Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. IV, Introduction.

² *Collected Papers*, p. 104.

Academy for 1891, Vol. II, p. 96, nor in the *Oxford Chaucer* does he give his reasons for so asserting.

- II. A, B¹, D, E, F, G, C, B², H, I.
Seen, for example, in MS Harley 7334. According to Bradshaw, this type seems "the most authentic."
- III. A, B¹, F¹, D, E, F², G, C, B², H, I.
Seen, for example, in MS Lansdowne 851. This type was not treated separately by Bradshaw.
- IV. A, B¹, F¹, E², D, E¹, F², G, C, B², H, I.
Seen, for example, in MS Harley 7333. Caxton I shows this order.

It has long been recognized that the original form in which the *Canterbury Tales* were circulated, perhaps that in which they were worked upon by Chaucer himself, was fascicular, booklike, and in several or many parts. Only in this way can we explain the systematic confusion which we find in the manuscripts, and only in this way can we imagine Chaucer as working over an unfinished poem of such character and scope. In this connection two manuscripts in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge—R. 3, 19 and R. 3, 21—are suggestive. These volumes, written for the most part in one and the same hand, are composed of fascicules or booklets of from eight to forty leaves, which were numbered by the scribe before he began to write. The soiled condition of the first and the last pages, and the existence, at the end of several fascicules, of numbered blank leaves, show that these booklets were used separately and later combined into a volume; and the breaking of two fascicules in the codex R. 3, 19, plainly to be seen from the old numbering, illustrates how a fragment of the *Canterbury Tales* could have been split by some early bookmaker. We may also note such stanzaic displacements as are found in the Fairfax and in the Harley texts of "La belle dame sans merci," explained by Professor Skeat,¹ the similar confusion of leaves in the "Testament of Love,"² and the displacement in the "Romaunt of the Rose."³ The confusion by tens in the stanzas of the "Letter of Cupid" as contained in the codices Fairfax 16, Bodley 638, Tanner 346, and Digby 181—a group of Chaucerian codices upon which I am at present engaged—points, with the other instances

¹ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. liv.

² *Ibid.*, p. xx.

³ See *Notes and Queries*, Vol. I (1894), p. 446.

given, to a kind of separability in some early manuscripts, either by folios or by fascicules, which only can account for the arrangements in their descendants.

Doubtless some facts of this sort were in the mind of Professor Skeat when he disposed of his types III and IV as arising from the "fundamental" or Ellesmere type by "splitting;" and yet it requires more than this simple hypothesis to account for conditions existing in the principal manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*. Take, for example, one of the most conspicuous differences among the manuscripts, that at the close of the Man of Law's tale. In the Ellesmere type the link after the Man of Law is cut out, the D group (Wife of Bath-Friar-Somponour) following; this link is in Harley 7334 used to introduce the Somponour, the same group following as in the Ellesmere; in Harley 7333 and some twenty other manuscripts this link binds the Man of Law's tale to the Squire's; and in one manuscript alone, the Selden, it introduces the Shipman, whose tale directly follows—an arrangement which recommended itself to Bradshaw and to modern editors. In the varying versions of this link, that is, the difference consists in the name which stands in line 17—sometimes "Somponour," sometimes "Squyer," in one manuscript "Shipman."

It is noticeable in all these varieties that the pilgrim who is introduced at this juncture bears a name beginning with *S*, noticeable especially when we remember that nearly all the company has still to speak. The question suggests itself whether the name in the Man of Law's end-link could have been deleted by Chaucer in a working copy, the *S* alone remaining legible, so that the word was read in various ways by later scribes. Being but scribes, they naturally altered the sequence of tales to correspond.

Such a conjecture opens a plausible explanation for the differences among the manuscripts at this point. The inappropriate union between the B' fragment and the Squire's tale, the inappropriate language put into the mouth of the Squire in the B' end-link, would be due to the misreading of the half-illegible word as "Squier"; and the excision of the entire link from the Ellesmere group (speaking in terms of Bradshaw's theory) would be not unnatural, inasmuch as the link either contained no legible

name, or agreed with Harley 7334 in introducing the Sompnour, whose tale does not immediately follow. The conditions in Harley 7334 are of especial interest, not only because of the great value of this enigmatic codex, but because of the opinion of ten Brink¹ that Chaucer had the Sompnour in view at this point. And we must notice that in at least two other manuscripts, Royal 17 D xv and Rawl. Poet. 223, the link reads "Sompnour," though the Squire's tale follows. These latter cases may possibly be explained as contaminations; the B¹ fascicule, with its end-link, might have been transcribed from the Harley 7334 type, and copying continued from a manuscript having the Squire's tale next, no change of name being made by the scribe. Harley 7334 would then appear to us, in this respect as well as in so many others, as the representative of a working copy.

One manuscript only, the Selden, shows a bond between Man of Law and Shipman. No attention is paid by editors to its arrangement otherwise; the allusion to Rochester which the fragment headed by the Shipman contains (in the Monk's prologue) naturally promotes it to a position above the D fragment with its mention of Sittingbourne, ten miles farther from London; and Bradshaw, by assuming that the Man of Law's end-link was the Shipman's prologue, obtained a second confirmation for his "lift" of the Shipman, etc. fragment up to B¹ in the agreement of the Man of Law's "thrifty" (prologue, l. 46) with the Host's "thrifty" in the Shipman's prologue. Surely, however, the variations seen in the manuscripts after the Man of Law's tale—variations confined to the introduction of an S-pilgrim—go to show that the Man of Law's end-link is in truth an end-link; in which case the use of the word "thrifty" in both the prologue and the epilogue would have nothing to do with the order of the tales.²

¹ *History of English Literature*, Vol. II, p. 160.

² This explanation is, of course, directly at variance with the statements of Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. IV, p. 418. But anyone who assumes, with Professor Skeat, that the Man of Law's end-link, now called the Shipman's prologue, was intended by Chaucer as a prologue, is under obligation to explain how that prologue came to be separated from its tale and placed before another to which it had no applicability, the Squire's; also to explain how three manuscripts, one of them of antiquity and authority, obtain the name "Sompnour" at this point; and also to explain the coincidence that all three of these names—"Shipman," "Squier," "Sompnour"—begin with S and are of much the same length.

The geographical fitness of the position now given B² is the main argument of modern editors for their deviation from the order in all sound manuscripts. But to accept this arrangement as Chaucer's, we must make very extensive assumptions. In the first place, we must assume that in this respect, and only in this respect, the Selden manuscript is authoritative; that its muddled arrangement otherwise¹ is error and its arrangement here truth; that the sequence Man of Law-Shipman does not come from a misreading like that which put the Squire after the Man of Law, but from Chaucer's own copy. In the second place, we must assume that, although the feminine pronouns of the Shipman's tale, the promise of the Man of Law to speak in prose, the second Nun's terming herself an unworthy "sone of Eve," etc., were inconsistencies to be filed out later, the time and place allusions of the links are all correct and final; that Chaucer could not, for instance, have planned his Monk and Nun's Priest as a separate piece of work, with a partially written head-link placing his Monk at Rochester, the most important stage of the journey, and then have connected the bit with B² without revision. And all this turns upon the third, and fundamental, assumption of most students, except ten Brink: that the *Canterbury Tales* are a torso, a vertebral column from which some of the bones are missing, but with the remaining parts duly proportioned to fit a conception of the whole which was clearly sketched in the author's mind.

Yet the counter-assumption is equally defensible, that the *Canterbury Tales* are not a torso; that the fragments contain contradictions which do not permit of their organic union; and that the "Chaucerian" order of the tales exists more clearly in our imaginations than it did in Chaucer's. Certainly, in discussing that order, the condition of the manuscripts deserves more attention than it has yet received. It may well be that no amount of comparative study will enable us to discover one ultimate type of arrangement; but some explanation of the differences among existing types we may reasonably look for; and that explanation will lie at the basis of any sound classification of the manuscripts of the *Tales*.

¹ See Chaucer Society *Trial Tables*, with Part I of the *Six-Text*.

Of the several classifications or preliminary classifications which have been made, that by Bradshaw and the less thorough one by Skeat are based in part upon the order of the tales in the manuscripts; but Bradshaw indicated other tests necessary toward a grouping, which Professor Skeat has not carried out. The elaborate scheme drawn out by Liddell on the results of Zupitza,¹ and that by Koch in his recent edition of the Pardoner's prologue and tale, are based solely upon the text conditions in a part of one fascicule—a test which can by no means be regarded as final.

In default of that critical comparison of the entire mass of evidence which lies in the future, a tentative classification of the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* may be founded upon these data: The order of the tales in every manuscript, accompanied necessarily by notes explaining whether that order be the original one, or whether the book shows signs of displacement; general notes upon the state of the text in every manuscript, with especial attention, as Bradshaw required, to the links; minute notes upon the state of the text in some few portions of the work—portions taken preferably from different fascicules. A classification not relying upon all these sorts of evidence must be regarded as unconvincing. The remark of the *Athenaeum* reviewer² when discussing Liddell's "critical" text of the General Prologue, is pertinent here, that a critical text which assumes the correctness of Zupitza's classification of the manuscripts of the Pardoner's tale, and assumes also the applicability of that classification to the Prologue, takes positions which are not beyond dispute.

In this connection, it is instructive to compare Professor Koch's derivation of the later Caxton from Caxton I, based upon the text conditions of the Pardoner's tale in the two prints, with the conditions of the two Caxtons as wholes. To illustrate this, I present two groups of facts, notes upon some of the points which Bradshaw selected as tests, and a brief survey of minor textual details.

Bradshaw's points were, in part: the treatment of the Squire's head-link and end-link, of the Merchant's head-link, the stanza

¹ See Chaucer Society *Specimens*, etc., Part IV, p. xlvi.

² Vol. II. (1901), p. 598.

arrangement at the end of the Clerk's tale, the position of the "modern instances" in the Monk's tale, the position of the G fragment, and the presence or absence of "Gamelyn."

There is no tale of Gamelyn in either Caxton. *now in A 3*

The G fragment in both Caxtons precedes C and B².

Neither Caxton has any prologue to the present Shipman's tale; in Caxton I that "prologue" is used to connect Man of Law and Squire, as in Skeat's Class IV, Bradshaw's Class I. In Caxton II this link also introduces the Squire, but the Merchant's tale (E²) has been inserted between Man of Law and Squire.

In both Caxtons the Merchant's prologue begins, "Weping and wayling," etc.; that is, it opens with the line appropriate for connection with the close of the Clerk's epilogue, though it does not follow the Clerk's tale in either Caxton. The tale of the Clerk ends, in both Caxtons, with the line, "And lat hem care and wepe and wringe and waille;" that is, with the line ready for connection with the Merchant; but in both Caxtons the stanza of the "Verba Hospitis" appears after this envoy.¹

In Caxton I the Franklin's prologue is as in the *Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. IV, p. 426, and the preceding "Words" of the Franklin to the Squire do not appear; in Caxton II these "Words" are present, and the fusion of the F group is thus complete. There is no "false" fusion of Squire and Merchant in Caxton I; and, as remarked, the close of the Clerk's tale is in both editions adapted for the sequence of the Merchant's. It is thus possible to regard the position of the Merchant's tale in Caxton II as due to fascicular displacement, especially as in this second edition the end-link connection Man of Law-Squire also appears, broken by the intrusion of the Merchant's tale. But as Caxton II shows the completed Squire-Franklin group, it possibly derives from a later working form of the poet's manuscript, in that fascicule at least, though retaining the erroneous union Man of Law-Squire. May we then infer, from these conditions in the two Caxtons, that the group Clerk-Merchant was arranged by Chaucer before that of Squire-Franklin was completed? The difference in the position of the Merchant in the two Caxtons could then be accounted for by supposing that in the archetype of Caxton I the Man of Law and the Squire formed one fascicule; while in that of Caxton II they did not, and the intrusion of the Merchant booklet between them was thus possible.

In Caxton I the Monk's tale is minus the tragedies of Adam, Peter of Spain, and Peter of Cyprus; in Caxton II the tragedy of Adam is in its place as seen, e. g., in Skeat's edition; but the two Peters are inserted

¹ See *Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. IV, p. 424.

between Cæsar and Croesus, not between Zenobia and Nero, in which latter position we find, in both Caxtons, the tragedies of Barnabo and Ugolino. The interruption to the Monk is in Caxton I made by the Host, and the lines (5-24) belonging to the Knight do not appear; in Caxton II the interruption is by the Knight, seconded by the Host, as in modern editions. Shall we deduce from this that Chaucer made another improvement in his plan at this point, or is this one of the abridgments of Caxton I mentioned in the "prohemye"?

To summarize. We have in both Caxtons an original order A B¹ F¹, disarranged in Caxton II; in both Caxtons we have the sequence G C B² H I; in both Caxtons the D group is complete; in both Caxtons E¹ and E² are complementary, though the fascicules are separated; and in Caxton II, as opposed to Caxton I, we have a completed F group. Now, judging, as I must at this distance, from the scattered data afforded by the Chaucer Society, there seem to be at least two main groups in the class of manuscripts which append the Squire's tale to that of the Man of Law, as do the Caxtons. One of these classes has no "Words of the Franklin to the Squire," has the Merchant's prologue and tale next after the Squire's tale, and the tale of the Franklin lying next to that of the Clerk. The other class, though also showing superficially the order F¹ E², has the "Words of the Franklin" at the close of the Squire's tale, with the word "Merchant" substituted for "Franklin" to make the link fit the next ensuing tale. Such a distinction illustrates with force the justice of Bradshaw's insistence that Chaucer's own tale, the links framing all the separate narratives, is the essential thing in determining the classes of the manuscripts; it illustrates also the opinion of ten Brink that in the earlier stages of the *Canterbury Tales* the four tales of Clerk, Merchant, Squire, and Franklin represented four separate fragments, at a later stage formed into a definite whole.

The relation of Caxton II to this second class is hard to determine. A manuscript showing this peculiarity—the "Words of the Franklin" added, but forced upon the Merchant, whose tale follows—may have been originally like the other class described, and have obtained later access to an F¹ fascicule from which it took the "Words," easily inserting them into the blank space which many manuscripts leave after the Squire's tale; the change

of "Franklin" to "Merchant" could then suggest itself to any reader who noticed that the Merchant's tale came next. As the manuscript back of Caxton II had its Merchant's tale displaced, and its F fused, no question arose.

TABLE II

	CAX-TON I	CAX-TON II	SKEAT		CAX-TON I	CAX-TON II	SKEAT
The Prologue—				Rime of Sir Thopas	197#	204#	207
Prelude	42	42	42	Link	48	48	48
Knight	36	36	36	Melibeus .....	...	...	...
Squire	22	22	22	Link	102	102	102
Yeoman	17	17	17	Monk's Tale	744#	776	776
Prioress	48#	47	47	Link	34#	54	54
Monk	42#	43	43	Nun's Priest's Tale	625	626	626
Friar	62#	64	64	Epilogue .....	...#	...#	16
Merchant	15	15	15	Physician's Tale	285	286	286
Clerk	24#	24	24	Link	42	42	42
Man of Law	22	22	22	Pardoner's			
Franklin	30	30	30	Prologue	133	134	134
Craftsmen	18	18	18	Tale	508#	508#	506
Cook	9	9	9	Wife of Bath's			
Shipman	23	23	23	Prologue	863#	862#	856
Physician	34	34	34	Tale	410#	410#	408
Wife of Bath	32	32	32	Link	36#	36#	34
Parson	52	52	52	Friar's Tale	360#	364#	366
Plowman	13	13	13	Link	44	44	44
(Connective)	3	3	3	Summoner's Tale	586	586	586
Miller	22	22	22	Link	56	56	56
Manciple	20	20	20	Clerk's Tale	1,156	1,156	1,156
Reeve	36	36	36	Host's Comment	7	7	...#
Summoner	46	46	46	Link	32	32	32
Pardoner	46	46	46	Merchant's Tale	1,172#	1,170	1,174
Narrative, etc.	144	144	144	Epilogue .....	...	...	22
Knight's Tale	2,196#	2,250	2,250	Squire's Prologue .....	...#	...#	8
Link	76	76	78	Tale	658#	664	664
Miller's Tale	660#	668	668	Words of the			
Link	66	66	66	Franklin .....	...#	36	36
Reeve's Tale	404	404	404	Franklin's			
Link	38#	40	40	Prologue	20	20	20
Cook's Tale	58	58	58	Tale	882#	898#	896
Link	98	98	98	Second Nun's			
Man of Law's				Prologue	119	119	119
Prologue	35	35	35	Tale	434	434	434
Tale	1,029	1,029	1,029	Canon's Yeoman's			
Link .....	...#	...#	28	Prologue	158#	164#	166
Shipman's Tale	436#	434	434	Tale	757#	760#	762
Link	18	18	18	Manciple's			
Prioress'				Prologue	104	120#	104
Prologue	35	35	35	Tale	257	258	258
Tale	203	203	203	Parson's Prologue	74	74	74
Link	21	21	21	Tale .....	...	...	...

The principal difference between the two Caxtons as regards order is in the F group. The textual differences are more marked. I give in Table II a list, in parallel columns, of the number of lines in Caxton I, Caxton II, and in the edition of Professor Skeat, with a few notes on special differences.

In some of these cases Caxton's second edition is fairly parallel with the best modern editions as represented by that of Skeat; while the first edition differs, textually, by the omission of a line or two. Such less important divergences—e. g., in the Nun's Priest's tale or the Physician's tale—I have not especially noted in this general and summary paper. But the apparent absence of a line, as in the description of the Monk in the Prologue, does not always mean merely that; nor does agreement in number of lines with the standard, as in the description of the Clerk, always mean textual agreement. I shall note here such differences as seem of interest, citing by the lines of the separate tales, that is, by those bracketed in Skeat's edition.

In the Prologue, the last few lines of the Prioress' description and the first few of the Monk's present in Caxton I this difference from Caxton II and from the standard:

Another nonne with hir ther was
 Ful fair of hewe and bright of faas
 That was her chapeleyn and prestis thre
 A monk ther was fair for the maistre
 Whiche afore that tyme hadde be
 An out ryder he loued venore.¹

This gives the description of the Prioress an additional line, and would do the same in that of the Monk but that ll. 197, 198 are omitted from the Prologue. The description of the Friar does not contain, in Caxton I, the two lines beginning "And yaf a certeyn ferme;" Caxton II has this couplet. In the description of the Clerk, Caxton I renders ll. 305 ff. as follows:

¹ Morell, in his edition of the Prologue and Knight's tale, 1737, again printed 1740, gives, in his list of "Various Readings," these six lines, marking them as from a Trinity College, Cambridge, manuscript. As he knew and used both the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* still at Trinity College—R, 3; 3 and R, 3, 15—this agreement in corruption with Caxton I may be examined into; and the agreement becomes still more interesting when we find Koch saying, on pp. li, lii, of his edition of the Pardonner's tale, that there is in the text of that tale a close correspondence between Caxton I and Trinity College R, 3, 15.

(l. 305 omitted)

Short and quyk and high of sentence
 Sownyng moral vertu was his prudence
 And gladly wolde he lerne and gladly teche
 And therwith ful softe was his speche.

The result is the same number of lines as in Caxton II and the standard. In the description of the Pardoner, l. 672 reads in Caxton I :

Ful lowde he song com hidir lene grom;

and the last two lines are :

To wynne siluer as he wel can
 Therfore he song the merier than.¹

Passing from the Prologue to the Tales, we find in the Knight's tale very noticeable differences, Caxton I omitting lines, transposing lines, and often distorting the text to absurdity. It omits ll. 290–303, jumping from the "sworn" at the end of l. 289 to the "sworn" of l. 303 to complete the couplet. Other omissions are ll. 335–42, 363–66, 735–44 (note the rime at beginning and end of the omitted passage), 1154–59, 1643, 1644, 1745, 1746, 1929–34 (note how the eye would travel from "Jupiter" to "Jupiter"), and 2041, 2042. The differences between the two Caxtons in points other than omissions are too numerous to be given here. But note l. 1419 with its "Theseus clothis" instead of "Th' encens the clothis," and the complete ruin of l. 925 in Caxton I, which changes Theseus' "eyen lighte" into "eyen blake & vglye," the rime-word next following being altered to "hye."

Caxton I several times alters or loses the rime-word; thus, l. 1164 is changed to ". . . . with his own hors," the rime disappearing. But if all the distortions of Caxton I in this Tale were here noted, this sketch would swell to a volume; and even a report of the frequent cases in which the first edition fuses two lines and inserts a verse, thus transforming the text without altering the number of lines or the trend of the narrative, would unduly expand this summary.

From the link, or Miller's prologue, both Caxtons omit ll. 47 and 48, as does Tyrwhitt. From the Miller's tale Caxton I omits ll. 579–86—eight verses. From the link between Reeve and

¹This couplet, according to Morell, *loc. cit.*, reads similarly in the Trinity College MS.

Cook Caxton I drops out ll. 27, 28; in the introduction to the Man of Law's tale it renders the verse:

Though I come after hym with hawe-bake
as

They I come aftir hym the whiche hath no lak.

Both Caxtons have the Squire following the Man of Law, as above noted, with the present Shipman's prologue introducing him; and the eight lines now used as Squire's prologue are not in either Caxton. The Shipman's tale has in Caxton I, after l. 316, two lines of obscenity not in Caxton II; and the earlier Caxton has similar passages in the Merchant's tale, as noted below.

From the "Rime of Sir Thopas" Caxton I omits ll. 31, 92, 110-13, and 176. It also twice fuses a short line, printed separately by Skeat, with the verse preceding—82 and 102. Caxton II omits l. 94; Professor Skeat remarks that most manuscripts do this, and that he supplies the line from MS Brit. Mus. Royal 17 D xv. Caxton I reads differently at this point, viz.:

(l. 93)

For in that cuntry was ther noon
Neyther wyf ne child one
That he had of any drede.

Caxton II, like Caxton I, fuses l. 82 with l. 81; but as in other cases of short lines it draws a bar and leaves a space, though without lining down, I have counted those instances as separate lines. Neither Caxton has the broken last line.

From the Monk's tale Caxton I omits the tragedies of Adam, Peter of Spain, and Peter of Cyprus; and, as already noted, the interruption to the Monk is made by the Host and not by the Knight; ll. 5-24 of this link are omitted.

The epilogue to the Nun's Priest's tale is absent from Caxton I, and is by Caxton II fused with the Manciple's prologue (see note below.)

The Pardoner's tale has in both Caxtons, after l. 159:

And ther fore sore repente him oughte
Herodes who so wel the storyes seche
There may ye lerne & by ensaumpyl seche
(l. 161 follows),

thus adding two lines to the text.

The Wife of Bath's prologue has in both Caxtons the six lines printed by Skeat in a note;¹ Tyrwhitt and Skeat consider them genuine; Furnivall calls them spurious. Caxton I also inserts after l. 332 two verses not in Caxton II nor the standard. It further omits l. 197. Both Caxtons add to the tale, after l. 392:

And so they slepte tyl hit was morow gray
And then she sayd when it was day.

In the Friar's prologue, after l. 30, both Caxtons insert the two lines which in Skeat appear as ll. 9 and 10 of the tale, but are not included in the tale by either Caxton. Caxton I also drops out ll. 229–32; note the jump from rime to rime.

Both Caxtons have after the Clerk's tale the seven lines of the "Verba Hospitis," as previously noted.

The Merchant's tale is in Caxton I defaced by two passages of obscenity—8 lines after vs. 1100,² and 4 more after l. 1132. Two more lines are inserted after l. 2366, but these 14 added lines are balanced by 16 of omission, 61–64, 402, 403, 683, 684, and 1036–43; note in this last the jump from rime to rime. Caxton II omits ll. 61, 62, 1120, 1121. The epilogue to the Merchant's tale is not in either Caxton; nor, as already noted, the 8 lines introductory to the Squire's tale.

Caxton I omits from the Squire's tale ll. 545–50, and has not the Words of the Franklin to the Squire. It also drops out of the Franklin's tale ll. 529–34, 727, 728, 735, 736, and 765–70 (note the jump from rime to rime). It inserts after l. 736, as does II:

And told hym alle the caas by and by
How she had promysed ignorantly
The squyer lyke as ye haue herd to fore (l. 738, etc.).

This gives Caxton II a couplet more than Skeat, while Caxton I has, to set off against the insertion, omissions amounting to 16 lines.

From the Canon's Yeoman's prologue both Caxtons omit ll. 69, 70, and from the tale both omit ll. 285, 286. In addition to this, Caxton I drops from the prologue ll. 151–56, and from the tale, ll. 234–36.

¹ *Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. V, pp. 292, 293.

² These are in Harley 1758, according to the *Six-Text Chaucer*, p. 475.

In the Manciple's prologue Caxton I agrees with modern editions, while Caxton II incorporates with it the 16 lines of the Nun's Priest's epilogue, wanting in Caxton I.¹

One other parallelism may illustrate the next point which I wish to make, regarding the way in which the changes by Caxton II were carried out. I cite a few lines from the Prologue, putting the two texts side by side:

CAXTON I

A knyght ther was a worthy man
That fro the tyme he first began
To rideon out he loued chyualrye
Trouthe and honour fredom and
curtesye
5 Ful worthy he was in his lordis
werre
And therto hadde he rideon noman
ferre
And as well in cristendom as in
hethenesse
And euer hadde honour for his
worthynesse
At alisaundre he was whan it was
wonne
10 Ful ofte tyme he had the boord
begonne
Abouen alle nacions in pruce
In lettowe hadde he reysed and in
Ruse
No cristen man so often tymes as he
In grenade at the sege eke hadde
he be

CAXTON II

A knyght ther was a worthy man
That fro the tyme that he first began
To ryden out / he loued chyualrye
Trouthe & honour fredom and cur-
tesye
Ful worthy he was in his lordis
werre
And therto hadde he ryden noman
ferre
And as wel in crystendom as in
hethenesse
And euer hadde honour for hys
worthynesse
At alisaundre he was whan it was
wonne
Ful ofte tyme he hadde the boord
begonne
Abouen alle nacions in pruce
In lettowe hadde he reysed and in
Ruse
No crysten man so often tymes as he
Ingarnade at the sege eke hadde
he be

¹ According to the *Six-Text Chaucer*, p. 301, and to Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, Vols. III, p. 433; IV, p. 289; V, 259, this epilogue occurs in but three manuscripts, in two of which it has as its last line (describing the Host):

"Seide vn-to a nother / as ye shuln heere."

The third of these manuscripts, now Add. 5140 of the British Museum, reads "the Nunne" instead of "another" in the line cited, and continues with six more verses introducing the Second Nun, whose tale then follows. In two other manuscripts, now belonging to Mr. Laurence Hodson, of Compton Hall, near Wolverhampton, notes upon which have been most generously furnished me by Mr. Hodson, this epilogue appears, and with it the six additional lines. These manuscripts are the recently discovered Hodson 39 and the manuscript formerly belonging to Sir Henry Ingilby, and known to Tyrwhitt as Askew I. The order of tales in both manuscripts is like the Ellesmere-Dd group, the G fragment "pushed down late," as Bradshaw termed it, after B², with which these two manuscripts and Add. 5140 (formerly Askew II) connect it. Tyrwhitt pointed this out in a note on l. 1548, where "the six forged lines" are printed by him. The Hodson 39 lines are printed on p. 75 of the second Appendix to the *Six-Text*.

It should be remarked that of the five manuscripts showing this epilogue four are of

15 In algrith hadde he riden and in
belmarie
At cartage was he and eke at satalye
Whanne they were wonne and in
the grete see
At many at nobyl arme hadde be he
At mortal bataillis had he be fiftene
20 And foughte for oure feith at
Tramysse
In listis thries and hath sleyn his
foo
This ilke worthy knyght hadde be
also
Som tyme with the lord of Palathie
Agayn another hethen man in Tur-
kye
25 And euermore he hadde a souerayn
price
And though he was worthy he was
wise
And of his port as meke as a mayde
He neuer yet vilayns worde sayde
In al his lif to nomaner wight
30 He was a gentil parfight knyght
For to telle you of his aray
His hors were gode but he was not
gay
Of fustian he wered a gippioun
Al be smered with his habergeon
35 For he was late come fro his viage
And sente for to do his pylgremage

At algezir / and ryden in Belmarye
At leyeys was he and eke at Satalye
Whan they were wonne and in the
grete see
At many at nobyl arme hadde be he
At mortal bataillis had he be fyftene
And foughte for our feith at Tramys-
sene
In listys thryes and ay sleyn hys foo
Thys ylke worthy knyght hadde be
also
Som tyme with the lord of Palathye
Agayn another hethen man in Tur-
kye
And euermore he hadde a souerayn
prys
And though he was worthy he was
wys
And of hys port as meke as a mayde
He neuer yet no vylayne he sayde
In al hys lyf vnto no maner wyght
He was a very gentyl parfyghtknyght
For to telle you of hys aray
Hys hors were good but he was not
gay
Of fustian he wered a gypion
Al be smered wyth hys habergeon
For he was late come fro hys vyage
And sente for to do hys pylgremage

Space does not permit the multiplication of these extracts;

the "Ellesmere-Dd" group, which, among its other peculiarities, cuts out the Man of Law's end-link; of these four, all but the Dd show here the word "Nunne" instead of "another," and have six additional lines bringing forward the Second Nun, whose tale follows in all four. The fifth manuscript, Royal 17 D xv, is not of the Ellesmere group; but though its Squire's tale follows the Man of Law, its Man of Law's end-link introduces the Sompnour; this fifth manuscript thus differs from the archetype of Caxton II, though it agrees with Caxton II at the end of the Nun's Priest's tale in showing the epilogue without any spurious lines, and with the Manciple's tale following. Such differences illustrate again the necessity for study of the links, and the strong probability that many existing manuscripts of the *Tales* may be mosaics, their separate fascicules derived from different sources.

The Chaucer Society's three prints of the epilogue, which reproduce from Add. 5140 only a sufficient number of lines to form a parallel to the Dd, and which do not make clear just what manuscript is meant by the bracketed notes, have misled Professor Skeat into his treatment of the Add. MS as "absurd" (*Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. V, p. 250). Tyrwhitt, who used the manuscripts themselves, had expressly stated the facts regarding the codex; and the Chaucer Society's "Trial Tables," issued with Part I of the *Six-Text*, show that in the Add. MS Group G, and not Group H, follows. The bracketed note under the Add. extract, p. 301 of the *Six-Text*, refers to the Hengwrt MS, whose gaps the Add. is used to supply.

but from such examination as I have been able to give the two Caxtons much the same method has appeared. Caxton himself says in his "prohemye" that the loaned manuscript had served him as a standard "by which I haue corrected my book / as here after alle along;" and, looking at the description of the Knight above printed, we see a justification of his statement. What we consider blemishes are unremoved; the "sente" of the last line and the "at" of l. 18 remain in the second edition; and the other differences are in the main only the insertion of "that" in l. 2, the alteration of proper names in ll. 15 and 16, the change of "hath" to "ay" in l. 21, the reform of l. 28, and the insertion of "very" in l. 30. Otherwise the two texts correspond closely, even in the spelling; Caxton II keeps, for instance, the variation between the rime-words in ll. 11 and 12; and though it substitutes *y* pretty frequently for *i*, its resemblance to Caxton I is so strong that we cannot think the later print set up independently of the earlier. This, as observed, bears out his own statement. And as for the retention of what we call blemishes, no mediæval editor considered that literal fidelity to his original formed part of his duty. For Caxton the essential thing was, as he himself says, the printing of all that Chaucer had said, the excision of what he had not said; and in these respects Caxton's aroused editorial conscience probably kept his second print quite closely to his new manuscript.

Professor Koch finds in the Pardoner's prologue and tale proof of the same "correction all along" in Caxton II by a manuscript of another type than Caxton I, while Caxton I served substantially as basis for the new edition. However, despite the use of the earlier print in setting up the second text, we cannot regard Caxton II as the mere descendant of Caxton I; nor can we treat it as of the same subclass, considering the differences which exist between them as wholes. It seems to belong, with Caxton I, to that general class of manuscripts in which *Man of Law* is bound to *Squire*—a class in which there must be several subdivisions, one of which shows the manifold errors grouped by Bradshaw as his Type I, and two others of which are represented by the two Caxtons. //The manuscript loaned to Caxton for his second edition

had received additions not in the earlier recension; the Franklin's tale had been connected with that of the Squire, the link after the Monk's tale had been revised,¹ and the epilogue to the Nun's Priest's tale added.² We may perhaps infer from these additions that the manuscript of Caxton II, while deriving, as regards arrangement, from the same archetype as the debased and careless Caxton I, was copied at a somewhat later date. That it belonged to "the A type,"³ or Ellesmere group, as a whole, we have as yet no proof; indeed, the evidence thus far is against that supposition.

Inferences of this sort are tempting to students of the chronology of Chaucer's writings; and, indeed, the manuscripts and early prints have their contribution to make, not only to theories of the genealogy of texts, but also to those of the development of Chaucer's art. Even a brief examination of the available evidence shows that neither of these problems is a settled or a simple question. If we observe, for example, the fact that the de Worde print of the *Tales* of 1498, while displaying superficially the order as seen in Harley 7334, has the Man of Law's end-link introducing the Squire, like the Caxtons, and presents no major textual agreements with the Harley, we may again conjecture the extent to which contamination was possible in a large fascicular work like the *Canterbury Tales*, and the complexity of the problem still before students. In the discussion of the genealogy of the *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts, as in that of the chronology of Chaucer's writings, the "guesses and combinations of philologists are fast hardening into dogmas," while a mass of evidence remains unused. When the contents of every manuscript have been examined in detail, the links printed in full from every manuscript, the comparative study of the single texts carried out with comparative study of each entire codex as a part of the evidence, then the genealogy of the manuscripts may be more safely dis-

¹ We can hardly opine that Caxton I cut out ll. 5-24 and the name of the Knight for uniformity's sake; its omissions throughout are those of error, often a jump from rime to rime, and there is no such extensive manipulation as this would indicate.

² In this connection we may remark that ten Brink (*History of English Literature*, Vol. II, p. 179) considered that the B² fragment "unmistakably belongs to the parts composed toward the end of the whole collection."

³ Koch, *loc. cit.*, p. lii.

cussed. Until that time arrives, the accumulation of bibliographical and paleographical data, and the publication of facsimiles or diplomatic prints, are of more value than continued "critical" editing and deduction upon the basis of the small portion of material yet accessible to students. In the prosecution of our work on Chaucer, we must recognize the truth of Matthew Arnold's words: "Far more mistakes come from want of fresh knowledge than from want of correct reasoning."

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CHICAGO.

SOME FEATURES OF STYLE IN EARLY FRENCH NARRATIVE POETRY (1150-70)

I. TRANPOSED PARALLELISM, OR REPETITION WITH TRANSPOSITION OF THE WORD AT THE RHYME

Attention has been frequently called to certain repetitions of phrase or line in the *Chanson de Roland*, repetitions which are attributed to the influence of lyric poetry. They would have come down into the epic from its predecessors, the ballads which sang of different events in the fight at Roncesvalles. An important proof of this descent is found in that episode of the poem where Oliver repeatedly urges Roland to blow his horn :

Cumpaign Rollanz, kar sunez vostre corn ! (1051)¹
Cumpaign Rollanz, l'olifan car sunez ! (1059)
Cumpaign Rollanz, car sunez l'olifant ! (1070)

The three lines here quoted occur in three consecutive *laissez*. In a certain way they determine the assonance for each *laisse*, since they contain the leading idea of the *laisse*, and in the second and third citations begin the *laisse*. They are practically the same line. The words are nearly identical. The first hemistich is the same in the three. The second hemistich preserves the idea in all three and the same words or a synonym, but it changes the rhyme (assonance) by transposing the rhyme word. To such a repetition we give the name of transposed parallelism.²

The horn episode, however, is not the first passage in *Roland* where this kind of repetition occurs, though it is the most striking. The fifth and sixth *laissez* of the poem begin with identical lines on different assonances :

Li reis Marsilie out sun cunseill finet :
Li reis Marsilie out finet sun cunseill, (62, 78)

and include identical lines with the rhyme words slightly changed:

Branches d'olives en voz mains porterez :
Branches d'olives en voz mains portereiz. (72, 80)

¹ See E. Stengel, *Das altfranzösische Rolandlied* (Leipzig, 1900).

² This form of parallelism has been noticed in English verse, particularly in Swinburne's poetry. See *Repetition and Parallelism in English Verse*, by C. Alphonso Smith (New York and New Orleans, 1897), pp. 25, 61-64, 75.

A little later the first construction recurs entire (ll. 563, 580), and twice again with slight changes in the words used (ll. 2881, 2892; 3184, 3201). The second construction, which is not a transposed parallelism, reappears also, but at the beginning of two consecutive *laisses*, with slight changes in the words and the substitution of a synonym at the assonance:

Oliviers sent que a mort est feruz.

Oliviers sent qu'il est a mort naffrez. (1952, 1965)

This last variety is also found at the beginning of *laisses* which are separated by intervening *laisses* (ll. 139 var., 214).

Again, a line is repeated quite closely at the beginning of two consecutive *laisses* but the rhyme word of the original line is dropped entirely:

Oliviers monte desur un pui halçor.

Oliviers est desur un pui muntez. (1017, 1028)

Still another variation is where the second *laisse* borrows its assonance from the first hemistich of a line which comes shortly before it in the *laisse* preceding:

Desuz un pin en est li reis alez.

Carles li magnes s'en vait desuz un pin. (165, 168)

It will be seen in this instance that the idea of the line remains the same, but, with the exception of the transferred hemistich, the words are different. Because of this essential likeness and verbal divergence, it is perhaps permissible to surmise that the author of the *Chanson* is imitating at this point a ballad form.

Further evidence of the strength of lyric tradition may be found in *Roland*, with varied effects. In two passages the parallelistic lines end the *laisses*, instead of beginning them:

Söurs est Carles que nul home ne crient.

Söurs est Carles, ne crient hume vivant. (549, 562)

Puis se baisierent es vis et es mentuns.

Puis se baisierent es buches et es vis. (626, 633)

The words are not quite identical and the rhyme word is not transposed in the second pair. But they are clearly of the same lyric origin. The *laisses* which they end are also alike in thought and to a great extent in words, especially the first pair. For instance:

Dist li paiens: Mult me puis merveillier
 De Carlemagne ki est canuz e vielz, etc. (537 ff.)
 Dist li paiens: Merveille en ai molt grant
 De Carlemagne ki est canuz et blans, etc. (550 ff.)

Compare also l. 619 with l. 628, l. 623 with l. 630, l. 625 with l. 632. But the general imitation is not so exact in the second pair.

Even more free is the parallelism between the *laissez*s which tell how Roland's blast burst his temples. There is verbal correspondence here in practically one phrase only:

De sun cervel li temples est rumpanz.
 De sun cervel rumpuz en est li temples. (1764, 1786)

Finally, we notice that a transposed parallelism employed in a certain situation is used again in the direct form at the solution of that situation. Take again the horn episode. After Oliver's entreaty we read:

Si l'orrat Carles, si returnerat l'ost.
 Si l'orrat Carles, ferat l'ost returner. (1052, 1060)

This phrase is then expanded into:

Si l'orrat Carles ki est as porz passanz ;
 Je vos plevis, ja returnerunt Franc. (1071, 1072)

and is repeated in this lengthened form by Roland when he is ready to sound the alarm:

Ço dist Rollanz: Cornerai l'olifant:
 Si l'orrat Carles ki est as porz passanz
 Jo vos plevis, ja returneront Franc. (1702-1704)

And this fundamental sentence is once more summarized in one line in the *laisse* which follows:

Jo cornerai; si l'orrat li reis Carles. (1714)

The frequency of these striking parallelisms in the first part of *Roland*, and their scarcity in the last part, may be significant of the nature of the direct sources of the *Chanson*. If we assume that the forms of repetition which involve a change of rhyme are due to the influence of lyric poetry, then the episodes of the poem up to the actual sounding of Roland's horn and including it are quite direct descendants of ballad scenes. The remaining episodes would be only remotely related to lyric progenitors, if at

all, and would indicate a greater use of inventive faculty on the part of the author of the *Chanson*, or the elaboration of originals of a distinctively narrative character.

The familiarity shown by the author of *Roland* with the different kinds of transposed parallelisms naturally suggests the query whether this form of repetition was generally recognized at the time as an adjunct of literary style. Unfortunately, this question cannot be answered with any degree of confidence, owing to the small number of literary monuments which antedate the composition of the great epic or are contemporaneous with it. If we consider those poems which are conceded to be older than the *Chanson*, we are limited to four works only, all of which lie in the domain of didactic poetry. They are the *Cantilène de Ste. Eulalie*, the poem on the *Passion*, the *Vie de St. Léger*, and the *Vie de St. Alexis*.¹ *Ste. Eulalie* and the *Passion* make use of the device of direct repetition, in which there is not any transposition which involves a change of rhyme. The *Vie de St. Léger*, which is supposed to date from the tenth century, offers, however, two instances where hemistiches are transposed with change of rhyme. But in both cases the lines are not consecutive, though they occur in consecutive couplets:

Re volunt fair'estre so gred.
Estre so gret en fisdren rei. (60, 62)
En u monstier me laisse intrer.
Laisse l'intrar in u monstier. (95, 98)

Here the phraseology of each repeated line is quite like its original. The transposition of the hemistiches to suit new rhymes reveals a certain appreciation of art. We may therefore infer, without claiming more than the facts allow, that the author of *St. Léger* was conscious of his artifice, and was probably imitating a mannerism current in his time and familiar to his audience. It is also probable that in the tenth century the only body of literature in the vernacular which possessed sufficient vigor to develop a manner was lyric poetry. Lyric models would therefore be responsible for these transpositions. Later on in the poem, at the

¹ See Förster and Koschwitz, *Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch*, for the first three. For *St. Alexis* see the edition by G. Paris (Paris, 1885).

end of strophes 27 and 28, there is a further indication of their presence. Both of these strophes end in the same couplet. The effect is like a refrain:

Hora perdud Dom Deu parlier.
Ja non podra mais Deu laudier. (161, 162; 167, 168)

From these significant beginnings in *St. Léger* we should naturally look to *St. Alexis*, younger by several generations and composed in assonanced *laisses* after the manner of the *chansons de geste*, for a considerable development along the lines of transposed parallelisms. Our expectation, however, is vain. Direct repetitions it has and repetitions of ideas in successive strophes, like the *Chanson de Roland*, and even repetitions of single lines in successive strophes, with some change in the order of expression. But plain and deliberate imitations of the kind of parallelism known to the author of *St. Léger*, and so skilfully employed by the poet of the *Chanson de Roland*, are absent from *St. Alexis*. The nearest approach to it is not at all conclusive of the author's intention:

Si grant ledice nos est aparende.
Onques en Rome nen out si grant ledice. (533, 536)

The second line here cited begins the *laisse* and thus an assonance is built up on the first hemistich of a line taken from the preceding *laisse*. A little earlier in the poem we find stronger evidence of a possible intention to use a first hemistich in order to start a new *laisse*:

Son piz debatre e son cors degeter,
Ses crins detraire e son vis maiseler. (427, 428)
Trait ses chavels e debat sa peitrine.
A grant duel met la soe charn medisme. (431, 432)

But this intention was only approximately carried out, even if it were in mind. Indeed, the only inference we could draw from either of these passages is that while the poet of *St. Alexis* might have been acquainted with the various forms of transposed parallelism, he was quite determined not to use them in his verse, even when such use might have heightened the artistic effect of his periods.

If we now pass from the consideration of poems older than *Roland* to a survey of its possible contemporaries, we make but slight additions to our collection of transposed parallelisms. The epic poem of *Gormund et Isembard*,¹ so far as its fragments extend, does not afford any example of this feature of style. A refrain of four verses, however, which recurs at the end of a number of its *laisses*, does suggest the nearness of popular song. On the other hand, the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*,² contains passages which recall the repetitions of *St. Léger* and *Roland*. Most significant is the transposition of the first hemistich of a line near the end of one *laisse* to the second hemistich of the first line of the *laisse* following, thus setting the assonance for that *laisse*:

Li premiers est guariz; encantere est, go crei.
E dist a Carlemaigne: Li premiers est guariz. (733, 736)

Again, a line borrowed with slight variations from one *laisse* furnishes the assonance for the next *laisse*:

Carles vit le palais turn(ei)er e fremir;
Carles vit le palais menuement turner. (385, 392)

Once the last line of a *laisse* is repeated with both hemistiches transposed at the end of a subsequent *laisse* (next but one):

Si il cel gab demustret, de fer est u d'acier.
De fer est u d'acier, si (i)cest gab demustret. (552, 578)

There is also one instance of the direct repetition of a line with change of the rhyme word for its synonym:

Les mulz (e les sumiers) lur tint l'oem as degrez.
Les mulz e les sumiers lur tint hoem as peruns. (846, 850)

This form, already noticed in *Roland* (ll. 72, 80, etc.), is not a transposed parallelism, but it may have been suggested by the supposed model of the latter, lyric verse.

The *Pèlerinage* employs direct repetition to a considerable extent—proportionately greater than *Roland*. Consequently the presence of these scattered repetitions which involve change of rhyme would not lead to any definite conclusion about their source.

¹ Published in *Romanische Studien*, Vol. III, pp. 501-96.

² Edited by Koschwitz, *Altfranzösische Bibliothek*, Vol. II.

They appear because they suited the poet's convenience. He may have had lyric mannerisms in mind or he may not.

With the didactic poems of the early twelfth century we reach at last firm chronological ground. At the same time we attain few results. Direct repetitions are numerous enough in Philippe de Thaun's works and the more popular *St. Brandan*, yet they seem to accompany but one instance of parallelism with change of rhyme, and that instance is quite like the citation from ll. 846, 850 of the *Pèlerinage* and ll. 72, 80 of *Roland*. The whole line is repeated in direct order, excepting the last word, for which a synonym is given. Unlike the example already noted, the lines here are consecutive:

En tut enfern n'at si fole,
En tut enfern n'at si orde. (1414, 1415)¹

Roland and its contemporaries, which would include the two epics just mentioned—and possibly *St. Alexis*—Albéric's *Alexandre*, *St. Brandan*, Philippe de Thaun's poems, and perhaps one or two semi-religious works in poetry or prose, contemporaries of the same generation, not of the same decade, are all that remain of the vernacular literature which bloomed so suddenly under the inspiration of the conquests of the Normans and the enthusiasm which prompted the First Crusade. As they are national in the widest sense, they indicate the vigor of the nation when it first became conscious of itself. It is all the more surprising, then, that they should lack immediate descendants, that a period of barrenness should succeed this poetical fertility. Latin literature continued from 1130 to 1150 with increasing variety and excellence. French almost disappeared. Possibly this was because of the superior quality of the Latin. Before its greater art and refinement the simple and somewhat unpolished French would decline. Or it might be because the favoring patronage of Henry I and his queen Adelaide, which had encouraged the expression of loyalty and patriotism in language understood by the people, was for some reason afterward withdrawn by them, and was not restored by their successors. At all events, whatever may be the causes, French literature toward 1100, the date of Henry's acces-

¹ *Les voyages merveilleuses de St. Brandan*, edited by Fr. Michel (Paris, 1878).

sion to the throne of England, was entering on a career of the highest promise. Hardly twenty-five years later it was already faltering in its course, and by the fourth decade of the century—before Henry's death even—it had fallen by the way. Latin had regained its former unquestioned supremacy, and had even added to its theological, philosophical, and scientific subjects the romantic themes of folk-song and tradition, as the *Pseudo-Turpin* and the works of Geoffrey of Monmouth amply prove. For practically a generation one or two *chansons de toile* and as many devout poems are the sole representatives of that literature which could already boast a *Roland* and a *St. Brandan*. French evidently went into tutelage again to Latin. It submitted to the discipline of the great monastic schools. During a quarter of a century it turned aside to study the art of thinking and the art of composition under the great masters of dialectic reasoning.

The relative situation of French to the Latin in the fourth and fifth decades of the twelfth century reminds one of the fortunes of Italian and Latin in the first part of the fifteenth. In both periods the vernacular, after producing notable and lasting works, suddenly lost its vitality. In both periods Latin literature experienced a renaissance. At the end of both periods, when the popular tongue came once more to assert itself as a vehicle of literary expression, it was found that during the years of its eclipse it had been perfecting its form under the guidance of its successful rival, and had added to its store of indigenous literary material the treasures of ancient mythology and classical tradition. Such a comparison of the two passings of Humanism in the modern world may not be scientifically exact. But it cannot be denied that a strong likeness exists between the history of French literature in the Middle Ages and the history of Italian literature at the Renaissance—a likeness which extends to content quite as much as to standards of literary expression.

The supremacy of Latin in the twelfth century seems to have been brought to an end by the Crusade of 1147. In that mingling of North and South on a soil foreign to both, but abounding in reminiscences of ancient culture and laden with the ruins of ancient civilizations, French, under the instigation of Provençal

example, became again conscious of its power and considerate of its dignity. It once more demanded a place in literature. In this renewal of the national language we find no evidence that Provençal took any other part than to advise and encourage. The earliest and most significant works of the revival are translations or imitations from the Latin. Geoffrey of Monmouth furnished Gaimar and Wace with the material for their chronicles. The *Roman de Thèbes* repeats for mediæval readers the story of Statius' *Thebaïd*.

Latin works were then the standards for the French poets of the fifties and the sources from which they drew the larger part of their narratives. But these poets were not by any means imitators and translators only. They knew their national traditions well and did not hesitate to interpolate them into the stories of their originals whenever it suited their purpose to do so. Their manner of expression, their style, was likewise eclectic. They took from the Latin much of its syntax, many sayings which could be easily understood, and borrowed perhaps its method of alliteration. But in other features they seem to have favored an art of their own race, the slow elaboration of generations of unknown rhymers. Particularly did they seem to be attracted by the national lyric, whose forms by this time must have been definitely fixed. Allusions to spring and May appear in quite unexpected places in their works, at times serve as purely conventional introductions to new episodes. And even where this direct evidence of lyric influence is lacking, we think we can detect the presence of lyric style in the narrative and epic verse of these more ambitious productions. There is good reason for this surmise because lyric poetry, alone of compositions in the vernacular, seems to have attained some degree of literary finish.

It would be advantageous, therefore, if we could determine the exact forms of lyric expression prevalent in north France toward the middle of the twelfth century. Unluckily, very few specimens of the folk-song are known, and of these few specimens the *chansons de toile* at least are built on the epic formula of assonanced strophes, so that their refrains and their tone of thought are the most significant reminders of their popular origin. Scarcely more

light is thrown on lyric style by the *carole* of *Bele Aaliz*, which has been so ingeniously reconstituted by Gaston Paris from scattered lines preserved in other forms of literature.¹ He would find in the *carole* two strophes, one original and one derived. Both strophes would be assonanced. The derived strophe is really in monorhyme. This strophe is formed by simply inverting and transposing the words and hemistiches of the corresponding lines of the original strophe, as:

<i>Original Strophe</i>	<i>Derived Strophe</i>
Main se leva bele Aaliz,	Bele Aaliz main se leva,
Bel se para, mieuz se vesti,	Bel se vesti, mieuz se para,
Lava ses ueuz, lava son vis,	Lava ses ueuz, son vis lava,
Si s'en entra eu un jardin.	En un jardin si s'en entra. (<i>l.c.</i> , p. 7)

This manner of composition is the manner of transposed parallelism. And the theory goes, and is borne out in fact by a few yet widely scattered examples, that parallelism with change of rhyme is the second manner of lyric poetry, forms indeed its first strophe.² The first manner would be the same phrase sung in chorus and repeated in chorus, or sung by a soloist, the leader of the chorus, and repeated by the chorus word for word. A variation of the cadence of this original phrase by the leader which would soon follow, owing to a demand for variety, or the ambition or musical talent of the leader, would change the end of the phrase, or the rhyme word at least, and thus give the second manner, since the chorus would continue to sing the original phrase entire. This primitive strophe of two lines would therefore consist of the same words sung in the same order until the cadence or rhyme word is reached. That is, we would have as the prevailing manner of lyric poetry parallelism with change of rhyme or change of the rhyme phrase. The *Roland* offers good examples of the latter variety. *Roland* (ll. 72, 80, etc.), the *Pelerinage* (ll. 846, 850), and *St. Brandan* would show imitations of the former.

The kind of parallelism with change of rhyme which prevails in French literature after the middle of the twelfth century, is,

¹ See *Mélanges de philologie romane dédiés à Carl Wahlund*.

² A. Jeanroy, *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen-âge*, pp. 417-23; H. R. Lang, *Das Liederbuch des Königs Denis von Portugal*, pp. xciv, 76-78.

however, neither the kind which changes the final phrase nor the kind which changes the final word. It is the kind which retains the final phrase by transposing it, or retains the whole line by transposing both hemistiches and thus producing a new verse. Attention has been called to this kind in the citation from ll. 165, 168 of *Roland* and the citations from *St. Léger*. The complete model for it is found in a comparison of the lines of the two strophes of *Bele Aaliz*. There we see that the first line of the derived strophe is formed by transposing both hemistiches of the first line of the original strophe. The fourth line suffers the same inverting. The second and third lines, less artistic in their parallelism, bear a closer resemblance to the form which is favored by the author of *Roland*.

A considerable amount of popular lyric must have been produced in north France by the middle of the twelfth century. Besides the *chansons de toile* and the *caroles*, scattered allusions to *rotruenges*, *servantois*, and *estrabots* are to be found in subsequent literature. What these last kinds may have been is open to conjecture, but we may be allowed to assume that the repetition of a line or a hemistich, with or without change of rhyme, was a leading characteristic of their versification. At all events, the new school of narrative and epic poets was strongly impressed by such a feature of style. These poets had been trained in the tenets of Latin learning which obtained in the cloisters, yet they were peculiarly national and mediæval in their conception of life, and would welcome any suggestion which would bring their compositions into close touch with the literature of the people.

The pioneer of this new school, Geoffrey Gaimar, who derived his subject-matter from Geoffrey of Monmouth, is not indeed imbued to a marked extent with a liking for lyric expression. His *Estorie des Engleis*,¹ written between 1147 and 1151, does not contain, in the part which has come down to us at least, any allusions to spring, birds, or flowers. Yet we find in it a few instances of parallelism with change of rhyme which we may assume to be of lyric origin. Gaimar does not compose in epic *laissez*s nor in strophes like the author of *St. Léger*. He uses the

¹ See edition by Hardy and Martin (London, 1888).

ordinary flat couplets of French narrative verse, the versification of *St. Brandan*; and his parallelistic passages, with two exceptions, lie together in consecutive lines, like the passage cited from *St. Brandan*. But his manner of repetition recalls the manner of *St. Léger* rather than the style observed in *Roland* or its contemporaries. It is the parallelism which may have suggested the derived strophe of *Bele Aaliz*. The final hemistich of the last line of a couplet becomes the first hemistich of the next couplet:

Trop purprendra ultre devise.
 Ultre devise cil purprent. (3818, 3819)
 Li reis Willam od mult grant gent,
 Od [mult] grant gent, od ses barons. (5376, 5377)

Somewhat later this last phrase recurs quite in the manner of *Roland* and the *Pèlerinage*, but at a line's interval:

Od grant gent est al rei alez.
 Alat al rei od mult grant gent. (5874, 5876)

Again, the first hemistich in Gaimar is transposed to the second hemistich of the next couplet, also at a line's interval. This form recalls one in *Roland* (ll. 165, 168):

En lur vivant fu deseuvre:
 Se departi en lur vivant. (1672, 1674)

Or, we find in Gaimar two consecutive lines which repeat the idea in different couplets, transposing the words more or less, as:

De tei ne voil tenir nient.
 Jamais de tei ren ne tendrai. (2864, 2865)

or more exactly:

Trenchiez aveit lur tupez.
 Trestut ourent lur tups trenchiez. (6086, 6087)

When we come to Wace, Gaimar's contemporary, we find that he is unlike him in this respect. He does not incline to repetitions with transposition of the rhyme word. His *Brut* (1155), also translated from Geoffrey of Monmouth, contains but one passage of this nature:

Onques ne sot (pot?) ami avoir.
 Onques ne pot (sot?) avoir ami. (3688, 3689)

The last two words are simply transposed in the prevailing manner of *Roland*.

In Wace's religious poetry, however, we find an example of the transposed hemistich which reminds us of Gaimar:

De la maison le metent hors.

A metre hors de la maison. *Conception*¹ (1596, 1597)

Still these two scattered instances of repetition with change of rhyme do not represent all of Wace's contributions to this feature of style. The great work of his later years, the chronicle of *Rou*,² tells a somewhat different story, though it by no means confesses to a pronounced fondness for the kind. The first example it brings forward is quite like the one in the *Brut*, but the lines are not consecutive:

Ne quit pas vivre lungement.

Ne quit mie lungement vivre. *Rou* (619, 621)

In the alexandrin section of the chronicle we come upon a parallelism which suggests Gaimar:

D'un chemin u il fu devers destre garda.

Li quens garda sur destre d'un chemin u il fu. (3615, 3616)

In the last section of the poem, octosyllabic in verse, there are at least four instances of transposed repetition, in two of which the hemistiches are changed about, quite as we saw them in the first and fourth lines of *Bele Aaliz*:

Mais delivrer ne s'en poeient.

Ne s'en poeient delivrer. (1210, 1211)

Fol m'en revinc, fol i alai.

Fol i alai, fol m'en revinc. (6418, 6419)

The remaining two passages are examples of the same kind of parallelism, but are less complete. One occurs after the interval of a line, as in the first passage cited from *Rou*:

Mais od les morz fu morz trovez.

Morz fu trovez entre les morz. (8882, 8883)

Tost fu delivree la place.

Quant la place fu delivree. (11041, 11043)

This increase of transposed parallelisms in *Rou* over the *Brut* naturally leads to the inference that between the composition of

¹ Edited by V. Luzarche as *Vie de la Vierge Marie* (Tours, 1859).

² Edited by Andresen (Heilbronn, 1877-79).

the two chronicles, a space of at least five years, this particular kind of repetition had become so fashionable that Wace, who especially cultivated the direct forms, could no longer afford to ignore it. If Wace had in mind in the *Brut*, and the first part of *Rou*, the horn episode of *Roland*, which is of course possible, in the remainder of *Rou* and perhaps also in the *Conception*, he was aiming at a more complete parallelism than even Gaimar could have suggested to him. He was endeavoring to transpose both hemistiches of the last line of a couplet in order to form the first line of the next couplet.

Somewhat the same tendency seems to have shown itself at about the same time in epic poetry, where we should expect that the influence of *Roland* would be overpowering. That influence did indeed persist, but it was supplemented in the way of transposed repetitions by such standards as Wace held up to himself in the latter part of his *Rou*. However, our conclusion here is quite uncertain, for we probably possess but one epic poem which may have been composed in the fifties of the twelfth century. This poem is the newly found *Chançon de Willame*,¹ the earliest account remaining in the vernacular of the exploits of the mediæval warrior, William of Orange. An examination of the parallelisms with change of rhyme which occur in the *Willame* shows that its author was acquainted with the varied forms which appear in *Roland*, while favoring the more exact repetition represented by the one instance of the *Brut*. He also knew about transposed hemistiches, after Gaimar's manner, or more perfectly, and makes use of them once:

Al pris Willame te deis faire tenir.
Ben te deis faire tenir al pris Willame. (208, 211)

On the other hand, he chooses the simple transposition of the last two words, which we have seen in the *Brut*, on several occasions:

En sun estriv se fert un motun gris.
En sun estriv se fert un gris motun. (397, 398)
Prest fu li liz, si firent Girard dormir,
Lunsdi al vespre.

¹ Printed privately at the Chiswick Press (London, 1903).

Prest fu li liz, si firent dormir Girard. (1061–63)
 Que tei ne [Ke ne te?] fait mun conte a tenir.
 Ke ne te fait a tenir ma (mun?) conte! (1453, 1455 [cf. 3501, 3502])

It will be noticed that in the first two passages just given the lines are consecutive (disregarding the refrain), and consequently the change of rhyme sets the assonance for the whole subsequent *laisse*. This idea had been foreshadowed in *Roland* and the *Pelerinage de Charlemagne*, but its more exact counterpart, where couplets are substituted for *laisses*, is to be found in the solitary instance of the *Brut*. The *Willame* knew also the repetition of the first hemistich (see ll. 602, 604), so frequent in *Roland*, as well as other parallelistic varieties of that great epic. From the comparatively large number of such passages in the *Willame* we might infer that in its present version it was closely related to the original songs which celebrated the hero's prowess among the people. It would thus have preserved the parallelisms of its sources. The tone of the poem, popular to a degree, even anti-noble, might serve to confirm this supposition, which is derived from its verse alone. But the solitary instance of the transposition of hemistiches it contains might indicate the influence of narrative poetry quite as well as lyric.

Later poems of the Orange cycle reveal, to be sure, considerable familiarity with both kinds of transposed parallelism: transposition of the hemistich and transposition of the assonanced word. In the *Covenant Vivien* we read:

Et Desramez entra en son chalant.
 En son chalant s'en entra Desramez. (250, 251)

and also separated widely, as in *Roland* (ll. 1017, 1028):

1j. foiz en gros et le tierz fu en cler.
 1j. foiz en grelle et le tierz fu en gros. (1473, 1489)

But the *Covenant* knew *Roland* (cf. *Covenant*, 1425–34, 1486–95, with *Roland* 1761–69, 1989–2009), and may have borrowed in this case the style of its predecessor.

The *Prise d'Orange* gives one example of a *Roland* parallelism:

Dex! dist Guillaumes, Paradis est ceanz!
 Dex! dist Guillaumes, ceanz est Paradis! (676, 688)

also the *Charroi de Nismes*:

Vos auroiz Chartres et Orliens me lerez,
Et la corone que plus n'en quier porter. (530, 531)

recurring in

Vos auroiz Chartres et me lessiez Orliens,
Et la corone que plus ne vos en quier. (542, 543)¹

But with these last citations, differing as they do, with the exception of the first of the *Covenant*, from the examples furnished by the *Willame*, we have gone quite away from the repetition in consecutive lines of the narrative poets which the parallelisms in the *Willame* so closely resembled.² Retracing our steps, and looking for the cause which seems to have forced the reluctant pen of Wace to give up the epic parallelism of the *Brut*—the transposition of the rhyme word—for the narrative parallelism of the *Rou*—the transposition of the final hemistich or both hemistiches in the second line—we think we find that cause in the popularity of the first great romantic poem of France, the *Roman de Thèbes*.

The importance of this romance to French literature has hardly been exaggerated. Of unknown authorship, yet probably due to a poet younger than Wace, but who wrote about the time of his *Brut* (1155), *Thèbes* seems to be the earliest composition in the vernacular of north France which considers literature an end in itself. It does not aim to excite patriotism, like *Roland* and its fellows, nor to instruct the mind, like the didactic and historical poems. It merely aims to please. In this purpose it may have been anticipated by some of the *chansons de toile*, where artistic effort is evident. These charming pictures of mediæval society in its forming are, however, too minute and

¹ For the three poems here cited see Joackbloet's edition, *Guillaume d'Orange* (La Haye, 1854).

² It may be unnecessary to dwell on the self-evident fact that this kind of repetition in narrative poetry occurs in successive couplets and not in consecutive lines of the same couplet, just as in *Roland* and *Willame* it occurs in successive *laissez* and not in the same *laisse*. Here is clearly an essential characteristic which shows that the origin of parallelism in both these kinds of composition is either identical, or else, that one kind borrowed it from the other. From the examples found in *Roland* and *St. Léger*, it would seem that the origin of both varieties was the same and is to be found in the parallelism of lyric poetry, but that the development in each kind was different. On the other hand, the likeness of the treatment in the *Chancun de Willame* to the treatment in narrative poetry, as well as to the manner of repetition in *Roland*, would indicate a decided influence of narrative poetry on the *Willame*.

probably too few to have counted for much with the educated people of their day. Besides, they are objective. *Thèbes*, on the contrary, is subjective. It portrays, to be sure, but at the same time it idealizes. While its combats are described at length and its love affairs but briefly outlined, yet the desire of its author to represent these occupations of courtly society as they should be rather than as they were, his wish to induce his readers to cultivate a chivalrous spirit in its highest manifestations, is always evident. Furthermore, he tries to make his lines attractive, and employs to that end the various devices of literary art which were at hand. It is more than probable that he even perfected some features of that art. At all events, he was conscious of the turn of his phrase, quite as conscious as Wace in the *Brut*,—and we now recognize that through the artistic self-consciousness of these two great poets the conception of style entered into French literature.

It is true that the thought of the popular lyric is not noticeable in *Thèbes*. Allusions to spring and May are short and unimportant. Its love episodes are quite the opposite of the scenes depicted in the *chansons de toile*, where the woman, and not the man, makes the advances. But in its liking for lyric parallelisms, for repetition of phrase and line with transposition of rhyme, *Thèbes* surpasses not only the didactic, historical, and epic poems of its time, but also the great romantic compositions which followed it, and which were perhaps inspired by it. Its first example is an incomplete parallelism at a line's interval:

Ne del respons cure nen ot;
Por go si n'a del respons cure: (170, 172)

Another incomplete repetition with use of a synonym follows, but in consecutive lines:

Onc por poor rien n'i laissa;
Onc ne laissa por coardie. (1274, 1275)

Soon, however, the poet reaches the complete form of this feature of style—already noted in *Rou*—the transposition of both hemistiches in the last line of one couplet so as to form the first line of the next couplet:

Venir l'estuet a cel pertus;
 A cel pertus venir l'estuet, (1500, 1501)
 Par mé le cors s'est tresperciez (variant);
 Tresperciez s'est (variant) par mé le cors. (1920, 1921)

As the poem lengthens, this complete parallelistic form becomes more frequent:

S'esbahissent tuit cil dedenz:
 Cil dedenz s'esbahissent tuit, (4810, 4811)
 Sor mer lor tout un chastel fort;
 Un chastel fort lor tout sor mer. (5890, 5891)¹

It is noticeable that the proportion of transposed repetitions is considerably greater in the *Roman de Thèbes* than in any other poem which has come down to us. Therefore we may assume that its author took a particular fancy to this feature of style. It is possible even that it was he who elaborated the complete parallelism which is obtained by the transposition of both hemistiches in consecutive lines. Certainly in the poems which may be dated after *Thèbes* this form of repetition is more frequent than in the poems which may have preceded it or have been its contemporaries.²

Nor is this complete form the only kind of parallelism developed by the author of *Thèbes*. He has a tendency also to emphasize an idea by dwelling on it through two successive couplets and repeating some of its striking phrases:

Sa femme, eschevelee et pale,
 Vint acorant par mé la sale:
 Par mé la sale, eschevelee,
 Acort come femme desvee. (1837-40)

A three line repetition is still more frequent:

Ço sachiez bien, ne bai ne brun,
 Tant viacier n'en i a un;
 N'en i a un ne brun ne bai. (5633-35)³

¹ See also ll. 5994, 5995; 6530, 6531; 6816, 6817; 6894, 6895; 7560, 7561; 7564, 7565; 8300, 8301. Less complete—by a word or two—are ll. 8702, 8703; 9078, 9079; 9088, 9089.

² So pronounced a characteristic might be properly used in establishing a critical text of the poem. Among the lines which its editor has rejected may be found these instances of the complete form of parallelism: MSS A and P, 2082, 2083; 10898, 10899; 11078, 11079; MS A, 11538, 11539 (less complete, 11148, 11149).

³ Cf. ll. 6620-22: 6819-21; 6887-89; MS A, 11957-60.

Thèbes also knows the parallelism of *Roland* and the *Willame*, the repetition of a line with transposition of the rhyme word only. One instance, where a line intervenes, like the epic, is:

En haute voiz s'enseigne escrie.
En haute voiz crie s'enseigne. (5573, 5575)

Another in consecutive lines is not quite complete:

Qui escondist et vos et mei;
Il escondist et mei et vos. (8534, 8535)

Another is both consecutive and complete:

Tout l'en devons merci crier,
Tout l'en devons crier merci: (MS A, 11566, 11567)

But, singularly enough, the transposition of the final hemistich of a couplet into the first hemistich of the next couplet, which was the first form of parallelism employed by Gaimar, is practically ignored by the author of *Thèbes*.

From the evidence taken as a whole we may therefore conclude that the *Roman de Thèbes* played a leading part, the leading part perhaps, in developing parallelistic style and making it popular. *Thèbes* itself was a well-known poem, as allusions to it in subsequent literature prove. Consequently, the appearance of this particular form of parallelism, which may have been perfected by the author of *Thèbes*, in the works of later poets may be ascribed to its influence until contradictory testimony shows that it was not. Possibly also, anonymous poems of whatever nature which contain instances of this complete parallelism may, for the same reason, be dated later than *Thèbes*, and yet set within the time limits of its ascendancy. These limits would be approximately the limits of the seventh decade of the century. The *Brut* (1155) was not affected by this peculiar form of parallelism. The *Rou* was. But Thomas is restive under its dictatorship, and Chrétien de Troies rises in open revolt. These two authors make a new school of poetry, and claim authority toward 1170.

If we now enter on the consideration of this later literature, we are at once struck by the fact that the other two great romantic works of the time, which resemble *Thèbes* in sentiment and matter, and seem to have been directly prompted by it, reject the

very feature of style which was so dear to their great exemplar. *Énéas* and *Troie* appear to avoid deliberately all forms of parallelism. Neither contains a single instance of the complete kind. Their notions of style in other respects do not differ essentially from the ideas of *Thèbes*. On this decisive point, however, they are widely at variance with it, and their lack of agreement could well lead to doubts regarding their close connection with it. But if we turn to the court poets, those who are confessedly writing under the patronage of powerful suzerains, we cannot fail to recover at once the lost thread of parallelistic suggestion. The first poem signed by Gautier d'Arras, *Éracle*¹ by name, presents all the varieties of repetition which involve change of rhyme. Its first form lacks somewhat of being complete:

Et tout fors bien faiz tresira.
Tout tresira fors seul bien fait. (324, 325)

The next, however, is a complete transposition:

Ramembre t'en, biaus sire Deus;
Biaus sire Deus, ramembre t'en! (588, 589)

Other varieties do not exactly resemble the passages quoted from *Thèbes*, as the following, for instance, which is complete, but separated by an interval of several lines:

Laissiez le nous, ralez vous ent.
Ralez vous ent, laissiez le nous. (1609, 1612)

And another where the final hemistich is transposed, as in Gaimar:

Fait li valez, "nel creez mie;
Nel creez mie, gentiuz hom;" (1622, 1623)

Finally we come to two which are essentially direct repetitions, but change the rhyme word in the second couplet by means of a synonym or otherwise:

Mar vi onques se grant richece,
Mar vi onques se grant honure. (3795, 3796)
Assez est partiz par ingaus.
Assez est partiz ingaument. (3865, 3866)

When we go from these clear examples of parallelism in *Éracle* to Gautier's second poem of *Ille et Galeron*, written about 1168, we are surprised to find that the poet has given up the forms of

¹ Edited with *Ille et Galeron* by E. Löseth, in the *Bibliothèque française du moyen âge*.

transposed repetition almost entirely. In fact, *Ille et Galeron* apparently uses the transposed hemistich on one occasion only:

Que il le het, u voelle u non;
U voelle u non, hair l'estuet. (4970, 4971)¹

In one or two passages, however, the idea is repeated in similar terms, but without observing any regular order. These recall the longer repetitions in *Thèbes* (ll. 1837–40, etc.):

1. jour li sanle bien d'une eure
Par son ami qui si démeure;
Car longe atente en fine amor
Fait bien sanler d'une ore 1. jour. (3417–20)
Et s'i a el; car drois et lois
Et fine raisons et li prestre
Tesmoignent, qu 'ensi doit il estre.
Prestre, raisons et drois et lois
Font les amans sovent destrois. (4653–57)

While transposed parallelisms are almost lacking in *Ille et Galeron*, direct forms of repetition abound. When we compare its lines with the verses of *Éracle*, we find that *Ille et Galeron* does not use complete transposition at all, nor the lyric repetition of a line, where the rhyme word alone is different—is replaced by a synonym. The few transposed repetitions in *Ille et Galeron* seem to be involuntary, the result of chance. In *Éracle*, greater in number, they appear to be planned, conscious. We may therefore assume that when Gautier wrote *Éracle*, or its first sections, there was a demand in literary circles for transposed parallelisms. But by the time he began *Ille et Galeron* it is evident that this demand had ceased. The absence of this feature of style from the last section of *Éracle*, which was written some years after the first five thousand lines, would also point to the same conclusion.

Gautier's *Éracle* was perhaps contemporaneous with another poem, the author of which possessed more individuality, and made greater contributions than he to French literary style. This author was Thomas, and the poem *Tristan*.² Unfortunately, but a small part of this great work is now known, and that part represents the final scenes of the action. So we are left in ignorance

¹ See Förster's text, *Romantische Bibliothek*, Vol. VII.

² Edited by J. Bédier, *Société des anciens textes français*.

concerning the earlier manifestations of Thomas' talent, and the characteristic features of his first poetic manner. But from the fragments which remain of his more mature style we may conclude that Thomas had been particularly attracted by the phases of parallelism which had been popularized by the *Roman de Thèbes*, and had proceeded to make them his own and develop them to suit his own purposes. And these purposes were very likely to lay emphasis on the thought of his poem rather than to exercise the pen in verbal gymnastics. For in the scattered episodes of *Tristan* which are preserved we find various reminders of transposed parallelism. Once the words of a line are repeated after an interval, in a different order, by another line:

Se mun desir ne puis aveir.

Se aveir ne puis mun desir. (114, 119)

Again, one couplet is quite faithfully copied by the next couplet:

D' Isolt m'ai ore si vengé,

Qu'al premir sui jo enginné;

D' Isolt me voldreie vengier,

Enginné sui jo al premier. (541-44)

Or a couplet is repeated after an interval with transposition of the rhyme words by another couplet:

A quel estoit mieuz de l'amor

Ou qui en ait greignor dolor. (1090, 1091)

A quel de l'amor mieuz estait,

Ou qui greignor dolur en ait. (1122, 1123)

Did we possess *Tristan* in its entirety instead of the unconnected sections of the last episodes, we might discover how Thomas arrived at this conception of repetition with change of rhyme. The passages which remain would indicate that he made quite frequent use of it. If this is true, he would have stood quite alone among the poets of his time, and would merit being classed with the author of *Thèbes*. For Gautier d'Arras does not seem to have shown any independence in the matter. Employing parallelism in *Éracle*, he avoids it in *Ille et Galeron*. Chrétien de Troies also would hardly enter into comparison. Indeed, his first poem, *Érec*, contains but three instances of the kind, and two of these instances go back to Gaimar for analogy rather than to

Thèbes—the final hemistich of one couplet becomes the first hemistich of the next:

Que plus lieemant se contint
 Qu'ele pot, quant devant lui vint.
 Devant lui vint anmi la cort. *Érec* (2683–85).
 Que mes sire m'a anhafe.
 Anhafe m'a, bien le voi. *id.* (2790, 2791).

A transposition of the first phrase of one line to the last phrase of the line following might also be due to Gaimar's influence:

Chascun jor firent grant journee:
 Tant chevauchierent chascun jor. *id.* (6580, 6581).

Chrétien's *Cligès*, which was composed under Thomas' influence, contains but one transposed parallelism, and this one recalls the first example cited from *Tristan*:

Si vos metez an sa merci!
 Se an sa merci vos metez. *Cligès* (2173, 2177).

The remaining Arthurian poems of Chrétien seem to have forsaken parallelism with change of rhyme altogether.

On the contrary, the romance of *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, written by a Chrétien who is supposed to be Chrétien de Troies, offers a fairly large number of such passages. Either the poet repeats his thought in the same or similar words without reference to the order of expression, as in the first examples cited from *Thèbes*:

Qui mout se demante et complaint.
 Mout se complaint, mout se demante, (754, 755)
 Lor a deguerpie sa proie.
 La proie laisse, si s'an fuit: (804, 805 [cf. 1440, 1441]).
 Jusqu' au matin qu'il ajorna.
 Au matin quant fu ajorné, (986, 987)
 L'un firent apeler Lovel:
 Lovel por le lo l' apelerent, (1350, 1351)

or the final hemistich is transposed in the line following, like Gaimar:

Orroiz qu'il fist au resveillier.
 Au resveillier mout s'esbai: (846, 847)
 Biaus sire rois, vez ci le lit,
 Vez ci le lit, vez ci la chanbre. (3314, 3315)

Finally, two couplets combine to repeat the same thought, as we have seen done in *Thèbes*:

La ou je ving a repentance,
Que trois anz fusse an penitance,
Et an tel penitance fusse
Que devant trois anz ne geusse. (1221-24)

The absence of complete transpositions in *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, and the presence of the form where the final hemistich only is transposed, would lead to the conclusion that while its author was fond of this kind of repetition, he did not come directly under the influence of the *Roman de Thèbes*.

The poems just considered bear the names of their authors. If we turn from them to the consideration of anonymous compositions which may be placed within the fifties and sixties of the twelfth century, or those whose dates are uncertain, we find occasional traces of transposed parallelism. One poem, the so-called *Folie Tristan*¹ of the Douce MS, gives several examples of the transposition of the final hemistich:

Car alcun confort lu estot;
Confort lu estot de guarir. (4, 5)
U si go nun melz volt murir;
Melz volt murir a une faiz. (6, 7)
Tintage li Chastel Fiez.
Chastel-Fai fu dit a droit. (130, 131)
En une roche u ele me truvat.
Ele me truvat suz un perun. (276, 277)

There are also several passages in the *Folie* where the idea is repeated in consecutive couplets, or at intervals, and in the same words, or in different terms. An instance where the first lines of each couplet are quite alike occurs near the beginning of the poem:

Melz volt murir a une faiz
Ke tut dis estre si destraiz,
E melz volt une faiz murir
Ke tut tens en peine languir. (7-10)

Another, where the idea is the same but the words quite different, comes a few couplets later:

¹ Edited by Francisque Michel in his *Tristan: Recueil de ce qui reste des poèmes etc.* (London, 1835-39), Vol. II, pp. 89-137.

Mais de povre ki a pé vait
 N'en est tenu gueres de plait.
 De povre message e nu
 Est poi de plait en curt tenu. (37-40)

One pair of couplets repeating the same idea, with the last line of each couplet similar, is seen a hundred lines beyond:

Chastel Fai fu dit a droit,
 Kar dous faiz le an se perdeit.
 Li passant destrent pur veir
 Ki dous faiz le an nel pot l'en veir. (131-34)

As the Douce *Folie* counts barely a thousand lines, we must conclude from the number of transposed parallelisms it contains that it was more subject to the influence of this feature of style than any other poem, save *Thèbes* and *Tristan*. Still its repetitions do not resemble those found in these masterpieces. The frequency with which the final hemistich is transposed reminds us more strongly of Gaimar. It certainly argues against an imitation of *Thèbes*. Furthermore, the absence of Thomas' mannerisms from the *Folie* would tend to militate against the theory that the smaller poem was directly suggested by the larger, however plausible such a notion might seem from a comparison of their contents.¹ On the contrary, the *Folie* might be said to aspire to a style of its own. In two instances cited above we see how its author takes the transposition of the final hemistich of a couplet as the starting-point for a repetition without change of rhyme, to be expressed in the two couplets following (ll. 6-10, 130-34). This is a new method of parallelistic treatment, and testifies to a certain amount of independence on the part of the unknown poet.

Other romantic poems of the period show the influence of this kind of parallelism, though in a far less degree than is shown by

¹ Could the Douce *Folie* have been Thomas' first draught of *Tristan*, following the method adopted by Wace in his *Rou*? It contains one repetition, separated by quite an interval, which is the parallelism most favored by Thomas. However, unlike the *Tristan*, this repetition is not a complete one, nor are the rhymes changed as in *Tristan*:

Confort lu estot de guarir,
 U si ço nun melz volt murir: (*Folie*, 5, 6)
 Il veit ke il [ne] puet guarir:
 Senz cunfort lui estot murir (15, 16).

the *Folie*. The *Sept Sages*¹ in verse offers one instance of the complete form, but at a line's interval :

Un homme d'arain tresjeta :
Tresjeta un homme d'arain. (3961, 3963)

while the so-called second version of *Floire et Blanchefleur*² contains one complete repetition in consecutive lines :

Conquis m'avez par vostre avoir.
Par vostre avoir m'avez conquis. (2654, 2655)

Amadas et Ydoine,³ later than Thomas' *Tristan* by some years, shows some acquaintance with the use of transposed parallelisms. One instance of the transposition of the final hemistich occurs, but within the same couplet, a variation due perhaps to mere chance :

Et Amadas devant son pere,
Devant son pere a la table ere. (209, 210)

Other passages repeat the idea and occasional words also :

Pourtant au bien celer se tient ;
Car plus avient bien a celer. (399, 400)
Mainte contree et maint pais.
Par mainte diverse contree, (547, 548 [cf. 2788, 2790])

A couplet is repeated after an interval :

Si con la vuet vive veoir
Qu'il viegne à lui main et soir. (7031, 7032)
Il viegne, se veoir la vuet
Vive : que de riens ne se delt. (7039, 7040 [cf. 7122-25])

In certain didactic poems, which are probably earlier than the romantic works just mentioned, further examples of the complete form of transposed parallelism may be found. Two such passages, in consecutive lines, occur in the *Débat du corps et de l'âme*.⁴

Remese est ta posnée.
Ta posnée est remese. (214, 215)
Ci vos guerpis as lous.
As lous vos guerpis ci. (548, 549)

¹ Edited by H. A. Keller (Tübingen, 1836).

² Edited by É. du Méril in the *Bibliothèque Elzévirienne* (Paris, 1856).

³ Edited by C. Hippéau (Paris, 1863).

⁴ Edited by H. Varnhagen (Erlangen, 1889).

One occurs in the *Vie de Ste. Marie l'Égyptienne*:¹

La figure vit de Marie.
De Marie vit la figure. (850, 851)

This poem also knows the repetition of the final hemistich (cf. ll. 300, 301; 1388, 1389).

In the *Vie du Pape Grégoire*² the repetition is not complete and occurs only after an interval:

E li cors giseit del baron,
* * * * *
Ou li cors del baron giseit. (p. 30)

The same poem contains a direct repetition of a line with the change of the rhyme word into its synonym, as in *St. Brandan* and *Éracle*:

Des vos a mise en bone rote.
Des vos a mise en bone voie. (p. 13)³

Some indication of the approximate date of these last three poems may be afforded by their familiarity with this particular feature of style, for, as we have said, transposed parallelism seems to have fallen from poetic grace during the literary career of Gautier d'Arras and in the early years of Chrétien de Troies—or between 1164 and 1170. Of course, we should expect to find it

¹ Edited by M. Cooke in Robert Grosseteste's *Chasteau d'Amour* (London, 1852).

² Edited by V. Luzarche (Tours, 1857).

³ The second version of the *Vie de St. Alexis* (edited by G. Paris and L. Pannier [Paris, 1872]) might be cited in connection with didactic poetry, though its form is epic, like its original. Unlike the original, however, the revision contains a number of instances of transposed parallelism in successive lines, from *laisse* to *laisse*, which would accuse a more decided model than *Roland* offers. The first example reminds one of the transpositions of *Thèbes*. The last line of a *laisse* furnishes the rhyme word for the *laisse* following:

Fille Flourente, o non Boine Eurée.
Boine Eurée: li pere et non Flourens. (56, 57)

Other passages carry the idea over from one *laisse* to the next, together with some of the expressions:

Pour soie amour le mist non Marien.
Marie ot non, comme la mere D6. (374, 375)
Devant l'ymaige revint tous esbahis.
Li clerz revint esmaris al moustier,
Devant l'ymaige commenga a prier. (538-40 [cf. 622, 623])

Finally, as in the *Brut* and the *Willame*, we find direct repetition in consecutive lines with transposition of the rhyme phrase:

Sains Alessins est issus de la nef.
Sains Alessins est de la nef issus; (342, 343 [cf. 547, 548; 539, 590]).

It is noticeable that in the last instance (ll. 589, 590) the reviser transposed a line of the original poem in order to gain the desired effect. See also ll. 538-40.

used here and there even later. Perhaps *Guillaume d'Angleterre* belongs to the seventies. But the negative proof derived from its absence from Benoit de Sainte-More's works would go to show that the new generation, which succeeded Wace, avoided it. In this connection it might be profitable to consider the attitude taken toward transposed parallelism by Marie de France, certainly a follower of Wace and probably a contemporary of Benoit. Though Marie holds quite steadfastly to the old ideas of style—does not accept the views of Thomas even—if we admit that she was aware of them—she does not favor repetition with change of rhyme. In her *lais* we have failed to note a single instance of this mannerism, and it is safe to say that if a more careful scrutiny should disclose any, they would not be at all numerous. In her *Espurgatoire*,¹ however, which from its versification may be supposed to have preceeded the *lais*, two passages at least occur where the poet is consciously working out a transposed parallelism:

E vus estes tut vis venuz:
 E venistes a nus en vie.
 Que vis estes venuz a nus; (849, 854, 856)
 Pas avant autre avant ala.
 Tant cum il plus ala avant
 E plus s'ala asseurant. (1376-78)

The play on words of the second citation is suggested by the words of the Latin original, and neither example is to be chosen as illustrating the best kind of transposition of the rhyme word. But the very paucity and inferiority of these illustrations would tend to show that Marie's notions of style did not harmonize with this form of repetition.

On the other hand, certain *lais* of unknown authorship, which seem to have been written later and under the charm of Marie's manner,² make use of this supposedly antiquated style:

Et par jor ensement erroient.
 Si erroient si tote jor. *Tyolet*³ (17, 19 [cf. 77, 79; 110, 112; 208, 210])
 Et li lion l'ont assailli,
 De totes parz assailli l'ont *l. c.* (476, 477 [cf. 539, 540; 564, 565])

¹ Edited by T. Atkinson Jenkins (Chicago, 1903).

² See Lucien Foulet, "Marie de France et les *lais* bretons," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 19-56, 293-322.

³ For these *lais* see texts edited by G. Paris, *Romania*, Vol. VIII, pp. 40-72.

Car il les avoit lues perduz.
 Ce dit, se perduz les avoit, *Guingamor*¹ (220, 222)
 Merci li crie doucement.
 De remanoir merci li crie. *Doon*¹ (171, 173)
 As besoigneus assez donoit:
 As besoigneus donoit sovent. *Tydorel*¹ (206, 208)
 De ci qu'aparceuz seroit;
 Que il seroit aparceuz, *l. c.* (446, 449)
 Cil dist qu'il ne la laira mie.
 Quant li reis l'ot qu'il nel laira. *Épine*² (210, 212)
 Donc les veisciez merveillier.
 Ce dist li rois: merveillier voi. *Melion*³ (414, 415)
 Pucele, dame ne mescine.
 Mescine, dame ne pucele. *Graelent*⁴ (422, 426)

In short, all but the *lai* of *Désiré* are influenced by some kind of transposed repetition, though, with the exception of *Tyolet* and *Melion*, the repeated lines are not consecutive.

To summarize: From the citations given above, whether positive or negative in their bearings, we may learn that the kind of parallelism which showed itself in successive couplets or *laisses*, either in the form of the transposition of the final hemistich of the first couplet or the transposition of both hemistiches of the second line of the first couplet, came into French literature toward 1150.⁵ Gaimar is the earliest author to make use of it and he knows only the first manner well. He fails when he tries to repeat the whole line. His contemporary, Wace, at first averse to its use, is forced by literary fashion to imitate it eventually.

If we look for the origin of this fashion, which reached such unquestioned sway between the *Brut* and the *Rou*, we shall find it in the popularity of the *Roman de Thèbes*. The influence which this great poem exerted continued throughout the sixties of the twelfth century, unrestricted in some quarters, limited in others, until it was checked by the strong personalities of Thomas

¹ For these *lais* see texts edited by G. Paris, *Romania*, Vol. VIII, pp. 40-72.

² *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Vol. XVII, pp. 233-55.

³ *Zeitschrift*, Vol. VI, pp. 94-106.

⁴ Edited by B. de Roquefort in his *Poésies de Marie de France* (Paris, 1832), Vol. I, pp. 486-541.

⁵ Attention should be called to the transpositions in *St. Léger* and perhaps to *Roland* (ll. 165, 168) where the ultimate form is foreshadowed.

and Chrétien de Troies. The latter's *Érec* reverts, in the few examples of this form which it contains, to Gaimar's partial transposition. *Tristan*, so far as we may judge from the lines we know, accepts the complete transposition of *Thèbes*, but with the proviso that this transposition shall occur after an interval only. It was, however, the transposition in consecutive lines and different couplets which had been so significantly advocated by the older poem, and to modify this transposition in any way was to undermine it, and with it all the fortunes of transposed parallelism complete or partial. Thomas seems to have achieved this destructive result, as the solitary citation from his foil, *Cligès*, would imply. On its ruins Thomas would have set the more direct repetition of words and phrases in the same or consecutive lines, which he had taken from Wace. The few modified examples of transposed repetition which he still allowed tended toward this same notion of directness. That is, Thomas would emphasize his thought rather than call attention to his manner of expression, in this respect at least.

After Thomas and Chrétien the transposed parallelism of *Thèbes* appears only sporadically. Its real life is gone; perhaps it departed with *Rou*. For the only survival of the style we have noticed in a poem that is unquestionably later than *Rou* belongs to an Arthurian romance, *Claris et Laris*,¹ which was composed after the lapse of a century, in 1269:

Venismes la folie querre.

Querre venismes la folie. (7696, 7697)

We do not have here an exact imitation of the parallelism found in *Thèbes*, but it comes quite close to it, while a subsequent repetition in the same poem at a line's interval explains quite clearly that the author had such a transposition in mind:

Qu'il ne puet monter en haut pris.

Tant qu'en grant pris ne puet monter. (11451, 11453)

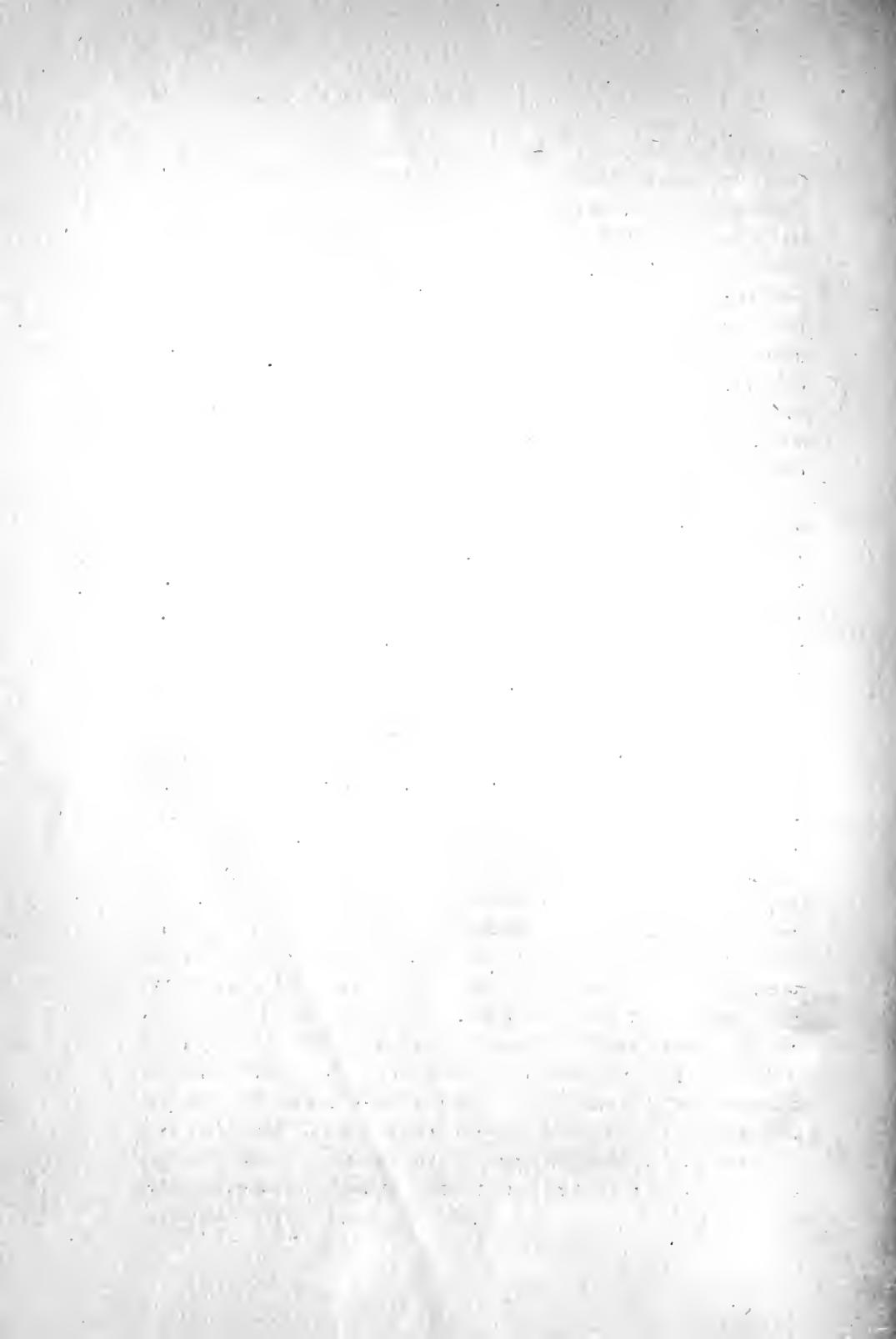
While complete transposed parallelism enjoyed so brief an existence, its immediate descendant, repetition in practically the same words with change of rhyme, but after a short or long interval, lingered on for some years. This kind is found in the

¹ *Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, Vol. CLXIX.

anonymous Breton *lais*. Epic poetry also employs now and then the transposed final hemistich as a means of connecting successive *laisses*, as well as the repetition made standard by *Roland*, where the line is repeated directly in successive *laisses*, but the rhyme word suffers transposition. All such cases, taken together, are few numerically, and may be due to accident or unconscious imitation rather than to a definite desire for this kind of style. The real vogue of transposed parallelism in consecutive *laisses* or couplets was fleeting, occupying hardly a score of years, if we are in possession of the facts concerning it. From such a short life we may conclude that it was not consonant with the conceptions of literary art held by the French authors of the twelfth century. Possibly its real vitality was drawn from the *Roman de Thèbes*. Without the influence of this mediæval classic its appearance might have been at best sporadic.

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THE NEWLY DISCOVERED CHANÇUN DE WILLAME

PART III

Continuing our rapid examination of the *Willame*, we find in ll. 1400–1703 a number of passages which have occurred earlier in the poem—ll. 1041–1106. Ll. 1400–32, for example, appear to be a simple variation of ll. 1041–58; 1483–1505, of 1064–85; 1561–63, of 1086–88; 1679–1703, of 1089–1106. To examine all of these passages would require too much space, hence a brief examination of one of them will have to suffice.

In ll. 1041–58, Guibor serves a bountiful repast before a famished knight, Girart, who has just brought news of Vivien's fearful danger, and who has not tasted food for three days. She seats him at a table of honor (*halte table*), and stands watching him as he devours his food without raising his face from his plate. At last she says playfully to her husband that Girart, judging by his appetite, must be of his, William's, lineage; that he must be a hard man to have as a neighbor, and one who would never flee in battle.

If, now, we turn to l. 1400, we shall find a passage of thirty-three lines which resembles surprisingly the one of eighteen lines just mentioned. Many lines are almost identical. The later passage offers greater detail, and several of its sentences are considerably longer than those of the earlier passage. The events of the two passages are the same, with the difference that in ll. 1400–32 the famished knight is William himself, who has just returned defeated, bringing news of Vivien's death. One of these passages is certainly the original of the other. Can we decide which is the older? One might be tempted to apply the rule that an obscure hero is frequently deprived of an episode to the profit of a hero better known, yet this would not offer a conclusion sufficiently certain. Again, the greater length of the second passage might be taken to indicate that it is the newer of the two.

However inconclusive these considerations may be, the following points leave little doubt that the shorter passage is the

original, and that the famished knight is Girart. In the first place, the poem states that this hero had not eaten for three days (ll. 1060, 709), whereas no such information is given of William, although, to be sure, he has passed through some terrible experiences. In the second place, Guibor is represented as seating her husband at a low table, since from anguish he could not go to the high table (ll. 1401, 1402). This seems improbable, when one reflects that Guibor is offering a banquet to the noble barons of the new army, that they are doubtless present in the hall, and that it is important, above all, to impress them with the idea that William has won a victory. For the great William to sit at a low table and devour his food in such somber silence might well inspire doubts as to his victory. But, it will be said, he goes to the low table because of grief for Vivien. This cannot constitute a strong objection to what has just been brought forward, for we have already seen (l. 1358) that, on learning that his wife has gathered a new army, and that its leaders are seated at table in the hall, William ceases weeping and laughs. We have also seen how admirably Guibor conceals her own loss and her husband's defeat. Surely, she and William could carry on the deception a little farther. Another thing which does not look right is the statement by Guibor that one who eats like the famished knight must be a man who would never flee from battle. These words are well-nigh incredible, if addressed to William, who has just told her, in describing his defeat, that she is the wife of a *malveis fuietur*, *Un cuart cunte, un malveis tresturnur* (ll. 1306, 1307). Still another point. At the close of Guibor's speech (ll. 1432 ff.), William asks abruptly who will hold his fief, if he should die. At this moment his nephew, Gui, rises from his seat by the fire and says that he will succeed his uncle. The mention of possible death in the expedition which is to set out is hardly of a nature to make the knights believe that a facile victory awaits them, as Guibor has just said (ll. 1376-96). More than this, the entire scene with this charming *dan Gui*, is a purely domestic one. The uncle, aunt, and nephew converse in great intimacy; there is not the slightest trace of the hundreds of barons whom we have so recently seen feasting in the palace hall. Indeed,

beginning with l. 1400, there is no indication whatever of the presence of outsiders. The change from the noisy banqueting scene of the preceding lines is absolute.

If, now, we examine the parallel passage beginning in l. 1041, reading first the lines that precede (937 ff.), we shall see that in this passage the only persons present are Guibor, William, and Girart: the scene is one of close domestic intimacy. We need only look at the matter in this light to feel an increasing conviction that the famished knight in both passages is Girart, or, to speak by the card, that the later and longer passage has been derived directly from the earlier one, and that William has been substituted for Girart.

This impression is strengthened as one reads on. In ll. 1497–1503, for example, a hero, said to be William, is armed. The language, however, of this arming is that of a *premier adoubement*, and therefore cannot apply to William.¹ To assure oneself that it is really a *premier adoubement*, one need only read ll. 1073–81, and ll. 1540–51, the first arming of Girart and Gui. Furthermore, the passage concerning the arming of Girart is almost identical with the one describing the arming of William, to such a point that when, in this latter scene, we can discover no subject to the verb *baisad* (l. 1502), we need only look back to l. 1080 to see that the subject must be *Guiburc*.

It appears, then, that not only in the parallel passage of the famished knight, but in others as well, Girart has for some reason, been replaced by William.

The hero says in ll. 1479–82 that he will leave his lands to Gui (cf. ll. 1637, 1656). Considerable speculation has been indulged in as to the *filleul* whom in later sources, the hero makes his heir.²

William boasts, in ll. 1569 ff., of his generosity, and of the

¹ For the arming of one who is already a knight, see ll. 133–40, where important variations will be noted.

² *Moniage Guillaume I* says, ll. 67, 68: *Un sien filleul sa terre a comandé, Si li fist faire homage et fiauté*, quoted by W. Cloetta, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, Vol. XCIII, p. 435, cf. ll. 87 ff. *Moniage II* mentions Renoart as the heir: *idem*, p. 439. Mr. Cloetta is of the opinion that the *filleul* can be no other than Renoart: *idem*, p. 435. Foucon knows the legend making Vivien's young brother William's heir: MS of British Museum, fol. 262, ro.; MS of Bibliothèque Nationale 25518, fol. 6, vo. This passage will be quoted in a moment.

protection which he has always afforded to widows and orphans. Compare the celebrated passages of the *Charroi*, ll. 306 ff. *Foucon de Candie* contains similar testimony.¹

L. 1680, one of the most awkward in the poem, separates two lines which have already appeared in juxtaposition (1089, 1090), and bears all the marks of clumsy "editing."

The passage 1720–28, where the five heroes are captured, has already been mentioned.² Of these five names, Reiner is replaced by Girard "fiz Cadele" in ll. 3154 and 3455, who, as will appear later, is none other than Girard the messenger. This knight perished in ll. 1145–74 (redaction A) and has been brought to life again. Can the same thing be said of the Guischard who is found among the prisoners in l. 1721? Is he the Guischard, nephew to Guibor, who perished with Girard? If not, he is probably the Guichart, brother to Vivien, who appears in many later poems, and who is the only other personage of this name in the cycle.³ This Guichart, brother to Vivien, appears in all the lists of prisoners in *Aliscans* and *Foucon*, and accompanies his uncle to the disastrous battle in all the manuscripts of the *Covenant*. Furthermore, a passage of *Foucon* states that he was to be William's heir. William says to Guibor after his flight from the field of the Archant and his arrival at Orange:

Las! mes liages est a declin tornez!
Mors est mes niés Vivien l' alosez,
Mes chiers amis qui ert de ma seror nez,
Et Guichars pris, uns nouviax adoubez,
Que ja ne fust d'armés mauvès clamez,
Qui après moi tenist mes heritez.⁴

Foucon, then, like the *Willame*, makes the young brother of Vivien William's heir. There can be little doubt that the Guichart of *Foucon*, *Aliscans*, and the *Covenant* and the Guiot of the *Willame* are one and the same person. There can be little

¹ *Vide* MSS of the British Museum, fol. 270, vo., and of the Bibliothèque Nationale 774, fol. 100, ro.

² *Vide* this *Journal*, Vol. II, pp. 232, 233.

³ It should be added, however, that, in the *Enfances Vivien*, the personage of this name is a "relative" of Vivien according to MS a, his cousin, son of Beuve, according to MSS c and d, and his brother, according to MS b.

⁴ MS of *Foucon*, British Museum, fol. 262, ro. a; MS 25518 of the Bib. Nat., fol. 6, vo.

doubt, too, that the Guischard of ll. 1721, 2257, 2485, 2520, 3055, 3154, and 3455 of the *Willame* is the same person as Guichart or Guiot; for, in addition to the reasons already apparent, the following is to be considered. In the remarkable passage beginning in l. 2343, Guibor asks of her husband what has become of his companions. She names all of those whom we have just seen captured, only she replaces *Guischard* by *Guiotun*, *Le bel enfant od la gente façun*. She says that she equipped him with arms. If, on the one hand, we have seen her arm Vivien's brother Guiot, of whom it is said, *N'out uncore .xv. anz, asez esteit petitz* (l. 1440 of the *Willame*), on the other hand, we see her arm Guichart in the *Covenant*: *Cils estoit freres Vivien le vaillant. N'ot que .xv. anz, molt i ot bel enfant.*¹

What explanation can be offered for this change of name? None is apparent, unless it be that the presence of this personage in redactions A and B was impossible under one name. Satisfactory as this explanation may be, there remains the great, and perhaps unsolvable, question: What strange combination of circumstances can have placed side by side these two redactions? If B was evolved in the course of time, by natural process, from A, it would have preserved for Vivien's young brother the name of Guiot or Gui. If, after several generations, this derived text was combined with its original, then we can understand why the name might be changed in one or the other of these versions. But the preservation of A, the original of B, the circumstances which made their union desirable—these are difficulties that seek in vain a satisfactory solution. It appears, none the less, that Guischard and Guiot are one and the same person, and that the *remanieurs*, as a matter of course, do not wish us to suspect the fact.

Again, who is the Guielin mentioned by the side of Guischard in l. 1721? The poem offers no answer to this question. If we may trust *Aliscans*, the knight of this name who is taken prisoner is a son of Beuve de Comarcis; similarly in *Foucon*, where he is also called Gui. But Guiot (also called Gui) of the *Willame* is

¹ MS of the British Museum, fol. 138, vo. a; cf. the edition of Joneckbloet, 1156, 1157. In *Foucon*, Guibor says that she armed Guichart: *Je l'adoubai et ceins le branc d'acier*: MS of British Museum, fol. 280, vo. b.

given as the son of Beuve, which means that the Guielin of B—who is certainly the Guielin of *Aliscans*—is derived from the Gui of A, it being incredible that these names indicate different sons of Beuve. Yet how can both Guischard and Guielin come from the one person called Guiot or Gui? The change could hardly have taken place if all this numerous progeny (including Vivien) had continued to be ascribed to Beuve. The transfer of Vivien and Guichart to a new father—perhaps to Garin—would make perfectly natural the retention by Beuve of “Guielin” who is no other, it seems, than Gui.

In l. 1722, the names of Galter de Termes and Reiner stand side by side, and it will be noticed that each time these names occur they are placed as near together as possible.¹ This position is not an accidental circumstance, if we can trust the testimony of *Foucon*, which often shows traces of very ancient legends. We read in fact in this poem that Renier was the nephew of Gautier de Termes.²

L. 1724 shows that the hero beholds the taking prisoner of his nephews, and sets at rest one of the difficulties of *Aliscans*, for in this poem (save in the MS 1448 of the Bibliothèque Nationale) one cannot tell how William learns of their imprisonment. In MS 1448, he inquires of Vivien the fate of his other nephews, and is informed of their capture.

In ll. 1987 ff., William finds Vivien dying, but still able to speak. The passage may well cause surprise, for we have plainly witnessed his death (ll. 912–28),³ and the poem has spoken of him a number of times as dead. Several days have passed since he was hewn to pieces. The Saracens have disarmed the slain. If, as the text states (ll. 925–27), they carried his body away and placed it under a tree, that the Christians might not find it, the least that we can suppose is that they must have had enough

¹ *Vide* ll. 2371, 2372, 2484, 3054. Let it be said in passing that the spelling of these names in the original of the *Willame* was *Galtier* and *Renier*, as the assonance of the *laisse*, 2371 ff., indicates.

² We read of Renier: *Nez fu de Termes, de la soror Gautier*; MS of British Museum, fol. 271, ro.; MS of Bib. Nat., 774, fol. 101, vo.; MS of Bib. Nat., 25518, fol. 56, vo.

³ The hero, already fatally wounded, receives a blow which splits his head open, falls on his knees, and is hewn to pieces. In the *Foucon* of Stockholm there is a passage where Tibaut boasts of having slain Vivien, and adds the interesting statement: *Veiant mes oilz, li fts lo chief colper*, fol. 77, vo., communication of Mr. J. Runenberg.

interest in him to be sure that he was dead.¹ Several other things indicate that this passage is of a late redaction. In what has been called the redaction A,² the assonance shows that *-an* and *-en* were carefully separated. The *laisse* which describes the finding of Vivien by his uncle confuses these sounds. Similarly, the name *Vivien*, which up to this point has appeared only in assonance in *-ien* or in *-ié*, henceforth appears only in mixed *laisses*, *-an* and *-en* (ll. 2340, 2466). It is clear that in these *laisses* the name rimes in *-an*, as is the case in all the published poems of the cycle, save of course the *Chanson de Willame*.³ Another point: the *laisse* 1980–99 offers (beginning with l. 1987) the first passages of this poem which exist, in much the same form, in *Aliscans*. Compare ll. 1987–89:

Vivien trove [gisant] sor un estanc,
A la funtaine, dunt li duit sunt bruiant,
Desuz la foille d'un oliver mult grant,

with ll. 695–97 of *Aliscans*:⁴

Vivien vit gesir sor un estanc,
Desos un arbre foillu et verdoiant,
A la fontaine, dont li dois sont corant.

Compare also l. 1990: *Ses blanches mains croisies sur le flanc*, with *Aliscans*, 697: *Ses blanches mains sor son pis en croisant*;

¹ As a matter of fact, the l. 925, which states that the enemy carried away the body of Vivien, is probably original, and is supported by the logic of the occasion, as well as by the testimony of the *Nerbonesi* (N): Vol. II, p. 160. On the other hand, the two succeeding lines, as their substance and incorrectness indicate, are a later addition. One need only draw attention to the absurdity of hiding the body from the Christians, who have perished to a man long before the death of Vivien.

² The writer considers the *laisse*, beginning in l. 1879, as all the passages where Gui plays a vital rôle, as belonging to A. This *laisse* accordingly is pure, save for l. 1893, where an inversion of the last words suffices to make this long *laisse* entirely pure. We propose to read: *hardement mult grant*. In a poem which has evidently undergone many accidents, and not a few revisings, so slight a change in the order of these words would not be remarkable.

³ In the remarkable MS of Boulogne (No. 192, Bibl. de la ville), the name *Vivien* appears in the assonance, *-ié*. Because of the great interest which this ancient pronunciation offers, we copy from this MS a typical passage: fol. 85, vo. a:

"Qui dont veist le vassal Vivien
Au branc d'achier les ruistes cols paier,
Menbrer li peüst de hardi chevalier."

⁴ The edition quoted is that of Wienbeck, Hartnacke, and Rasch (Halle, 1903). It is clear that ll. 696, 697 should be inverted. For the reading *bruiant* of the *Willame*, cf. l. 5933 of *Aliscans*, which is identical.

l. 1991: *Plus suef flaroit qu' (nule) espece ne piment*, with *Aliscans*, 724: *Plus souef flaire ke baumes ne encens*; ll. 1992, 1993: *Parmi le cors out quinze plaies granz*; *De la menur fust morz uns amirails* (read *amiranx*), with *Aliscans*, 726, 727: *Par mi le cors ot quinze plaies grans*; *De la menor morust uns amirans*, etc. Again, the terms of the vow of Vivien, as related in this *laisse*, present just such a development of the vow mentioned hitherto as one would expect in a later redaction.¹ In the same way, the entire passage of this "death" of the young hero bears all the marks of a late redaction. It being granted that William was to return to the battlefield, one might almost predict that subsequent *remanieurs* would revive for a moment this favorite nephew that he might expire in his uncle's arms, after having received the supreme consolations of religion. The beauty and power of the scene show to this day the true inspiration and the sound judgment which brought to life again *Vivien le hardi*.

If l. 1987 marks a change in the epic, it is equally clear that the preceding line, *Guiot le vait de loinz adestrant*, arouses grave suspicions. It may be set down as a general rule that the appearance of Guiot is the occasion for difficulty. It has already been stated that he seems rather to belong to A than to B. The episodes concerning him present ragged edges on all sides, and

¹ *Vide* ll. 292; 586, 587; 597, 598; 809, 810; 902, 903; 910, 911. Concerning the vow, *vide*: *Enfances Vivien*, p. xxvi, *Romania*, Vol. XXVI, p. 187; *ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 603; W. Cloetta, "Die Enfances Vivien," pp. 79-81 (in *Romanische Studien*, Heft IV, Berlin, 1898); A. F. Reinhard, *Die Quellen der Nerbonesi* (Altenburg, 1900) p. 73; "The Origin of the Covenant Vivien," pp. 44, 45 (in the *University of Missouri Studies*, Vol. I). The opinion expressed by the author of the last-mentioned work receives support from a passage in the *Covenant MS* of Boulogne, fol. 84, vo. b, where Vivien says:

"Jou remanrai, la covenanche est tes.
Quant jou estoie a Maldrane enserré
Ja jurai jou, voiant les marchans bers,
Que jamais ne fuiroie por ture ne por esclés,
Puis que jou iere de mes armes armés.
A icel jor meisme que jou fui adoubés,
Oi jou en covent a dieu de majestés
Que jamais ne fuiroie por ture ne por esclés,
Puis que jou iere de mes armes armés."

At the moment of his *adoubement*, when his uncle protests against his rash vow, Vivien replies (fol. 82, ro. a):

"Si m'aït diez, jou l'ai sor sâis juré,
Bien a .ii. ans acoplis et passés,
Quant jou estoie en Maldrane enserrés,
La je jurai voiant les marchans bers.
Ne puet autrement estre."

the passage under discussion offers no exception in this regard.¹ The purpose of l. 1986 is evidently to remove from the scene for the moment Guiot, who reappears after the death of Vivien, in l. 2071. The strangeness of this action appears in its true light when we consider that, of all persons, Guiot should be present at the death of his brother.² No poet, having brought events as far as the *laisse* under discussion, would have missed the opportunity of a death scene with William and Guiot present, Vivien's nearest and dearest of kin, unless an established tradition had stood in the way.

The location of Termes (in l. 2002: *Jo t'adubbai a mun palei a Termes*) remains as obscure as before the discovery of the new *chanson*. It is interesting to note that in the *Covenant*, MS of Boulogne, the young hero, after being knighted, sets out on his expedition from Termes: *De Termes departi Vivien le vallant*.³

We are told all at once in l. 2054 that William desires to carry the body of Vivien to Orange, here mentioned for the first time in the action of the poem. Few passages come with such a shock of surprise. We have seen the hero march out of Barcelona, qualified as *la bone cité* (l. 1082), and, apparently at least, return thither, only to set out again from *la bone cité* (l. 1504). Guibor remains behind in *la bone cité* (l. 1508).⁴ Now we are told that he is going to Orange, where in fact he arrives (l. 2211), and

¹ These remarks are not meant in any way to detract from the literary merit of the passages concerning the diminutive Guiot. These passages are among the most delightful of the poem. Guiot, while having a charm of his own, reminds us at times of Auberon.

² Such a scene occurs toward the close of the *Covenant Vivien*, in the MS of Boulogne: fol. 92, vo. b, William has found Vivien fatally wounded. While he is lamenting him, Vivien's brother joins them.

³ MS of Boulogne, fol. 82, ro. b.

⁴ An extremely interesting passage of *Foucon* shows that a poem must have existed in which Guibor was present at Barcelona. Tibaut complains of his enemies:

Fait m'ont Orange et Portaillart lessier.
En Barcelone ont mise ma moullier.

MS of British Museum, fol. 279, vo. b; cf MS of Bib. Nat., 778, fol. 206, vo.; MS of Bib. Nat., 774, fol. 118, ro. Another passage in the same poem is to be compared with these lines. It is a question of the wealth of Guibor:

"Car plus or Guibort en sa baillie
Qu'il nô a dus qu'as pors de Hongrie.
A Bargelune estolt sa tresorie,
Et a Orange Tibaut d'Esclavonie.
Tot l'ot Guibort en la soie baillie."

MS of Boulogne, fol. 211, ro. b.

where—a new surprise—he finds Guibor, whom we have so recently left at Barcelona! Such a contradiction must clearly have been imposed on the *remanieur* by the sources he was utilizing, for of himself he could not have begotten such a combination of events.

The episode of Alderufe (ll. 2095 ff.) arouses suspicion for several reasons. For example, the striking lines that Alderufe addresses to William offer difficulty:

Vus n'estes mie [quons] Bertram ne Willames,
Ne Guielin ne dan Walter de Termes,
Ne [quons] G[u]ischart ne Girard qui's cadele.¹

In the first place, what has been said of the capture of the heroes mentioned in ll. 1720 ff., applies to the present list of names.² In the second place, Guischart and Girard appear to be the two knights slain earlier in the poem.³ As for the second of these two names, it certainly indicates by the words *quis cadele*, the hero who was sent by Vivien to Barcelona, and who guided William to the battlefield.⁴ But, it will be answered, if we take the poem as it stands, the present battle follows the first at an interval of only a few days. Perhaps Alderufe is supposed not to know that Girard is dead. This objection is not very sound, for many passages could be cited from the ancient epics showing that the simple art of that time represented the news of a hero's death as being known at once by all who take part in the battle. That such is the case, and that our poem here brings to life a dead hero, appears from two other passages. In ll. 3152–55 the five prisoners who have just been liberated greet William. Among them appears *Girard fiz Cadele*, which is evidently a conjecture of some scribe. The true reading is that mentioned above in

¹ LL. 2097–99. See, for purposes of literary comparison, a passage in the *Nerbonois*, ll. 4700, 4701.

² The lines referred to are to be found in *Modern Philology*, Vol. II, p. 233, n. 1.

³ LL. 1133 ff.

⁴ That Girard performed this office is stated in ll. 1786, 1787. The Saracens see Gui riding rapidly away, and exclaim:

“Cist nus querat co que Girard nus quist,
Quant il Willame nus amenat ici.”

N, Vol. II. p. 162, corroborates this testimony.

l. 2099: *Girard quis cadele.* The defective reading is to be found a second time in l. 3455. It should be added that in all three of these passages Guischart is named in the same line with Girard, which makes the three lines identical, save for the word *fiz* instead of *quis*. The poem, then, brings to life Girard, who was dead, and there can be little doubt but what the same may be said of Guischart. We are dealing with one phase of the later redaction, which represents these knights as being captured, whereas in the older redaction they perished. We have already seen Vivien brought to life in the redaction B.

A second thing that surprises us somewhat in the episode of Alderufe is the name of this Saracen hero. A Saracen of this name is said to have fallen at the hand of Vivien, and the account of this deed of arms bears all the marks of the highest antiquity.¹ If, as many things indicate, the redaction B omitted all mention of Barcelona, and began at a point in the action represented by what has been called the third stage in the development of the legend,² what more natural than that the name Alderufe should have survived in tradition as that of a redoubtable pagan? In this event, a *remanieur*, in need of a name for a Saracen leader, could not do better than to call him Alderufe. Yet why suppose, someone will say, that the present episode is the work of a *remanieur*? In answer it may be said that the name of the Saracen at least as has been seen, cannot be primitive in this episode, whether we regard the poem as a unit or as composite. Furthermore, the episode bears a great resemblance to that of Deramé, as a careful perusal of the two passages will show. It is likely that Alderufe replaces Deramé, and that the passage in question is the derivative in B of this episode of Deramé in A.³ To discuss properly this question, which is closely bound up with that of Aerofle, Aquin, and Baudus in *Aliscans*, would require the space of a separate article. Let us mention, however, one additional point which indicates that behind Alderufe is hidden Deramé. There existed a legend—not the most ancient one, to

¹ *Vide* ll. 370-83, 634-47.

² *Modern Philology*, Vol. II, pp. 15, 16.

³ The episode of Deramé, in common with all those in which Guiot plays an important rôle, is considered to belong to redaction A.

be sure—which placed the seat of Deramé at Palerne.¹ This name occurs four times in the episode of Alderufe.²

L. 2231: *Paenes armes li pendent al costez*, is of value in understanding the episode of Alderufe. In fact, no mention is made of William's bearing away pagan armor, as here represented. It is clear, however, from a passage which follows (ll. 2275–95), that the Saracens mistake him for Alderufe. Of course, the fact that he mounts the well-known horse of Alderufe may be supposed to aid in the deception; none the less, he certainly bears some of the pagan's armor.³

In ll. 2309–11 occurs the statement that William's nose underwent its disfigurement in the battle with Tibaut, by which is meant the battle before Orange, described earlier in the poem.⁴

The remarkably fine scene, beginning in l. 2328, in which Guibor inquires of her husband the fate of his men, is filled with difficulties. Almost nothing squares with the departure of William as we have seen it—neither the names of the knights nor the number of his men.⁵ The clearness and definiteness of her questions leaves no doubt but what she herself saw depart the heroes mentioned in ll. 2343 ff. The general impression is certainly that the departure took place from the city where Guibor now is—from Orange. The young companions of Guillaume are the same that were mentioned in ll. 1720 ff., save that *Guiotun* replaces *Guischard*.

The passage concerning Guiotun, ll. 2357–70, offers considerable difficulty. As has already been said,⁶ the description of the arming of this hero does not agree in a single detail with that of

¹ *Vide Aliscans*, l. 30a, edition of Wienbeck, Hartnacke, and Rasch; *Covenant Vivien*, l. 1690. The MS of Boulogne of the *Covenant* makes no mention of Palerne in this *laïsse*; fol. 91, vo. b.

² Ll. 2104, 2160, 2209, 2277.

³ One constant trait in the various episodes (*Willame* and *Aliscans*) concerning Alderufe seems to be the seizing of his arms. It may well be that the mere mention of his name in the episode under discussion ended by creating the belief that William despoiled his adversary.

⁴ In an interesting and valuable variant of *Aliscans*, Tibaut himself is said to have wounded the hero in the face: see the edition of Wienbeck, Hartnacke, and Rasch, l. 1643a. For the battle with Tibaut, see *Willame*, ll. 665–75.

⁵ William's departure is related in ll. 1504–23. For the number of men as given, see ll. 1506; 2337; 2382, 2383; 2515; 2244.

⁶ *Modern Philology*, Vol. II, p. 232.

the arming of Guiot (ll. 1540–51), but shows an absolute disaccord. The MS bears in l. 2357 the name *Guilotun* in full, but this may be a conjecture of some scribe for *Guischardun*, a more probable reading.¹ In fact, there can be little doubt that Guisnard in B replaces Guiot, and is, as in subsequent poems, the brother of Vivien.

Ll. 2379, 2380 contain an obscure reference to aid which Guibor is able to offer in the raising of a new army. There is probably an omission of one or two lines before l. 2378. The poem makes no further mention of this aid.

The reference to the decoration of the walls of the palace of Guibor, in ll. 2398–2400, is to be compared with other well-known passages.

The hero says in ll. 2409–12 that Guibor has no reason to weep, having lost none of her family, whereas, on the contrary, he may well lament, since he has lost his noble kinsmen. One may explain the statement that Guibor has lost none of her family by saying that this applies only to the expedition which has just terminated. Everything indicates, however, that such an explanation would be straining the point, and that in the redaction B there exists no longer the slightest remembrance of the fact that Guisnard, who perished in A, was the nephew of Guibor.

In ll. 2413–18 William suggests that he flee to Saint-Michel-al-Péril-de-la-Mer or to a desert, and become a hermit, and that Guibor become a nun. With her answer,

Sire, dist ele, ço ferum nus assez
Quant nus aurom nostre siecle mené,

are to be compared similar words with which she comforts him at a moment of discouragement in *Foucon de Candie*:

En l'autre siecle aurons assez sejor,
Celi gardons dont nous veons la flour.²

The departure of Guillaume from Orange (ll. 2421 ff.) differs in two important ways from the corresponding scene in *Aliscans*.

¹ *Foucon*, according to the edition of Tarbé, p. 7, shows this form. The MS of Boulogne of the *Covenant* offers the diminutive, *Guichardin*, as does also the MS of Boulogne of the *Enfances Vivien*, Wahlund and Feilitzen (Upsala and Paris, 1895), and MS 1448 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in l. 5 of *Aliscans*. The form *Guichardet* is well known.

² MS of British Museum, fol. 263, vo. c.

The adieux of Guibor and Guillaume, as the beautiful passage in the latter epic (1969–2004) may be called, are lacking. The attempt has been made elsewhere to show that this scene took place originally between Guibor and Bertram in the lost *Siège d'Orange*.¹ Parts of the *Siège* seem to have been utilized in *Aliscans*, but not in the *Willame*, at the moment of the final redaction of which the *Siège* probably still preserved its identity. The second point of difference between the scenes of departure in the two epics consists in the fact that, while in *Aliscans* the city is closely beset by the enemy, so that William has difficulty in passing their lines, in the *Willame* this is so far from being the case that he rides away unmolested, accompanied by a mere lad. Here again *Aliscans* appears to represent the action of the *Siège d'Orange*, according to which the city was closely invested at the time when the messenger went northward for help.

The fact that the king is much more kindly disposed toward William than in *Aliscans* is apparent from ll. 2495–2504.

One of the most important passages of the entire poem is to be found in ll. 2505 ff. The king inquires of William what has brought him to court, and the hero answers in these words:

Sire, dist il, jal savez vus assez,
 2510 Jo aveie Espaigne si ben aquitez
 Ne cremeie home que de mere fust nez,
 Quant me mandat Vivien l' aloſé
 Que jo menasse d'Orange le barné.
 Il fu mis nies, nel poeie veier.
 2515 Set mile fumes de chevalers armez.
 De tuz icels ne m'est un sul remés.
 Perdu ai Vivien l'aloſed.
 Mis nies Bertram i est enprisoné
 Le fiz Bertram de Brusban la cité,
 2520 Et Guielin et Guischart al vis cler.

We have here a fairly good statement of the action according to version B. William evidently was summoned from Orange by

¹ *Vide "Messenger in Aliscans,"* in *Harvard Studies in Philology and Literature*, Vol. V, 1896. The battle which terminated the *Siège* is mentioned in ll. 665–75 of the *Willame*.

Vivien, who was in the Archamp.¹ Orange and the Archamp are two fixed points in the disastrous expedition. The Archamp, as we have seen, is somewhere near Barcelona or Tortosa. When the hero says, then, that he had so thoroughly conquered Spain that he feared no man, we must understand the line of his thought to be: "But I was mistaken, for Vivien, who was in Spain, summoned me to bring my army to his aid." The fact that Vivien was in Spain is supposed to be known to the king, and, indeed, a statement of his presence there can hardly have been necessary, if we may judge from the testimony of the poems concerning him, for they all—save *Aliscans*—place the scene of his exploits in Spain, as does, in fact, the earlier form of *Aliscans*, the *Chanson de Willame*. External evidence shows that there was a connection between Vivien and the conquest of Spain mentioned by his uncle, as has been asserted elsewhere by the writer. A search in the manuscripts of *Foucon* and of the *Covenant Vivien* will support this assertion. The MS of Boulogne of the latter epic, for example, tells how Vivien invades Spain, takes Barcelona, the towers of Balesgués, Tourtolouse, and Portpallart, and gives all these cities to his uncle William.² It is because of these conquests of Vivien that the Saracens march against him. We gather from passages in *Foucon* that William and Guichart went

¹ We have just seen, from the questions of Guibor on her husband's return, that the army must have started from Orange. It is to be noted that the list of heroes mentioned above (and the fuller list in ll. 2483-85) includes all those whom she names as having accompanied William—save, of course, Guiotun, who is replaced by Guischart. Again, the number of men as given in l. 2515, is the number who ought to be with William on his return, according to what Guibor says in l. 2244. As to whether Vivien summoned his uncle from the Archamp, the words of ll. 2481, 2482 leave no doubt: *Car jo repair de l'Archamp sur mer U jo ai perdu Vivien l'aloed*. The same statement is repeated in ll. 2253, 2254, and is to be inferred from many other passages.

² Fol. 82, vo. a. According to this MS, Vivien was not accompanied by his uncle during the conquest of "Spain." MS 1448, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, however, shows by one passage that, as in the *Nerbonesi* (Vol. II, pp. 91 ff.), a legend existed telling how William, Vivien, Bertram, and others of the family had taken part in the conquest. Later, Vivien and his men are reduced to straits in the battle of the Archant. He proposes that they try to take refuge in a castle. He says:

"Se la poiens un poi prandre herberge,
Bien nos tenrons par force e par poesto
Tant que secorre nos reverra Guillelme,
Li cuens Bertram e dans Gautiers de Termes,
Gaudins li bruns, li pros e li honest(r)es,
Hunaut de Saintes, qui mainte joste a fete,
Qui a Orenge ont reforbis lor helmes,"

— Fol. 208, vo. b.

from Orange to Barcelona, and marched from there to the aid of Vivien, who was near Tortelouse (Tortosa).¹ Vivien perishes, Guichart, Girart, and Guielin are taken prisoners, and William flees alone. One cause of the war between the Saracens and Christians is said to be the capture by William and his companions of Barcelona, Portpaillart, and at least one other city, and the operations against Tortelouse are said to have ended in the death of Vivien.

It is needless to draw attention to the close parallel between this testimony of the *Covenant* and of *Foucon* and that of the passage of the *Willame* under discussion.

In ll. 2518, 2519, quoted above, Bertram is said to be the son of Bertram. We have, however, seen his father called Bernard de Bruban or de Brusban in ll. 2256, 2344 (cf. 669–72). One might suppose the name *Bertram* in l. 2519 to be an error, but another passage indicates that this is not the case. In ll. 3216 ff. a Christian hero is vanquished and in his flight calls upon several of the bravest of the Christians for help. L. 3224 reads: *Allas! dist il le fiz Bertram, mar fui!* which can only refer to the Bertram of l. 2518. When we reflect that Wolfram von Eschenbach in the *Willehalm* calls one of William's brothers Bertram, there can be little doubt that the reading of l. 2519 is not due to an error. The different relationship assigned the young Bertram constitutes an important difference between the part of the poem which precedes this passage and that which follows.

We are told in l. 2524 that the king who has just learned of the terrible defeat in the Archamp, weeps for Bertram, who has been captured, but nothing is said of his grief for Vivien, who has been slain. This certainly indicates that there was more intimacy between the king and Bertram than between the king and Vivien. According to the *Nerbonesi*, Bernard, the father of Bertram, married a sister of Louis.² Trace of this legend may exist in l. 2524.

It is interesting to note, in ll. 2553, 2559, the presence of Garin, who is absent in *Aliscans* according to nearly all the

¹ MS of British Museum, fol. 280, vo. Vivien is said to be attacked near this city by Tibaut, in the *Covenant*, MS of Berne, fol. 10, ro., b, where the city is called *Toulose*, a form found occasionally for *Tortelouse*.

² Vol. I, pp. 84, 93, 248.

manuscripts.¹ A few words may be said at this moment of the brothers who appear in the *Willame*. They are: Hernald (ll. 2551, 2564), Garin, Boeve (ll. 2560, 2930, 2985), Guibelin (l. 2565). The name *Ernard li barbez* (l. 2986) is probably a mistaken reading for *Bernard*, who may well be mentioned here, in spite of the fact that the father of Bertram is said, in this part of the poem, to be Bertram. We find, in fact, present side by side in the *Willehalm* Bertram and Bernard, both brothers to William. If the reading *Ernard* is for *Bernard*, all the epic brothers of William, save Aimer, appear. It is probable that this hero, under the spelling *Naimer*, was originally mentioned in l. 2986, and that an early copyist confused his name with that of his father, *Naimeri*—a confusion of which numerous examples exist in other manuscripts.²

In ll. 2587, 2588, the king says that he himself will march to the relief of Orange. The queen, who has not been hitherto mentioned, protests vehemently, saying that Guibor, who knows all the art of herbs, would poison him, that William would then be king, and Guibor queen. This speech, startling in its reality, occasions the violent and brutal outburst of William, in which he applies to her the most opprobrious language that can be applied to a woman. He starts to draw his sword to slay her, but the intervention of his father prevents the crime. L. 2628 states that the queen is William's sister. There is an element of improbability in this masterly scene, as in that of *Aliscans*: the jealousy and hatred which the two principal actors seem to have for each other is surprising between two children of Aymeri. The attitude

¹ The MS of Boulogne represents all the brothers as present, and names Garin: see variant under l. 4635, in the edition of Rolin, or in that of Wienbeck, Hartnacke, and Rasch. MS 2494 of the Bib. Nat. also names Garin: see variant of l. 7736. The writer has expressed the opinion that, originally, Garin was present in *Aliscans: Messenger in Aliscans*, pp. 145, 146; "Aimer le Chétif," in *Publications of the Modern Language Assoc. of America*, Vol. XVII (1902), pp. 423 ff. On the other hand, W. Cloetta has expressed the opinion that Garin was introduced in some poem later than *Aliscans*: *vide, Enfances Vivien* (Berlin, 1898), pp. 91 ff. (*Romanische Studien*, Heft IV). If this personage is absent from the majority of the MSS of *Aliscans*, the fact may indicate that he was considered the father of Vivien. The legend which represented Vivien's father as dead seems to have been current in the oldest monuments.

² The reading of the MS in l. 2986 is, as printed: *Naimeris*, written in full. Let it be said that the spelling of the name *Aimeri* without *N* in the first part of the poem, and with *N* in the subsequent part, offers important evidence of a complex origin for the epic. *Vide* ll. 298, 1437, 2552, 2557, 2625, 2931, 2986, 3166.

of the queen appears especially strange in a family which typifies mutual loyalty and support. That the only person at court to oppose William should be his own sister is highly improbable. It is likely that the woman here called queen was not originally sister to William.

The mention of Tedbalt in l. 2603 explains one of the most obscure and improbable allusions of *Aliscans*: ll. 2772-74. There has been confusion between two entirely different persons, Tibaut de Bourges or de Berry, and Tibaut l'Escler. Similarly, a most interesting passage of *Foucon* would probably never have been correctly interpreted, had it not been for the light thrown on Tibaut de Bourges by the *Chanson de Willame*. In the passage referred to, a messenger announces to Beuve de Comarcis the imprisonment of his two sons, the death of Vivien, the flight of William. William, he says, is in a fearful situation:

“Car de bataille s'en est fuiant tornez.
Mort sont si home n'en est nus eschapez,
Et Viviens, qui tant ert redoutez.
Et Guichardés est en prison menez;
Andeus tes filz que tu as engendrez
En ont paient en la mer esquipez.”
“He las! pecchieres! qui les en a menez?”
“En non dieu, sire, Thiebaus et Desramez.
Or est besoinz de vos enfanz penssez.”¹

The above is the reading of the MS of the British Museum. The MS 25518 of the Bibliothèque Nationale shows that Tibaut de Bourges is probably referred to, and not Tibaut l'Escler. According to this MS, the messenger replies as follows to Beuve's question:

“Cil de Berri, qui tant par est dotez²
De coardie [de] honte et vergondez.
Jamès a cort ne doit estre mandez.”³

Cil de Berri is, of course, *Thiebaus de Berri* or *de Bourges*, whose confusion with Tibaut l'Escler may be responsible for the mention of Deramé. Let it be added that this invaluable passage

¹ *Foucon de Candie*, MS of British Museum, fol. 262, vo. c.

² This word has been expunctuated, and *provez* written above.

³ MS 25518 of the Bib. Nat., fol. 11, ro.

offers new evidence for the identification proposed in this article of *Boeve cornebut al marchis* (ll. 297, 1436) with Beuve de Comarcis. The tradition which made Tibaut de Bourges responsible for the misfortune of the children of Beuve de Comarcis was so well established that it persisted, even after one of these children, Vivien, was transferred to another parentage and replaced by Girart.¹

Ll. 2598–2600 are among the most obscure in the poem.

The reference in l. 2611, *Mielz li venist qu'il t'eüst decolée*, is not clear. The person indicated by *li* is doubtless the king. One would infer from the passage that allusion is made to some definite occasion when the king forgave a very serious offense.

It is to be noted that the reconciliation with the queen, which occurs in *Aliscans*, is lacking here, and that we are spared the stupid episodes of Aelis.

L. 2647, as has been said, marks the beginning of the *Renoart*.² Rarely have independent poems been united with such consummate skill. The literary value of the *Renoart* was clearly greater than has generally been supposed, a fact which must have facilitated the uniting of the two poems. Certain differences of language and versification are observable after l. 2647. For example, the word *çō* followed by a vowel, which has occurred rather frequently hitherto, is not found after this point. The *i* of *li*, nominative singular masculine of the definite article, followed by a vowel, is not written after l. 2647, although it appears many times in what precedes, where it is elided or not. After this line, the personal pronoun, *lui*, becomes more frequent than hitherto, and is used almost exclusively with prepositions. Again, of the last six hundred lines of the poem, about two-thirds assonate in *-é*, which, it is needless to say, is in striking contrast with what precedes. The *laisses*, too, in this part of the poem are of such great length

¹ Several critics have committed an error with regard to the two sons of Beuve who are captured according to *Foucon*. W. Cloetta has given a correct statement of this question: "Die Enfances Vivien," in *Romanische Studien*, Heft IV, pp. 65 ff. In fact, the MSS of *Foucon* name Girart and Gui (also called Guielin) as the sons of Beuve. Girart seems to have been transferred to Beuve after Vivien was ascribed to another. There can be but little doubt that Girart is the Girard of the *Willame*, whom Vivien—while he was still considered a son of Beuve—calls cousin. After the change in Vivien's parentage, this Girard appears to have been awarded to Beuve, which gave him the traditional number of sons.

² It is interesting to note that, at the corresponding place in *Aliscans*, Rolin marked a significant division in the text: *Vide* his edition, p. 96 (l. 3146 of the edition of Guessard and Montaignon).

that one cannot believe them to come from the same source as the first part of the epic. The all but total absence of the peculiar refrain of the beginning of the poem may be taken to indicate that this refrain did not close the *laissez*s in the original *Renoart*. The few cases of this refrain at the very end of the poem seem placed there designedly, as if to give the whole an appearance of unity.¹

In the return of the hero to Orange, there are important divergences from the story as told in *Aliscans*: in this latter epic, William's brothers, the king, the queen, and Aelis accompany the army as far as Orleans. The brothers go each to his own fief to raise an army. William marches rapidly to Orange, enters the city without difficulty, mounts to the palace, and from there sees the arrival of his brothers and their troops. Objection has justly been made against the absurdity and awkwardness of these events. The action of the *Willame* is much more reasonable, in that it omits all of the Orleans episode, and also the incredible *Endemontiers* scene—that of the arrival before the city of the hero's brothers. The *Willame*, it is true, contains one of the inconsistencies of *Aliscans*: the entry of William at Orange without striking a blow. The poem has stated that the city is besieged (ll. 2580–85, cf. 2486, 2487, 2527, 2528), yet the Christians enter Orange without the slightest difficulty (ll. 2789 ff.). Indeed,

¹ The inference has already been drawn from the placing of the refrain at the close of several of the final *laissez*s of the *Willame* that the poem is complete and not a fragment.

A word may be said here concerning the peculiar refrain of the *Willame*. It seems to be the original form of the *petit vers* of the *Cycle de Guillaume*. But why did the first element of the refrain—the long line of feminine assonance—disappear? No reason is evident, unless the difficulty of the two feminine assonances. However possible such a refrain in a poem in assonance, it would become considerably more difficult to handle effectively in a rimed poem.

It is interesting to note that, just as scholars were beginning to consider the *petit vers* as not original, the discovery of the *Willame* opens the question anew, and seems to give reason to Jonckbloet, G. Paris, Gautier, W. Cloetta, Ph. A. Becker, and others, who saw in the *petit vers*—save, of course, where it was an evident imitation—an evidence of antiquity. The following critics have opposed the theory of G. Paris: A. Nordfelt, *Enfances Vivien* (1895); O. Riese, *Überlieferung der Enfances Vivien* (dissertation at Halle, 1900), p. 30; O. Schultz-Gora, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, (1900), pp. 370 ff.; E. Wienbeck, *Aliscans I*, (dissertation, Halle, 1901), pp. 14–17; W. Harnacke, *Aliscans* (Halle, 1904), p. xix. In the prefatory note to the new edition of *Aliscans*, H. Suchier announces that the editors will publish in an appendix an argument to prove that the *petit vers* in this epic is not primitive. Such an attempt at this moment would be most interesting. It would at least lack the complacency which has characterized most of the above-mentioned articles. The view that the *petit vers* is not original has been opposed recently by J. Runeberg, *Études sur la geste Rainouart* (Helsingfors, 1905), pp. 21 ff.

to meet the Saracens, they are obliged to march to the Archamp, evidently supposed not to be far from Orange.

One of the most important, and at the same time difficult, passages of the entire poem occurs in ll. 2795–2805. Guibor inquires of her husband what he has accomplished in France, and he replies that he has succeeded well, and that he has good twenty thousand men whom the emperor has given him, in addition to the forces of his relatives. Guibor inquires whether the emperor is coming, and William says no, that he is lying ill at Aix-la-Chapelle:

“Ne vient il dunc?” “Nun, dame.” “Co m'est laid.”
“Malade gist a sa chapele a Es.”
Et dist Guiburc: “Cest vers avez vus fait.
S'il ore gist, ja ne releve il mes!”
“Ne voille Deu, qui tote rien a fait!” (2085)

This passage, in spite of the obscurity of the third line, contains a clear contradiction with what precedes, for the king is perfectly well, and is not at Aix-la-Chapelle, but at Laon. Can it be supposed that William is telling a falsehood, in a laudable desire to protect his suzerain? Hardly. In the first place, the almost certainty that the deception would be discovered, for he came accompanied by so many who had witnessed the events at Laon; in the second place, if he were lying, he would mention Laon and not Aix, to make his falsehood seem as reasonable as possible. Not only had he just come from Laon, but if one can judge from monuments still extant, a connection between Louis and Aix-la-Chapelle was very unusual. It is much more likely that the action of the *Renoart* was placed during the lifetime of Charlemagne, and that he is the emperor referred to in this singular passage.

It is stated in l. 2825 (cf. ll. 2874, 3355, 3538) that the mother of Renoart—and consequently that of Guibor—is called Oriabel, which is evidently the same as the *Orable* mentioned in the later poems, as the pagan name of Guibor. In our poem the only name given William's wife is Guibor. Few points are more obscure than the origin of the two names of this princess.

A passage of interest occurs in ll. 3056, 3057 ff., where Renoart

asks Bertram if he knows how to guide a boat. Bertram answers that formerly he knew quite well how to do it:

“Bertram, sire, sez tu ben governer?”
“Oil, ami, jo en soi ja dis assez.”

While this conversation may arise out of the circumstances of the action, it is at least possible that it was suggested by the appellation *Timonier* which signifies “helmsman,” so often added to the name of Bertram.¹ There must have existed at one time an episode which justified this strange title.

In ll. 3132–39 Bertram slays Malagant, who, he says, had inflicted many woes upon him in the boat. This Saracen is called *Morgant le notonier* in *Foucon*, and Morando in the *Nerbonesi*.²

The passage ll. 3162–68 mentions the fact that William is resolved to give to Renoart a wife of noble lineage, and we infer from what is said that she will be of his own family, probably a niece. We learn in l. 3499 that this lady is named Ermentrud. An interesting variant of the manuscript of Venice of *Aliscans* states that Hermengard gave him her niece Ermentrut in marriage.³

The close of the poem—the forgetting by William of Renoart, his consequent wrath, with all that follows—shows more skill than that of the corresponding passages of *Aliscans*. The simple art of the two lines near the end in which Guibor tells Renoart that she is his sister is really charming. He has related the story of his life:

¹ For this appellation applied to Bertram *vide Aliscans*, ed. Rollin, ll. 154, 158; ed. Guessard, ll. 4929–31; ed. Wienbeck, Hartnacke, and Rasch, ll. 144, 4931, variant. This edition omits in the variants a line which follows 140 in the MS of London: *Diez! com grant duel li fist li timoniers*, cited by Rolin. The line occurs also in MS 24369 of the Bibl. Nat. The word is applied to Bertram a number of times in *Foucon de Candie*; for example: *Quant nous veimes Bertan le timonier*, MS of London, fol. 269, ro. c; MS 25518 of the Bibl. Nat., fol. 49, vo.; *Et vait secourre Bertran le timonier*, MS of London, fol. 282, vo. a; MS 25518, fol. 98, ro.; *Et le desroii Bertran le timonier*, MS 774 of the Bibl. Nat., fol. 114, vo.; *Bertram le tesmoinier*, MS of Boulogne, fol. 226, vo. b. The *Nerbonesi*, Vol. I, p. 378, say that Bertram received this name from the fact that he steadied and guided the *timon* of the cart intrusted to him in the *Charroi de Nîmes*. This explanation is, of course, false, for the word signifies “helmsman.” Indeed, the variant for l. 4931 of *Aliscans* in one of the most original of the MS—No. 2494 of the Bibl. Nat.—bears *noitunier* instead of *timonier*. See for this title applied to Bertram: *Romania*, Vol XXVIII, pp. 128, 129.

² *Foucon*, MS of London, fol. 264, ro. a; MS 25518 of the Bibl. Nat., fol. 20, ro.; N, II, pp. 222 ff.

³ Ed. of Rolin, variant following l. 3875.

Guibure l'or, si passad avant:
"Baisez moi, frere, ta soror sui naissant!"

Of all the *chansons de geste*, the *Willame* is perhaps the most difficult to comprehend. It is like a mysterious landscape which never presents twice the same appearance. One's impression at the second reading of this epic is not that at the first, and that of the tenth reading differs widely from that of the fifth. Many things in the poem are hidden below the surface, and are only slowly discernible, if at all. Because of this quality of hidden mystery, and because of its great age, the *Chanson de Willame* will be more frequently cited both by critics and admirers of literature than any other poem of the great cycle.

During the year and a half since the first pages of this study were written, the author's views have changed concerning many things in the epic, only a few of which fortunately had been touched upon by him.¹ The most important of these things concerns the exact point at which the redaction B begins. The language of the text shows no line of demarkation before the *laisse*, ll. 1980 ff. Accordingly, if a point is to be indicated where the later redaction begins, this is the place. Again, all of the evidence indicates that the passage beginning in l. 1720, where the "nephews" are captured, belongs to the later redaction. These lines, for example, do not belong in their present *laisse*, as their assonance shows. In addition, the young heroes, as has been made clear, did not set out with William from Barcelona, but rather must be supposed to have accompanied him in the departure from Orange—the departure which is not described in the poem as we have it.

Another opinion expressed which seems erroneous is that several of the young "nephews" mentioned in ll. 1720 ff. may

¹In the matter of errors, a few are to be found in the second article, the author not having seen the proofs: in this *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 235, n. 2 should be erased, as should, on p. 248, the second sentence of the second paragraph. In the second sentence below this point, the words "her nephew" should be inserted after the name *Guichart*. In the first article, the words *amunt Girunde*, which were considered to mean: *a Mont Gironde* (*vide* this *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 8) really mean: *amont Gironde*, and the copyist indicates by them the river. There is a contradiction between the geography of the episodes concerning Tedbalt and that of the remainder of the poem, and the writer is more and more inclined to believe that these episodes were originally independent of the passages which follow them. See, for a fuller discussion of these questions, the *Romania*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 250 ff.

come from the list of those who originally accompanied William in the victorious expedition. Long reflection has convinced the writer that this is not the case, and that the only nephew who accompanied William in this expedition was Guiot.

In this hurried examination of the poem, questions of external and cyclic relations have been intentionally neglected, because to treat them even briefly would have required too much space. Enough has been said, however, to indicate that of the extant sources in Old French, *Foucon de Candie* shows the greatest knowledge of the most ancient legends preserved in the *Chanson de Willame*.

Critics will not be wanting to assert that the *Chanson de Willame* is a literary unit and not composite in its origin. The scholars who, closing their eyes to the laws of formation of popular epic poetry, saw in *Aliscans* the product of a single poet, and who denied that this august monument could ever have existed in assonance, cannot be expected to see in the *Willame* anything else than the primitive form of the epic. Driven from one line of trenches by the discovery of the new song, they will fall back to another, as poorly constructed as the first. None the less, a better comprehension of what popular epic poetry is will certainly prevail in the end. All will see that to maintain that the *Chanson de Willame* is the product of one epoch and of one poet, is like standing in front of Notre Dame de Paris and ascribing it to one generation and to one architect.

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STUDIES IN THE TEXTUAL INTERPRETATION OF "BEOWULF"

"And I come after, glening here and there."—CHAUCER

It is an open secret that, with all the efforts of generations of scholars, the textual interpretation of *Beowulf* is still suffering from much error and uncertainty. A variety of factors are responsible for this state of affairs, but the main psychological causes revealed by a study of the *Beowulf* annals are (if I may venture to apply the phrase) pride and prejudice. Scholars have been seen to rush with enthusiasm into the "higher criticism" of the poem before a safe basis had been established by a sufficiently close textual investigation. Far-reaching, and often disastrous, conclusions have been drawn from the misinterpretation of passages or the misconception of certain general features of the narrative. Again, the poem has been approached with preconceived ideas concerning syntax, style, and metre, the point of view being decidedly subjective in many instances. Moreover, the rage for brilliant emendations has been noticed to blind the eyes of students. Of course, the condition of the text calls for correction in various places, and only a hopeless reactionary could refuse admittance to certain "palmary emendations" proposed by men like Bugge, Sievers, Cosijn, Holthausen. Yet the accumulated number of wanton and palpably wrong conjectures has become so large that the author of *Beowulf* would rub his eyes to see what modern scholars have made of his original poem. Nor has there been a lack of other species of the *deus ex machina* to help the commentator out of a difficulty, such as a "theory of variations," a hypothesis of a *lacuna*, or a belief in an unreasonable stupidity on the part of an interpolator or scribe.

Now, the plain duty of the humble interpreter is to see to it that the transmitted text be subjected to the closest possible cross-examination to make it yield whatever meaning it may have concealed so far. Only an actual, detailed investigation can

settle doubtful points of "lower criticism," but it will settle them most effectively once for all, as has been clearly proved, e. g., by Pogatscher's study of *Unausgedrücktes Subjekt im Altenglischen*. [See also L. L. Schücking's monograph on *Die Grundzüge der Satzverknüpfung im Beowulf*, I. Teil, 1904.] I propose on the following pages first to review certain stylistic and linguistic facts which, though familiar enough in a general way, are still in need of especial, careful observation to insure a more accurate interpretation of the text. That the phenomena discussed are not peculiar to *Beowulf*, but may be found throughout the Old English poetry—and even beyond the Anglo-Saxon limits of the Teutonic literature—need not be urged against the usefulness of these collections, for is not the poem of *Beowulf* the great classic representative of this literature, including matters of form? It should be understood that it is far from my intention to present a study of the style and language of the poem. Only some features will be considered, and only to such an extent as their practical importance for textual interpretation seems to warrant. I hope this is a sufficient excuse for the fragmentary character of the following jottings.

NOTE.—As no bibliography of textual annotations need be given here, a few explanations of abbreviated titles will suffice.

Bugge (unless some other reference is added) = *Beitr.*, XII, 79–112, 366–75.

Cosijn = *Aanteekeningen op den Béowulf (Aant.)*.

Holthausen = *Anglia-Beibl.*, X, 265–74.

Kluge = *Beitr.*, IX, 187–92.

Kock = *Anglia*, XXVII, 218–37.

Müllenhoff = *Beowulf* (1889) (in part = *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XIV, 193–244).

Rieger = *Z. f. d. P.*, III, 381–416.

Sievers = *Beitr.*, IX, 135–44.

Ten Brink = *Beowulf* (1888).

Trautmann = *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*, II, 121–92.

[Sievers' paper, "Zum Beowulf," in *Beitr.*, XXIX, 305–31, has just been received.]¹

¹ As my paper was completed in May, 1904, more recent articles and books will be found referred to in brackets. The delay in its publication is due to a complication of untoward circumstances.—F. K., May 23, 1905.

A. RHETORICAL NOTES

Reference may be made to the investigations of Schemann, Banning, Sonnefeld, Kistenmacher, Rönning, A. Hoffmann (*Engl. Stud.*, VI, 163–216), Ten Brink (*Pauls Grundriss*¹, II, 522 ff.), the more general treatises and collections of Heinzel, Gummere, Bode, Tolman (*Publ. M. L. Ass.*, III, 17–47), O. Hoffmann, *Reimformeln*, Grimm (Introd. to *Andreas & Elene*), Vilmar, Sievers (edition of *Heliand*), R. M. Meyer, and stylistic studies of other groups of poems, like the dissertations by Ziegler (Caedmon) and Jansen (Cynewulf). Weinhold's *Spicilegium* and O. Arndt's *Über die altgermanische epische Sprache* have been out of reach. [B. Haeuschkel, *Die Technik der Erzählung im Beowulfliede* (1904)].

I. VARIATION

Variation is the very soul of the Old English poetical style. The different stylistic effect produced by various poems depends in large measure on the peculiar handling of this most important figure. But its technique has not yet received its proper share of scholarly consideration. An attempt was made by Miss Buttenwieser a few years ago to investigate the function of variation with reference to *Andreas* and other poems, and to use it as a test of authorship, but as her method is of too subjective a character, she fails to inspire confidence in her results. In the more sober spirit of a statistician, Behaghel has gathered some valuable material from the OS *Genesis* and *Heliand*, and has thrown out useful suggestions for a critical study (*Der Heliand und die altsächsische Genesis*, 25 ff.; see also his review of Pachaly's book, *Literaturbl.*, XXI, 273). Cf. Jansen, 60 ff.

In the following miscellaneous observations I have not aimed at drawing a rigid, logical line barring cases which may only doubtfully be classed under this heading.

1. The terms of variation are noun: infinitive phrase, the former being general in its meaning, the latter specific; they are “governed” by the same verb, which may be said to be used *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ*. A type unknown in the *Heliand*; cf. Behaghel, *loc cit.*, 25. E. g.: bearhtm *ongeaton*, | guðhorn galan 1431.

fyrleoh *geseah*, | blacne leoman beorhte scinan 1516. land *gesawon*, | brimclifu blican 221. *para þe of wealle wop gehyrdon*, | gryreleoð galan Godes ondsacan 785. *ða ic wide gefrægn weorc gebannan | manigre mægbe geond þisne middangeard*, | folcstede frætwan 74 (*gebannan* in its relation to the second member to be considered equivalent to *hatan* (as in ll. 68 f.)).

With the common governing verb preceding the two objects: 728 f., 2756 ff.

This type of variation has been largely misapprehended in the following two passages. *sibbe ne wolde | wið manna hwone mægenes Deniga*, | feorhbealo feorran 154 (well explained by Bugge, yet objected to by Ten Brink, 23, still misconstrued by Wyatt and Socin, who make *sibbe* dat. instr., and spoiled by Trautmann's impossible *socne*).

(*wa bið þeom ðe sceal*) *frofre ne wenan*, | *wihte gewendan* 185. See Rieger, Sarrazin, *Beowulf-Studien* 147, Trautmann. *wite* is not a bad emendation (Rieger, see Grein 1, footnote, Holthausen), but seems unnecessary; *wihte gewendan* is = "change it in any way," as *uuendean mid uuihti*, *Hel.* 220, *gewendan mid wihte*, *Gen. (B)* 428; cf. *Hel.* 2759. The explanatory verbal phrase is as proper as the *þæt*-clause in *Riddl. VI*, 4: *frofre ne wene*, | *þæt me geoc cyme guðgewinnes*; *Guðl.* 479 f. Thus, there is no call for Trautmann's *wene gewinnan*.

2. The terms of variation are entirely equivalent, but are expressed by different grammatical forms. E. g.: *mearum ridan*, | *beornas on blancum* 855. *ac hyne sar hafað* | *in [ny]dgripe nearwe befangen*, | *balwon bendum* 975.

. . . . *þurh hleoðorcwyde holdne gegrette* | *meaglum wordum* 1979.

nealles mid geweoldum wyrmhorda cræft(?) | *sylfes willum* 2222.

no ic wiht fram þe | *swylcra searoniða seegan hyrde*, | *billa brogan* 581. *þy ic Headobearna hyldo ne telge*, | *dryhtsibbe dæl*, *Denum unfæcne* 2067. *þæt he mid ðy wife wælfæhða dæl*, | *sæcca gesette* 2028 (*sæcca* very likely acc., not gen. as given by Grein, Socin, Wyatt).

Alternation of positive and negative pronominal form: (*hie þæt ne wiston . . . þone synscadan*) ænig ofer eorþan irenna cyst, | guðbilla nan gretan nolde 802.

Different verbal forms used: *þæt se byrnwiga bugan sceolde*, | feoll on *feðan* 2918. 2974 f.

3. Incongruous combinations, as abstract+concrete term, logical "adjunct" + "headword," and the like. They form the rhetorical counterpart of the coupling of heterogeneous ideas like *God* and *ðæs mannes mod* 1056 f., 670, 1270 ff., 1552 ff. (*headobyrdne . . . halig God*), *wyrd* and *Metod* 2526 f., and of Christian and heathen conceptions in general, which was a source of much less worry to the Anglo-Saxons than to the modern commentators of their poems.

þa he biorges weard | *sohte searoniðas* 3066. *æfter lapum . . . æfter guðceare* 1257. *æt guðe . . . leohtan sweorde* 2491.

ða ic of searwum cwom | *fah* from *feondum* 419. (Cf. *fram þam hildfrecan* 2366.) (*gewiton . . .*) *swylce geong manig of gomenwape*, | *fram mere modge* 854.

wæs pæt blod to þæs hat, | *æt tren ellorgæst* 1616. . . . *beore druncen ymb Breca spræce*, | *sægdest* from his siðe 531. But *þæt he fram Sigemunde segan hyrde*, | *ellendædum* 875, (so Kemble, Thorpe, Grundtvig, Heyne 1-4, Arnold) has been properly changed by Grein (see also Zupitza, *Anglia*, I, 464) to *Sigemundes . . . ellendædum*, as in the case of variation *ellen-dædum* would have been preceded by a preposition, or the acc. *ellendæda (-e)* would have been used.

(*draca . . .*) *se ðe . . . hord beweotode*, | *stanbearh steapne* 2212. Ten Brink's indignation (p. 127) at this incredibly "clumsy" collocation was entirely too subjective. (Cf. also 2756 ff.: *geseah ða . . . maððumsigla feola* (MS *fealo*), *gold . . . , wundur on wealle, ond þæs wyrmes denn.*) *þæt his aldres wæs ende gegongan*, | *dogera dægrim* 822 (cf. *ða wæs eall sceacen | dogorgerimes* 2727). *þæt he dæghwila gedrogen hæfde*, | *eorðan wynn[e]* 2726 (where the parallelism of the objects has been very commonly overlooked).

se ðe gryresiðas gegan dorste, | *folcstede fara* 1462. *þa wæs æht [Holthausen: öht] boden* | *Sweona leodium, segn Higelace[s]*

2957 belongs here, whether we adopt this emendation (Kemble, Thorpe, Wyatt, see Bugge) or adhere to the MS (Grein, Wölker, Heyne-Socin, Holder, Arnold, see Cosijn). *sæcc* (Sievers, Holthausen), which would harmonize better with *æht*, is not needed, nor are the suggestions of Grein 1, (footnote), Schröer (*Anglia*, XIII, 346 ff.), Cl. Hall of sufficient weight. [Holthausen, in his edition, disposes of the difficulty by making *segn* the subject of *ofereodon*.] As to the use of *beodan* with two widely different objects, we note a similar instance in ll. 653 f.: *him hæl abeam*, | *winærnes geweald*, where the emendation *healle* (Holder 2; Grein 1, footnote: *heal?*) is surely gratuitous. (Cf. the construction of *efngedælde* with *heahþegnunga* and *deormodra sið*, *Exod.* 95 ff.)

se þe wætergesan wunian scolde, | *cealde streamas* 1260.
hwilum hildedeor hearpan wynne, | *gomenwudu* (em.) *grette* 2107.
ac him hildegrap heortan wylmas, | *banhus gebræc* 2507.
þeah ðe oðer his ealdre gebohte, | *heardan ceape* 2481.
þonne bið drepen biteran stræle wom *wundorbebodum*
wergan gastes 1745; see *H. Archiv*, CVIII, 369; Holthausen's acute emendation *wundorbrordum* (*Anglia-Beibl.*, XIII, 364) is not indispensable.

Of similar character are the following examples, which cannot, however, be regarded as instances of variation proper. *þær wæs hæleða dream*, | *duguð unlytel Dena ond Wedera* 497 (*duguð* not to be changed to *duguðe*, see *H. Archiv*, CVIII, 370; cf. *Guðl.*, 466: *God scop geoguðe and gumena dream*). *þa wæs eft swa ær inne on healle* | *þryðword sprecen*, | *ðeod on sælum*, | *sigefolca sweg* 642 (looked upon with groundless suspicion by Müllenhoff, 117, and provided with an unnecessary emendation *þeat* by Gering, *Z. f. d. P.*, XII., 124 (*þeot*, Grundtvig). So *Exod.*, 326 ff., 106 f.; *Andr.*, 869 f.; *Beow.*, 1110 ff.).

Also some combinations of nouns joined by *ond* are worth mentioning here. *oþðæt hie forlæddan to ðam lindplegan* | *swæse gesiðas ond hyra sylfra feorh* 2039. *wigum ond wæpnum* 2395; cf. *El.*, 106: *wigend wreccan ond wæpenþræce*; *ibid.*, 234 ff. *sio wæs orðoncum eall gegyrwed* | *deofles cræftum ond dracan fellum* 2087 (cf. *Jul.*, 574 ff.).

4. Accumulation of variations is indulged in for the sake of emphasis, especially in characterizing a person, describing an object or situation, and in address. See Jansen, 60 ff., 81 ff.; Ziegler, 58 ff.; Behaghel, 26 f. Several of the cases collected show a series of separate statements rather than variation.

a) Nounal (and adverbial) variations: 2602 ff. (*Wiglaf*), 1228 ff. (*Hroðgar's retainers*), 1557 ff. (*ancient sword*), 3071 ff. (predicative variation: "accursed"). In graphic accounts of localities: 1357 ff., 1409 ff., 847 ff. In address: 426 ff., 1474 ff. The simple idea of "on earth" is expressed with great force by four phrases: 858 ff. (cf. 504 f.). The term "men" appears in three variations: *men + selerædende (em.) + hæled under heofenum* 50; *londbuend + leode mine + selerædende* 1345; *sawlberendra + nippa bearna + grundbuendra* 1004, which should no longer be doubted, cf. *Exod.*, 230 ff.

b) Verbal variations: *þa git on sund reon, | þær git eagor-stream earmum þehton, | mæton merestreota, mundum brugdon, | glidon ofer garsecg* 512. (*þa se ðeoden mec . . . healsode hreohmod,*) *þæt ic on holma gepring | eorlscipe efnde, ealdre geneðde, | mærðo fremede* 2132. *Hafa nu ond geheald husa selest, | gemyne mærþo, mægenellen cyð, | waca wið wraþum* 658. Trautmann wishes to make the style of this passage "more pleasing" by construing *gemyne* as adjective. But why? Moreover it would be certainly "stilwidrig" to place *gemyne mærþo* at the head of the clause, as he does. See further 910 ff., 420 ff.

5. Punctuation in certain cases of variation.—In accordance with Sievers, who insisted (*Anglia*, I, 581) that "variation" should not be treated mechanically like ordinary "apposition," I think that a number of passages involving variation have suffered from overpunctuation. Certainly a simple ("unvaried") word or phrase occupying a medial position between two terms of variation should be assigned the *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* function, whenever it occurs at the beginning of the line.

E. g., *he on mode wearð | forht on ferhðe* 753. Ettmüller (Ed.), Wyatt: *forht*; Wülfker: *wearð*.

ponne blode fah | husa selest heorodreorig stod 934. Wülfker, Wyatt: *fah*.

pær wæs madma fela | of feorwegum frætwa gelæded 36.
 Socin, Holder, Arnold, Wyatt: *fela*,; Wülker: *feorwegum*,;
 Kemble, Thorpe: *fela, feorwegum*,.

þa he biorges weard | sohte searoniðas 3066. Grein 2,
 Wülker, Socin, Holder, Wyatt: *sohte*,; Kemble: *weard*,. Perhaps 280 f., 1108 f.¹

An instance of the *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* construction of an object at the beginning of the second half-line is: *polode ðryðswyð þegnsorge* dreah 131 on the supposition that *ðryðswyð* is rightly explained as an adjective. No other example of this particular type has been noticed in *Beowulf*. Cf. *El.* 244, 208.

6. Variation and enumeration.—When a series of objects is enumerated, and variation applied at the same time, it may become difficult to tell the number of separate items. From the most popular translation ever made of an Old English poem it might appear that four animals of prey visit the battlefield of Brunanburh, though, as a matter of fact, *grædig guðhafoc* is merely another term for the eagle. In *Beowulf*, sets of precious gifts are presented on several occasions. Thus ll. 1020 ff.: *segen* (variation: *hroden hiltecumbor*), *helm*, *byrne*, *madþumsweord*, and in full agreement therewith, 2152 ff.: *eafor heafodsegn*, *helm*, *byrne*, *guðsweord*.

Again, ll. 1193 ff.: (*wunden gold* probably referring to the) *earm[h]reade twa, hrægl* (= *breostgewædu* 1211) *ond hringas*, *healsbeaga mæst* (the latter = *hring* 1202, *beág* 1211). Finally in ll. 2809 ff. Beowulf hands over to Wiglaf: *hring gyldenne*, *helm*, *beah ond byrnan*. Cf. *Mald.* 160: *he wolde pæs beornes beagas gefecgan, | reaf and hringas, and gerenod swurd*. Now what is meant by the *hringas* of l. 1195? The following explanations are possible: 1. *hrægl ond hringas* “went together, the rings being the fastenings for the mantle” (Earle); cf. Lehmann, *Brünne und Helm*, 13. This would hardly hold good of the *beah* in l. 2812. 2. *hrægl ond hringas* is = *hringed byrne* 1245, 2615, *byrnan hring* 2260 (cf. Ten Brink, 70)—a rather hazardous *ἐν διὰ δυοῖν*. 3. In all three places (*B.* 1193 ff., 2809 ff.; *Mald.* 160 f.)

¹The practically universal omission of the comma in a passage like ll. 1163 f.: *pær þa godan twegian | sæton suhter gefedaran* may be due to misunderstanding. (*Heliand*, 458: *giuuitim tho thiū godun tue, Joseph endi Maria.*)

hringas (*beah*) is to be understood as variation of a preceding term: *earm[h]reade twa + hringas*, *hring gyldenne + beah*, *beagas + hringas*. (Similar awkward repetitions occur in ll. 2508 f., 2393 ff.; *Mald.* 236 f.; *El.* 584 f.: *ða wurdon hie deaðes on wenan, | ades ond endelifes.*) This explanation seems the one best suited for the last two passages.

II. FORMULAS

There is no need to remark on Old English (Germanic) poetic formulas in general. (See especially R. M. Meyer, 355 ff., Sievers' *Heliand*.) But it may not be superfluous to touch briefly some groups of formulas whose application has been misunderstood in certain places.

1. The *gefrægn*-formulas.¹—Emphasizing, as they do, the importance of a fact—known by common report—or the truth of the story, these formulas are naturally employed to introduce poems or sections of poems² (e. g., ll. 1 f., 837, 2694, 2752), to point out some sort of progress in the narrative (74, 2480, 2484, 2773, 2172, 433, 776), to call attention to the greatness of a person, object, or action (38, 70, 1196, 1197, 1955, 2685, 2837, 575, 582, 1027). They add an element of variety to the plain statement of facts, and are so eminently useful and convenient that the poets may draw on this stock for almost any occasion.

This ubiquitous character of the *gefrægn*-formulas was lost sight of by Trautmann in his ill-advised condemnation of l. 62 (*Anglia-Beibl.*, X, 261): *ðæm feower bearn . . . in worold wocun . . . Heorogar, ond Hroðgar, ond Halga til; | hyrde ic þæt . . .* The question is not what modern "logic" expects, or subjective criticism declares possible or impossible, but whether such an expression accords with the practice, not to say the laws, of the old style. Now the phrase *hyrde ic* serves here practically as poetic formula of transition equal to "further," exactly as in l. 2163, where the account of the presentation of the four gifts is connected in the same way with (its continuation, that is) the report of the donation of the horses: *hyrde ic þæt þam frætwum*

¹[Cf. Schäckling, pp. 85 f., 112.]

²Translated into indirect speech: *welhwyld geƿað, | þæt he fram Sigemunde [s] seigan hyrde | ellendædum*, 874.

feower mearas . . . last weardode. [Cf. my note in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XX, 11.] See also l. 2172, (criticised, without cause, by Ten Brink, 121). Similarly, the simple enumeration of the four presents, ll. 1020–24, is enlivened by the expression: (*mære madþumsweord*) *manige gesawon | beforan beorn beran.*

As the last example shows, these formulas admit of individualization. Reference may be made to the report of some well-informed people, to the observation of a situation by those present, spectators and hearers. Thus, 1345 ff., 194; 377 (*ðonne sægdon þæt sælipende . . . , cf. 411*); 2022 (*þa ic Freaware fletsittende | nemnan hyrde*). In the same light—as quasi *gefraegn*-formulas—are to be judged the following two passages, which have attained an undeserved notoriety. L. 1945: *ealodrincende oðer sædan* (*þæt hio leodbealewa læs gefremede . . .*) does not point to another, different version of the *þryðo* legend, but supplies a connecting link between the first part of the story and its continuation: “beerdrinking men related further” (see Cosijn; Boer, *Eene episode uit den Beowulf*); as to the function of *oðer*, cf. *Whale*, 49: *he hafað opre gecynd.*

L. 1175: *me man sægde, þæt þu ðe for sunu wolde | hereri[n]c habban.* This remark of the queen’s may seem a little surprising, since she did not need to be told about the “adoption” of Beowulf (ll. 946 ff.), having been present at the king’s speech. But it does not follow that we have to take the desperate remedy recommended by Heinzel-Jellinek-Kraus (*Z. f. d. A.*, XXXV, 276 f.), who interpret the *hereric* of the MS as a proper name, and thus introduce a new element of obscurity and confusion. It is exceedingly hard not to believe that the statement alludes to Hroðgar’s words: *nu ic, Beowulf, þec . . . me for sunu wylle | freogan on ferhþe, heald forð tela | niwe sibbe*, which are plain enough. But at the same time it is easy and natural to suppose that the author, perhaps a little thoughtlessly, employed a variety of the ever-ready formula, thereby securing a slight stylistic advantage. Whether this use be objected to as a misuse, matters little.

Strictly speaking, the phrase is also misplaced in 1969: (*to ðæs ðe eorla hleo . . . burgum in innan*) *geongne guðcyning godne gefrunon | hringas dælan.* (Cf. 714 f., 2410; 1585 f.)

Cognate formulas are: *wæs wide cuð* 2923, *pæt wæs yldum cup* 705, *soð is gecybed* 700; 2324. (*pæs þe hie gewislicost gewitan meahton* 1350.) The manner of oral transmission is specified: *wearð | ylda bearnum undyrne cuð | gyddum geomore, þætte* 149.

Syntactically, it may be noted that adverbial expressions (of time and place), though standing close to the *gefrægn*-verb, should not be construed with it (Sievers, *Beitr.*, XII, 191, n.). Hence, Cl. Hall's "never under heaven have I heard of any better hoarded-gem of heroes" is an imperfect rendering of *nænigne ic under swegle selran hyrde | hordmadmum hæleþa*, 1197:

2. The *maðelode*-formulas have been investigated, from a comparative point of view, in Heusler's luminous paper, "Der Dialog in der altgermanischen erzählenden Dichtung," *Z. f. d. A.*, XLVI, 189–284. (Cf. Sonnefeld, 52 f.)

It may be added that in reporting a speech in the form of indirect discourse, (*ge*)*cwæð* is employed as immediate verb of introduction, following a preparatory statement of a more general character. Thus, *wean oft gehet | earmre teohhe ondlonge niht, | cwæð he on mergenne meces ecgum | getan wolde*, 2937. *sume worde het cwæð þæt 2156. swa beginnodon cwædon þæt 3179. ðær wæs Beowulfes | mærðo mæned, monig oft geewæð þætte 856* (similarly 874). *sægde him þæs leanes þanc, | cwæð he 1809.*

Accordingly, the *cwæð* of l. 92, which was strongly condemned by Ten Brink, 13, appears to be entirely legitimate: *Sægde se þe cube | frumsceaft fira feorran reccan, | cwæð þæt se ælmihtiga eorðan worh[te]*; *sægde* may have been used absolutely, = *sang* (496).¹

3. *Næs ða long to ðon, þæt*.—Ll. 2591, 2845. L. 739 *ne þæt se aglæca yldan þohte, | ac he gefeng hrade* (Ten Brink's doubts (53 f.) about *þæt* were unfounded, cf. *Bede* 126, 9; *ne þa* would be impossible).

J. Grimm (*Andreas & Elene*, XLII), clearly recognized

¹ Of course, the difficulty could be removed by emendation. Supposing the original reading was *rehte*: *Sægde, se þe cube (se þe cube, a complete formula, see Sievers on *H. el.* 224) frumsceaft fira feorran rehte (frumsceaft fira referring—ānd kœvō—both to *sægde* and *rehte*), a scribe with views of his own might have substituted the infin. *reccan*, to go with *cube*.*

the formula-like character of such phrases, which he traced also in OS and OHG literature. Cf. Sievers, *Heliand*, 430. For analogous prose examples see note on *Bede* 52, 14 in *Anglia*, XXV, 292.

Sometimes the comparative is used. *næs hit lengra fyrst, | ac ymb ane niht eft gefremede 134.*¹ Cf. *Bede* 126, 9: *ne ylde he hit þa leng, ac eode sona. B. 2555 næs ðær mara fyrst | freode to friclan.*

J. Grimm rightly included l. 83: *ne wæs hit lenge þa gen, | þæt* Rieger, however, unfortunately followed by Heyne 4, Heyne-Socin 5, 6, 7, Holder 1, 2, explained *lenge* as an adjective "belonging to," which is recorded (perhaps only) in *Gnom. Exon.* 121, and for which he claimed the sense of "at hand." Even if this entirely conjectural meaning be granted, the context absolutely precludes this interpretation. After stating that "the hall awaited the hateful fire," the poet cannot possibly go on to remark that "the time was not yet come." No, the story of the building of Heorot calls vividly to mind the future fate of that memorable hall: "the time was not very distant when it should be exposed to the ravages of a fierce war." For the comparative form *lenge* see *Crist* 1685, *Guðl.* 109, *Jul.* 375.

4. *men ne cunnon (secgan to soðe) hwa.* — L. 50. So *men ne cunnon | hwyder helrunan hwyrftum scriþað* 162. (*Sal.* 59: *nænig manna wat hu; Riddl.* 30, 13 *nænig sibban | were gewiste þære wihte sið;* cf. *Exod.* 373.)

As a Christian version of the phrase may be mentioned: *God ana wat (hwa, hwær, etc.), Mald.* 94, *Fates of Men* 8, *Gnom. Exon.* 29, *Phoen.* 355.

Peculiar interest attaches to the application of the formula in l. 1331: *ic ne wat hwæder (MS hwæþer) | atol æse wlanc eftsiðas teah.* See Möller, *Altengl. Volksepos* 136, Ten Brink 96, Heinzel, *Anz. f. d. A.*, XV, 173, 190, Bugge, Cosijn. It seems to me that the reading *hwæder* admits of no shadow of doubt (for the form see *Beitr.*, IX, 263, XXVI, 201, *Anglia*, XXVII, 257), and that the explanation of it is not that Hroðgar did not know

¹ *B. 1612 ne nom he in þaem wicum maðmæhta ma buton done hafelan ond þa hilt somod. Hel. 652 sie ni habdun thanan gisidecas mer, | butan that sie thrie uuarun.*

the abode of Grendel's mother quite accurately, but that the author yielded to the formula habit. Furthermore, the phrase, though it should never be pressed, is not altogether unsuited, as the reference is to the "uncanny" dwelling-place of the mysterious *ellorgæstas*.

III. EPITHETS

See Schemann, *passim*, Sonnefeld 24 ff., A. Hoffmann 29. Only two points are briefly to be mentioned.

1. The pleonastic use of epithets.—E. g., *swy[lc] scolde eorl wesan, | [æþeling]'* ærgod 1328. *oðð þæt seo geogod geweox, | magodriht micel* 66 (*magodriht micel* represents the variation, as it were, of the preceding clause; Trautmann's untimely suggestion to drop the comma after *geweox* spoils his otherwise proper explanation of the verb as "increased" (so Simons, Cl. Hall)).

ðæm eafera wæs æfter cenned | geong in geardum 12. (*El.* 638: *ic on geogode wearð | on siðdagum syððan acenned, | cnihtgeong hæled.*) Cf. *Guðl.* 1253: *swearc norðodor | won under wolcnum.* Also *B.* 572 *wyrd oft nered | unfægne eorl.*

2. The mechanical use of epithets without regard to the specific situation.—Though the Danes are entirely powerless against Grendel, there is an allusion to the *atole ecgpræce* of the *Sigescyldingas* 596 f., which latter term Arnold believes "must surely be used ironically." But very likely of such a thought the poet was entirely innocent. In the same way, Hroðgar is, without question, the *helm Scyldinga*, though he cannot protect his men; and the sword which fails in need is styled *iren ærgod* 2586.

NOTE.—Erroneous conceptions concerning epithets appear in Trautmann's conjecture *eald ond unhror* (since it is inconceivable that the poet should have meant to represent Hroðgar as "feeble")² and L. Hall's translation of (*no by leng leofað ladgetona*) *synnum geswencend* 975: "lashed for his evils" as well as Cl. Hall's rendering of *fyrrendædum*

¹ I am unable to share the indignation of J. Lawrence (*Chapters on Alliterative Verse*, 33) at this editorial insertion. — By the way, the pleonastic use of *mare* in 135 f.: *eft gefremede | morðbeala mare* may be called to mind.

² Against Holthausen's idea that *eotoles* (for *eoletes* of the MS) in l. 224 might be the adjective belonging to a noun for "voyage" or "ocean" in the preceding line that has been lost, it would be proper to urge that in *Beowulf* the epithet "terrible" would not have been used with reference to a sea voyage, cf. Brooke, *Early English Lit.*, 168. [Holthausen in his edition returns to *eoletes*.]

fag 1001: "stained with bruises"(!) (for merely a general characterization is intended, cf. *sinnig secg* 1379). Nor should we look for any designed contrast in the terms *nis þat seldguma | wæpnum geweorðad* 249 (Cl. Hall: "that is no stay-at-home tricked out with weapons").

IV. LITOTES

is so favorite a trope that we may be prepared to find specimens of it in any place in the poem. Yet it has proved a stumbling-block on several occasions. Beowulf's words *ne me swor fela | aða on unriht* 2738 have been adduced as reflecting unfavorably upon his character, see the correcting remarks in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XVII, 162. (*Par. Ps.*, LXXVI, 4 *ne spræc ic worda feala = non sum locutus*. Cf. also *Germania*, XIII, 133.) Likewise the expression *ne gefrægn ic freondlicor feower madmas | golde gegyrede gummannia fela | in ealobence oðrum gesellan* 1027 has been misunderstood and, worse than this, has called forth an abortive emendation *frean* (Kölbding, *Engl. Stud.*, XXII, 325, Trautmann). Cf. *Bede* 234, 22 (*Anglia*, XXVII, 282).

A few other examples are subjoined. *lyt* (never *fea* in *Beowulf*) = "no one," adv. "not at all": *lyt manna* 2836; *ic lyt hafo | heafodmaga nefne Hygelac ðec* 2150 (at this point, then, Beowulf, or the poet, did not think of Weohstan's family); *lyt swigode niwra spella* 2897; 3129.

no þat yðe byð . . . ("impossible") 1002. nalles holinga . . . 1076 ("she had ample cause to . . ."). undyrne (see the glossaries), *unlytel, unlíðe, unmurnlice* ("cheerfully") 1756, 449, so *unforhte* 444 (Holder 1: *anforhte* after Kluge, *Beitr.*, IX, 188; Holder 2 has wisely returned to the MS reading).

hwile ("a long while") 105, 152. *sume* ("a good many") *on wæle crungon* 1113 is irreproachable in point of style in spite of Trautmann's (*Finn und Hildebrand*, 20) and Boer's (*Z. f. d. A.*, XLVII, 134) strictures; the former scholar's prosy. *swylce* is a conspicuous change for the worse. *þat wæs Hroðgare hreowa tornost | para be leodfruman lange* (almost = "ever") *begeate* 2129. *dæl* ("a great deal"), see *Aant.* on l. 2245, Kock, p. 228.

næs ic him to life laðra owihte 2432 ("he liked me just as well"). *næs hio . . . to gnead gifa* 1929 ("she was far from niggardly").

ne huru Hildeburh herian þorft | Eotena treowe 1071, 2363.
no his lifgedal | sarlic þuhte secga ænegum 841, 793. *nealles druncne slog | heorðgeneatus* 2179 (for was not Beowulf *manna mildust* 3182?). *þeah þe he his magum nære | arfest æt ega gelacum* 1167 is elucidated by *þeah ðu þinum broðrum to banan wurde* 587; *arfest* is not "honorable," "upright," (Socin, Wyatt, and others) or "promptus ad iuvandum" (Grein), but "kind," "merciful."

Litotes seems also to be concealed in ll. 43 ff.: *nalæs hi hine læssan lacum teodan*, etc. "By a slow, indirect, circuitous, intricate, and ornate movement, it says, that having arrived destitute he was sent back with all the funereal pomp of wealth and royalty" (Earle), though it should be remembered that, according to Ethelwerdus, Sccef arrived "armis circumdatus." Müllenhoff (*Z. f. d. A.*, VII, 436) understood the words in their literal sense.

B. SYNTACTICAL NOTES

I. SINGULAR OF CONCRETE NOUNS USED IN A COLLECTIVE SENSE

This fact, which might be supposed to be universally understood (see e. g., Schürmann, *Syntax in Cynewulfs Elene*, § 1; Körner, *Einleitung*, II, 268) has been persistently ignored in several instances. Beginning with the most interesting of all (l. 6), I had for some time past reached a conclusion at variance with the vulgate conception, when I saw Kock's recent note on ll. 4-7, 794 f., 1243 f., which in substance is identical with my own interpretation and renders a new comment superfluous.¹

It is worthy of notice that the noun thus used is frequently found in connection with *manig*, *oft*, *yðgesene*, etc., as in ll. 4 ff.: *oft . . . egsode eorl* (with comma after *ofteah*), 794: *genehost brægd | eorl Beowulfs . . . ,* 1243: *on bence . . . ofer . . . æfelinge yðgesene . . . helm . . . byrne, þrecwudu* (Barnouw's helplessness (p. 9) and Simons' violent emendation (p. 330) *ofer æðelingum* illustrate well the soundness of our interpretation); further *þa wæs on healle heardecg togen | sweord ofer settum, sidrand manig | hafen handa fæst* 1288; *æt þæm*

¹ [See further Sievers, *Beitr.*, XXIX, 560 ff.; Kock, *Anglia*, XXVIII, 140 ff. My remarks on this question have been left unchanged.]

ade wæs eþgesyne | swatfah syrce, swyn ealgylden, | eofer irenheard, æbeling manig | wundum awyrded 1110. *oft hio beahwriðan | secge [sealde], ær hie to setle geong* 2018. Exactly analogous are some passages in *Elene*. *ðær wæs on eorle eþgesyne | brogden byrne ond bill gecost, | geatolic guðscrud, grimhelm manig, | ænlic eoforcumbul* 256. *þær wæs gesyne sincgim locen | on þam herebreate, hlaforde gifu* 264 (misrepresented in Kent's note).

In other cases, the noun (not preceded by the definite article, of course) has this function without any such auxiliary word suggesting the collective meaning. *oþðæt eft byred | ofer lagu-streamas leofne mannan | wudu wundenheals to Wedermearce, | godfremmendra swylcum gifeþe bið, | þæt þone hilderæs hal gedigeð* 296—a passage ill-treated by Grein, Heyne, Arnold, Wyatt, Earle, Garnett, L. Hall, Cl. Hall, Tinker; the “beloved man” is not Beowulf, as Rieger clearly pointed out more than thirty years ago, and *swylc* is neither “quisque” nor “talis,” but the reference is to the whole band—“to whomsoever of the brave ones it will be granted, etc.” Further 1284 ff., 492 (*benc*), 1032 (*fela laf*), 1067. (*El.* 50 f., 55, 118; *Exod.* 137 ff.)¹

Even the juxtaposition of plural and collective singular is met with: *hi on beorg dydon beg ond siglu, | eall swylce hyrsta* 3164. (Also: *wudu wælsceaftas* 398; *windgeard weallas* 1224 (O. Krackow, *H. Archiv* CXI, 171 f.); *sigle* (MS *swegle*) *searogimmas* 2749.) This incongruence will appear less anomalous if we consider the easy transition from one form to the other, as in ll. 794 ff.: *eorl . . . wolde . . . feorh ealgian | mæres beodnes, ðær hie meahton swa; | hie þæt ne wiston . . . ; Mald.* 106: [*h*]remmas wundon, | earn œses georn; *El.* 125. Light is thus shed also on the troublesome clause *daroðæsc flugon, | hildenædran*, *El.* 140. [Cf. *H. Archiv* CXIII, 147 f.]

II. ADJECTIVE USED INSTEAD OF ADVERB

Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that our modern linguistic feeling inclines toward the adverb in most cases involved. The use of the adjective indicates that “the sensuous

¹ I suspect collective meaning in the peculiar *anlipig aldormon* (and *cyninges þegnas*), *OE Chron.* A. D. 871, A ((e)aldormen(n) BCDE).

imagination sees the quality rather in the concrete person or thing than in the abstract action or state" (Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, §423).

scop hwilum sang | hador on Heorote 496, "with clear voice," literally "clear-voiced." Cf. *stefen in becom | heaðotorht hlynnan under harne stan* 2552. (*El.* 1073 (and elsewhere): *bald reordode.*) *eodon unblide* 3031, *unblide sæt* 130 (wrongly marked as adverb by Socin), cf. *geomormod* 2044, 2267, 3018; *Hel.* 722: *tho he so hriwig sat* (Holthausen, *Altsächsisches Elementarbuch* § 484).

wisa fengel | geatolic gende 1400 ("in stately wise" Cl. Hall, Tinker); so perhaps *tryddode tirfæst*, 922. *þa gyt hie him asetton segen g[yl]denne | heah ofer heafod* 47; 2768, 2805; see Grein, *Sprachsch.*, II, 46. *Gode þancode wisfæst wordum* 625 ("with wise choice of words" Earle). (*þa wæs*) *sidrand manig | hafen handa fæst* 1289, cf. *wudu wyrtum fæst* 1364. So probably also l. 1566: [the sword] *hire wið halse heard græpode*, which should not be explained: "that the hard steel caught her by the neck" (Ettmüller, Earle, Wyatt, Cl. Hall, Tinker). (*Gen.* 936: *oð þæt þe to heortan hearde griped | adl unlide.*)

wyrm hat gemealt 897. Trautmann revives Scherer's emendation *hate* (instr.), which was adopted by Holder 1, but rejected by Holder 2. The argument advanced by him against *hat*: "weil kein Mensch sich so ausdrücken würde" needs no refutation.

ðu scealt to frofre weorþan | eal langtwidig leodium þinum 1707.

III. USE OF THE COMPARATIVE

1. The comparative sometimes appears in a context where, according to our ideas, no real comparison takes place. See Sievers, note on *Hel.* 323. Apart from the cases of a comparative with the instr. *þy* (*þe*) enumerated by Grein, *Sprachsch.*, II, 568, the following examples deserve notice. *ða wæs swigra secg* 980. *feorcyþðe beoð | selran gesohte* 1838. *þæt ðes eorl wære | geboren betera* 1702; Bugge (*Tidsskrift for Phil. og Pæd.*, VIII, 52 f.) recommended the needless change to *þe . . . nære*, and Arnold offered the enigmatical translation "that this earl

should have been better born." *pæt me is micle leofre* 2651 (Müllenhoff, Sievers, Holthausen supposed the sentence to be incomplete). *sylicran wiht* 3038 (cf. *Rood* 4), ll. 134, 2555, 1613, see above A II 3; cf. 282, 2066.¹

2. Accumulation of comparatives serves as a means of emphasis. *ful oft ic for læssan lean teohhode . . . hnahrnan rince* 951. *ne gefrægen ic þa mægþe maran weorode | ymb hyra sincgyfan sel gebæran* 1011. *pæt he ne mette . . . on elran men | mundgripe maran* 751. Kluge's conjecture *eldran* (*Engl. Stud.*, XXII, 145, so Holder 2) is untenable, because if there were any such reference to age, the phrase would no doubt have been *on gingran men* (cf. *ne hyrde ic snotorlicor | on swa geongum feore guman þingian* 1842). That a comparative of "other" is a semasiological possibility may be seen from *oðerlicor*, *Ben. R.* 87. 19, *oðarlicora*, *Hel.* 3123, 155. Trautmann's *engan* is a mere guess, which moreover tends to dilute the style.

IV. OMISSION OF THE PERSONAL PRONOUN

See Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, § 270 ff.

1. Omission of the personal pronoun as subject has been fully treated in Pogatscher's paper on "Unausgedrücktes Subjekt im Altenglischen" (*Anglia*, XXIII, 261–301), by which a number of useless emendations have been set at rest. See especially ll. 68, 283, 286 (which was rightly explained also by Möller, *Altenglisches Volkseplos* 130), 300, 470, 567, 830, 1487, 1923, 1967, 2344, 2520; 1365: *þær mæg . . . niðwundor seon*; cf. *Mald.* 215: *nu mæg cunnian hwa cene sy*. Likewise *no þæs frod leofað | gumena bearna, þæt bone grund wite* 1366, where *þæt* cannot be explained as relative pronoun, as Trautmann does (p. 169); see also *Anglia*, XXVII, 248. (H. G. Shearin, *The Expression of Purpose in Old English Prose*, 85 ff. speaks far too cautiously of *þæt* "as an apparent relative pronoun introducing a purpose clause.") Further ll. 1978 (see note under D) and 3018 (where the subject seems to correspond both to *eorl* and *mægð*).

¹ Ags. Laws, *Eadg. IV*, 13 *aenig oðer man, riccre oðre unriccre, Append. X, 1 næfre . . . owiht don þæs him laðre bið*. Pref. to *Cur. P.*, 7, 6, *forþy me ȝyncoð betre*. Cf. Skeat's note on Chaucer, *Cant. T.*, C. 667 (*go bet*).

2. Omission of the personal pronoun as object is illustrated by the following examples.—(Accusative to be supplied from a preceding dative:) *þa gyt hie him asetton segen . . . ofer heafod, leton holm beran, | geafon on garsecg* 47. 2937 ff.

cwæð þæt se elmihtiga eordan worh[te] . . . , swa wæter bebuged 92. 24 (discussed by Kock).

Beo ðu on ofeste, hat in ga[a]n | seon sibbe gedriht samod ætgædere 386. See Grein, *Sprachsch.* s. v. *seon*, Bugge, Ten Brink 53, Earle, Bright (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, X, 44), Socin, Trautmann. Bright's emendation (which has been commonly ignored) *hat [þæt] in ga[e] | seo sibbegedriht samod ætgædere* makes l. 387 conform to *Exod.* 214, but we need not assume that the latter line is an absolutely literal quotation of the former any more than of *B.* 729 *swefan sibbe gedriht samod ætgædere*; besides the construction of *hatan* with a *þæt*-clause and without a proleptic object does not seem (according to Grein) to occur outside of *Gen. B.* (in *B.* 2156 a pronominal object is understood). The text is entirely satisfactory; the object to be supplied is either *me* or *hie* (the Danes), cf. *Hroðgar geseon* 396. Similarly *Bede* 416. 26: *hu hie gedon ymbe þa menn haefdan, ða ðe gesion* (varr. *hine geseon*) *ond saegan waldon* (*Anglia*, XXVII, 248).

he onfeng hrabe | inwitpancum 748 is clear enough without the pronominal object (referring to *feond*); there is no call for an adjective *inwitpanc*. See further note on ll. 28 ff. under D.

V. PROLEPTIC USE OF NOUNS AND PRONOUNS

1. Noun (or pronoun) preliminary to a clause of an exegetical character. (Kellner, §§ 24, 94, 104 ff.) The verb may be said to be employed ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. The construction sometimes resembles variation.

a) The clause is introduced by *þæt*: *ic minne can | glædne Hroðulf, þæt he þa geogoðe wile | arum healdan* 1180. *God wat on me, | þæt . . .* 2650; 1830 ff. (Cf. *Bede* 128. 22: *ne tala þu me, þæt ic ne cunne . . . ;* 126. 19 f.) *nat he þara goda, þæt he me ongean slea* 681.

ic þæt gehyre, þæt þis is hold weorod . . . 290; 2300 f., 377 ff. (see Kemble's note).

ac him Dryhten forgeaf | wigspeda gewiofu . . . þæt hie feond heora . . . ofercomon 696. 3035 f.

se þe him bealwa to bote gelyfde, | þæt þæt ðeodnes bearn geþeon scolde 909. *bearne ne truwode, | þæt . . .* 2370; 1166 f., 2953 f.

þa wæs Biowulfe broga gecyðed . . . þæt . . . 2324. 700 f.

hig þæs æðelinges eft ne wendon, | þæt he. . . secean come | mærne þeoden 1596. (Cf. *Hel.* 4289 f.) *þæs ne wendon ær witan Scyldinga, | þæt . . .* 778.

Under this heading the solution of a much debated difficulty may be attempted. *ond se an ða gen | leoda duguðe, se ðær lengest hwearf, | wearð winegeomor, wende þæs yldan, | þæt he lytel fæc longgestreona | brucan moste* 2237. See Rieger, Bugge, Schröer (*Anglia*, XIII, 343 f.), Sievers (*Anglia*, XIV, 141 f.), Cosijn. The old man does not expect (still less, wish) to enjoy the treasures "a little longer." If he did, what sense would there be in returning them to the bosom of the earth? And surely, *lytel fæc* is "only a very short time;" cf. *lytle hwile* 2097, 2030. I venture to suggest *wende þæs sylfan, | þæt . . .*: he expected the same [fate as had befallen all his relatives], viz., that he would be permitted to enjoy the ancient treasures only a short time, i. e., that he would soon depart this life.

Another commonly misunderstood passage may be appended. *ða se ellengæst earfoðlice | þrage geþolode, se þe in þystrum bad, | þæt he dogora gehwam dream gehyrde* 86. The ordinary explanation of *þrage* "for a time (or, season)" (Kemble, Thorpe, Grein, Heyne-Socin, Arnold, Heinzel (*Anz. f. d. A.*, XV, 193), Cosijn (on l. 105), Earle, Wyatt, Garnett, L. Hall, Cl. Hall, Tinker) is not to the point. I feel certain that *þrage* is proleptic object (especially as *geþolian* is probably never followed directly by a *þæt*-clause) meaning "hard or disagreeable time," "hardship," "annoyance," cf. *þa hyne sio þrag becwom* 2883; *Jul.* 453, 464; *Guðl.* 1324; *Met. Boeth.* 1. 77; also *earfoðþrag*, *B.* 283 (= *earfoð* Sievers, *Beitr.*, XVIII, 406); perhaps *þragmælum*, *Jul.* 344.

b) The clause is introduced by *þæs þe: ic ðara frætwa Frean ealles þanc . . . secge | . . . þæs ðe ic moste . . . swylc gestrynan*

2794. *þeodnes gefegon, | þæs þe hi hyne gesundne geseon moston* 1627. *in Caines cynne þone cwealm gewræc | ece Drihten,* *þæs þe he Abel slog* 107 (frowned upon by Sievers, Holthausen; *þæs þe* changed to *þæt þe* by Bugge; cf. 1333 f.; see Lichtenheld, *Z. f. d. A.*, XVI, 339).

c) The clause is introduced by *hu*: *ðær abidan sceal . . . miclan domes, | hu him scir Metod scrifan wille* 977. 2 f., 115 ff., 2316 ff., 2717 ff., 2946 ff.

d) The clause is introduced by *hwæðer*: *no hie fæðer cunnon, | hwæþer him ænig wæs ær acenned | dyrnra gasta* 1355 = “they have no knowledge of a father (Cl. Hall), [they do not know] whether . . .”

2. Proleptic use of a pronoun as introductory to a noun.—*hi hyne þa ælbæron to brimes faroðe | swæse gesipas* 28. *he . . . freca Scyldinga* 1563. *him* (not dat. sing.) . . . *Wedera leodum* 696. *him . . . eorlum* 1674. *þonne he mid fæmnan on flett gæð | dryhtbearn Dena* 2034; *he* certainly refers to the *dryhtbearn Dena*, not to *Ingeld* (as six of the translators understand it), cf. also 2053: *nu her þara banena byre nathwylces | frætwum hremig on flet gæð . . .* 887 f. 968 f. 694 ff.

hit wearð eal gearo, | healærna mæst 77. *þæt . . . Grendles dæda* 194. *ic þæs wine Deniga . . . frinan wille . . . ymb þinne siþ* 350 (*þæs* mistaken for “therefore” by Kemble, Thorpe, Arnold, Garnett, Morris-Wyatt).

VI. SOME PREPOSITIONAL USES

The fact that in the old Germanic dialects the idea of “motion” was predominant in many verbs which are now more commonly felt to be verbs of “rest,” has been sufficiently established by Sievers (*Beitr.*, XII, 188–200) and some of his followers, but in a number of cases this knowledge has not yet passed the theoretical stage. Apart from adverbs like *hider* (e. g. . . . *hider wilcuman* 394), *þonan* (2408), *nean* (528), *feor* (*feor eal gemon* 1701,¹ *wolde feor þanon . . . ceoles neosan* 1805), *sudan* (606), certain prepositions are involved in this syntactic phenomenon, especially *ofer*, *under*, *on*, *to*.

¹ Not acc. sing. of *feor*, adj.: “alles ferne” (H.-Socin). Nor is *feor* compar. in ll. 542, 1988 (H.-Socin), 1340 (Socin, 6, 7, Holder, Wyatt).

1. *of er* with acc.—*of er hronrade hyran* 10. *hronrade* is not dat., as marked by Holder, Heyne 1–4 (H.-Soc. 5: acc., 6.7: dat. acc.), but the acc. is used just as in *gif ic þæt gefricge ofer floda begang* 1826; *manig operne | godum gegrettan ofer ganotes bæð* 1860.

fleat . . . forð ofer yðe 1909, but on the other hand properly *wind ofer yðum* 1907.

sio herepad, sio æt hilde gebad | ofer borda gebræc bite irena 2258 not precisely “(a)mid the crash of shields” (Cl. Hall, Tinker), but “over the crashing shields,” cf. *El.* 238 f.

eoforlic scionon | ofer hlearber[g]an 303.

of er þa niht 736 “beyond,” i. e. “after that night,” not “die Nacht über” (Ettmüller, Socin), “by night” (Garnett, L. Hall).

gebeotedon . . . ofer ealowæge 480; not dat. (Grein, Socin, Holder), but the boasting speeches passed “across the cup(s).” In the same way *he ofer benne spræc* 2724, as has been fully explained in *H. Archiv* CIV, 287–92.

nefre ic maran geseah | eorla ofer eorþan 247; 802, 2007; *of er werþeode* 899. Socin and Holder regard the case as dat. in all these four instances, which is, however, impossible in *of er eormengrund* 859.

sibðan æbelingas eorles crafte | ofer heanne hrof hand sceawedon 982. Cf. Miller, *Anglia*, XII, 396 ff.; Heinzel, *Anz. f. d. A.*, XV, 192; Cosijn (on l. 926); Grein, *Sprachsch.* s. v. *of er* I, 5. It may reasonably be regarded as certain that 1. *hrof* does not denote “the interior of the building,” 2. the position of the hand was not changed (ll. 836, 926 f., 982 f., 1302 f.), 3. it was not “above the high roof.” Beowulf had placed Grendel’s arm *under geapne hr[of]* 826, i. e. presumably somewhere (on some projection perhaps) above the door (outside) as high as he could reach. Now the nobles looked [from below] all over the high roof, i. e., they “looked up to the high roof,” or “. . . in the direction of the high roof” and beheld the hand. Similarly, in *El.* 88 f., Constantine *geseah . . . wlti wuldres treo ofer wolcna hrof.* (*Exod.* 298: *oð wolcna hrof.*)

2. *under* with acc.—*under yða gewin aldre geneþan* 1469; 887. *no ic on niht gefrægn | under heofones hwealf heardran feohtan*

575 (Klipstein, *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, Vol. II, p. 410: "perhaps better *hwealfe*"!); 2015; 860, 1773.

(*hie ne moste . . . se s[c]ynscapa*) *under sceadu bregdan* 707
"hurl them down to the shadows," literally ". . . to a place where they are covered by shadows (darkness)." (But note the Vergilian *ad umbras adigere?* Cf. *Guðl.* 646: *þæt ge mec . . . under scead sconde scufan motan | ne in bælblæsan bregdon;* *El.* 764 *under heolstorhofu hreosan;* *Crist* 45: *þe ær under hoðman* (dat.) *biholen legon.*

under "under the cover of," "to the inside of": *on flet teon | in under eoderas* 1036 (*Hel.* 4943). *beah eft þonan | eald under eordweall* 2956. With dat.: *under burhlocan* 1928 (cf. "under lock and key"); with acc.: *under hearmlocan*, *Gen.* 91.

þonne bið on hreppe under helm drepen 1745; not "(the) helmeted man" (Earle, Tinker), for which *under helme* would be the right expression.

siððan æfenleoht | under heofenes hador beholen weorþed 413 seems to mean that the sun disappears from the firmament (whether *hador* is retained or changed to *haðor* makes little difference to the sense). The sun which had been high above in the sky, goes down to the lower part, until it becomes completely hidden. In other places we find that the setting sun or stars pass under the earth (*under foldan fæstm*, *Wonders of Creation* 75), under the sea (*under wæpeman*, *Phoen.* 97, etc., cf. Grimm, *D. M.* 619).

3. *on* with acc.—*þæt ic on holma gebring | eorlscipe efnde* 2132; 509, 537. *on flodes æht feor gewitan* 42; *git on wæteres æht | seofon niht swuncon* 516 (Klipstein in both places changed *æht* to *æhte*).

þe on land Dena laðra nænig . . . sceðpan ne meahte 242. Cosijn, *Beitr.*, VIII, 572 was disposed to substitute *sce(a)ðana* for *sceðpan*, no doubt because *on* with acc. seemed to him to suggest "motion." But *sceðpan* may very well be considered equal to *sæcce secean* (. . . to *Hiorote*). 1989. *on wæl crunge* 635, by the side of *sume on wæle crungon* (pluperfect) 1113.

þæt heo on œnigne eorl gelyfde | fyrena frofre 627 (*Guðl.* 609 ff.). Analogous is the construction with *to*: *to anwaldan*

are gelyfde 1272; 909. On the other hand: *gehyrde on Beowulfe . . . fæstrædne geboht* 609.—*God wat on mec, | þæt . . .* 2650.

4. *to* (with dat.) with verbs implying motion.—Several cases misunderstood by H.-Socin have been disposed of by Kock. It is only necessary to correct (not for the first time, see *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XVI, 15 f., *H. Archiv*, CIX, 310) the practically universal interpretation of *wean ahsode, | fæhðe to Frysum* 1206 (and *wean ahsodon* 423): “suffered woe, feud from the Frisians.” *ahsian* is not used with perfective force (though it has been recently explained again in this way, *Engl. Stud.*, XXXI, 363), but is parallel to *secan* in ll. 2999 ff.: *þæt ys sio fæhðo ond se feondscipe . . . þe us secead to Sweona leoda* (cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, l. c.; Socin wrongly: “womit uns das Schwedenvolk heim-suchen wird”), and 1988 ff.

5. Prepositional phrases with the clear function of adverbs.—On *þurh* see under D, note on l. 276.

On *mid* see under D, note on l. 779.

on with acc. is frequently used to denote manner. Cf. Belden, 22 ff., *Wülfing II*, § 796, B.-T. s. v. *on*, B III 9. In accordance with the original functional difference between the dative and accusative, the acc. with *on* expresses the direction of the verbal action (see Steitmann, *Raumanschauung im Heliand* 44 f.), whereas the dat. denotes a state, or condition and may be employed (with *wesan* and similar verbs) in semi-adjectival function. Thus *on ryht (gesced)* 1555, *on unriht* 2739. *on sped (wrekan spel gerade)* 873. *on geflit* 865. *on gylp (seleð . . . beagas)* 1749 (not *gyld*, as Bugge proposed), cf. *on beot*, *Mald.* 27. *on lust (gepeah pymbel)* 618 (other examples in Grein, *Sprachsch.*, II, 337). Trautmann's contention for *luste* in his notes on 618 and 600 lacks grammatical support.

On the other hand, the dative with *on* equivalent to adjectives (Sievers, *Heliand*, p. 491; B.-T. s. v. *on*, A III 7; Grein, *Sprachsch.*, II, 327 f.). (a) predicative adjectives: *on salum, wynne (luste), (hreoum) mode, sunde (tyhte, siþe), blode, fylle (fleame), ofeste*. (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XVI, 17.) (b) attributive (and appositive) adjectives. *feond on helle* 101 “hellish fiend” (not to be

emended to *healle* (Bugge). *secg on searwum* 249, 2700. *feond on frætwum* 962. *eorlas on elne* 2816 (but *he on ellen spræc*, *Mald.* 211.)

VII. LACK OF CONCORD¹

1. Nouns in different cases.—Acc. and dat. after *wið* in instances of "variation." *wið Grendel . . . wið þam aglæcan . . . wið þyrse* 424 (Kemble, Ettmüller (*Scop.*, Ed.), Krüger, *Beitr.*, IX, 571 wrongly change to *Grendle*). *gesæt þa wið sylfne . . . mæg wið mæge* 1977 (metri causa, cf. Kluge, *Beitr.*, IX, 427). See also Shipley, *Genitive Case* 12.

An apposition in the acc. case following a noun in the dat. (instr.) case. *wællseaxe gebræd | biter ond beaduscearp* 2703 (Ettmüller, Krüger, Holder: *wællseax*). *hyre seaxe geteah | brad [ond] brunecg* 1545 (Ettmüller, Grein 1, Heyne 1, Sweet, Sievers, Holder, Holthausen, Wyatt: *seax*). *ic on Higelace* [Trautmann, Holthausen: *Higelac*] *wat, | Geata dryhten* 1830 (Kluge, Holder: *dryhtne*). Cf. *Hel.* 49 and Sievers' note; Cosijn, *Beitr.*, XX, 98; Brunanb. 40 ff., Rood 48 f., Durh. 11.

Two nouns joined by *ond* construed with acc. and dat. *mæg þæs þonne ofþyncan ðeoden Heaðobeardna | ond þegna gehwam* 2032 (Kemble, Thorpe, Kluge, *Beitr.*, IX, 191, Holder: *ðeodne*). Rieger disposes of *ðeoden* as an imperfect spelling.² For similar prose examples see *Anglia*, XXV, 303; Schrader, *Studien zur Ælfricschen Syntax* § 21.

2. Singular verb with plural subject.—*hyrde ic þæt þæm frætwum feower mearas . . . last weardode* 2163. *hu ða stanbogan . . . eorðreced . . . healde* 2718 (= *heolde*, so Holder; Ettmüller, Socin: *heoldon*; see Rieger).

hine sorhwylmas | lemede to lange 904 (Kemble, Thorpe, Grundtvig (according to Wulker), Grein 1, Holthausen: *lemedon*; cf. Bugge; Trautmann explains *lemede* from Northumbrian *lemedu*).

ofereode þa æbelinga bearn | steep stanhlido 1408. Though *bearn* has been taken, with rare unanimity, as singular, it is

¹Cf. Kellner, "Abwechselung und Tautologie," *Engl. Stud.*, XX, 1 ff.

²There is better reason for regarding forms with redundant -e, such as *holme*, *Cr. & Sat.* 17, *sawle*, *Disc. of Soul* 10 as phonetic spellings (Bright, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XVIII, 123): so probably also *sigortifre*, *Jul.* 255.

impossible to believe that *æfelinga bearn* has any other meaning than "the children of nobles" (as in 3170; *hæleþa bearn* 1189), which also fits the context far better.

The well-known cases of *para þe* with singular verb require no remark.

3. Violation of the consecutio temporum (primarily in dependent clauses). Cf. also Sarrazin, *Beowulf-Studien*, 77.

.... *þær se snotera bad, | hwæþre him Al(f)walda æfre wille*
 *wyrpe gefremman* 1313. 377 ff. *næs him ænig þearf, þæt*
he secean þurfe 2493 (*þorft* favored by Bugge,
Z. f. d. P., IV, 216). *bold wæs betlic, Hygd swiðe geong*
. . . . þeah ðe wintra lyt gebiden hæbbe 1925 (Thorpe:
hæfde).

þa ic gefrægn mæg oðerne | billes ecgum on bonan
stælan, | þær Ongenþeow Efores niosað; | guðhelm toglad
 2484. *wæs him feor þanon | to gesecanne sincest bryttan, |*
Higelac Hrepling, | þær æt ham wunað | selfa mid gesiðum 1921
 (Thorpe, Arnold, Grein, Würker, Holder: *wunode(-ade)*—a
 change as needless as the supposition of Sievers that *þær*
wunað was perhaps meant as direct speech.)

Ll. 2460 f. can hardly be included. Ll. 2034 f. must certainly be excluded (cf. Rieger's lucid comment).

C. SEMASIOLOGICAL NOTES

The first two items have been taken up in my paper, "Zur altenglischen Bedeutungslehre," *H. Archiv*, CIX, 305–13, to which I beg to refer for further details.

I. VERBS DENOTING A STATE, OR DISPOSITION, OF MIND
 are found to express an actual manifestation of it involving a change from the general, abstract to the specific, concrete signification.

lufian, "treat kindly": *lufode ða leode* 1982. *freogan*, "demonstrate one's love by words or deeds," 3176, 948.

hatian, "show one's hatred by deeds," "pursue," cf. Ger. *hetzen*. *hatian laðum dædum* 2466. Accordingly, *dædhata* 275 (wrongly changed to *dædhwata* by Kluge, *Beitr.*, IX, 188,

Holder 1, Holthausen); *ecghete* 84 (the sense of "actual hostility," "war," is absolutely required by the context; cf. *Seaf.* 70), *wighete* 2120, *hete* 2554.

unnan "wish a person to have something" (Sweet), hence "grant." This well-known meaning occurs in *Beowulf*, l. 2874.

eahtian "estimate," "esteem"—"praise," *deman* "express a (favorable) opinion": *eahtodan eorlscipe ond his ellenweorc | duguðum demdon* 3173. Cf. *Jul.* 1 f.: *eahtian, deman*. Thus also *þa wæs on gange gifu Hroðgares | oft geæhted* 1884.

Here is probably to be classed *sod ic talige* 532, which does not mean "I say (tell) the truth," as nearly everybody has translated it, but primarily "I consider it true (a fact)" (cf. *wen ic talige* 1845, *þæt ræd talað* 2027, *ic þæt wende ond witod tealde*, *Jul.* 357), and then (putting theory into practice) "I stand up for that opinion of mine . . . , " or "I claim it to be a fact" (Earle: "rightly I claim").

Two verbs showing at least a similar pregnancy of meaning may be added.

heri(g)an in l. 1833: (*þæt he mec fremman wile | wordum ond worcum,*) *þæt ic þe wel herige.* *herigan* "eripere" (Cosijn) and *nerigan* (Lübke, *Anz. f. d. A.*, XIX, 342, Holthausen) seem in fact incompatible with *wel*. But we can get along with *herian* "praise," then "show one's esteem by deeds," "honorare" (Grein, *Sprachschatz*), cf. *weorðian* 2096. If an emendation were permitted, *þæt ic þe wel dyge* would be a possibility, cf. 1821. (*dige—derige—herige.*)

stælan in ll. 1340 (*ge feor hafað fæhðe gestæled*) and 2485 illustrates the change from "laying to one's charge" to "avenging." See *Aant.*, p. 23; Kock. Similarly the noun *wroht*, "accusation," assumes the meaning of "strife," "fight" 2287, 2473, 2913.¹

II. THE VERBAL PREFIX GE

See *H. Archiv*, l. c.; P. Fijn van Draat, *Eng. Stud.*, XXXI, 353 ff.; also Shipley 16. (H. A. J. van Swaay's monograph has been out of reach.)

¹ On the other hand, the actual meaning of the verb falls short of its customary significance in *wæhte hyne wætre* 2854 ("tried to awake him"); *sædeor monig | hildetuxum heresyrecon bræc* 1510.

1. Resultative function.—*gegan, gegangan*, “obtain,” “achieve.” *gegan . . . longsumne lof* 1535. *hæfde aglæca elne gegongen, þæt . . . 893.* etc.

geferan. . . . eorl . . . ende gefere | lifgesceafta 3063; 2844. *hafast þu gefered, þæt . . . 1221*, cf. *gefremed* 954. So probably in l. 1691: *frecne geferdon* (discussed by Sievers, Cosijn), which has been well interpreted by Grein: “dem’s furchtbar da erging,” cf. *habbað we . . . lyðre gefered, Sat. 61, hwæt hi geferdon*, Ælfric, *Saints*, XXX, 276 (why should not the neuter of the adj. *frecne* be used absolutely = “something dangerous,” “a terrible situation”?).

geslean. gesloh þin fæder fæhðe mæste 459, “thy father brought about by fight the greatest of feuds.” The misinterpretation of this passage seems ineradicable, for it has just been repeated by Kock, and only a few years ago an emendation . . . *fæhðe fyrsa mæste* was proposed by Holthausen (*Literaturbl.*, XXI, 64).¹

gewyrcan, “achieve,” “bring about,” “earn,” in l. 20. See note on ll. 20–25 under D.

gefricgan, gefrignan need no illustration. But I would suggest that the perfective sense of *gefricgan* is to be traced also in *felafricgende* 2106, which may be taken as a compound (like *wishycgende* 2716, *þanchycgende* 2235, *cnihtwesende* 372, 535, *umborwesende* 46, 1187, *dreamhealdende* 1227, *deophycgende*, El. 352, 882, etc., see Grimm, *Gram.*², II, 589; Hornburg, *Composition des Beowulf* 11; Callaway, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XVI, 235, 309); Simrock translates in fact “der vielerfahrene.”

gebidan (with acc.) “experience,” Ger. “erleben” has been erroneously rendered by “await” in ll. 637 f.: *endedæg . . . minne gebidan* (Kemble, Thorpe, Ettmüller, Heyne, Arnold, Garnett) and 1720: *dreamleas gebad, þæt . . .* (Ettmüller, Thorpe, Earle, Arnold, Garnett, Cl. Hall, Tinker).

gebycgan in *frofre gebohte* 973; 2481. (The simplex in 1305 = “make payment.”)

¹ Recently I discovered that my interpretation (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XVI, 15) had been given before by Müllenhoff (*Anz. f. d. A.*, III, 179). Though I regret my oversight, I derive some consolation from the thought that everybody else seems to have overlooked Müllenhoff’s remark, which occurs indeed in a very unlikely place.

gewealdan (with acc.) in *halig God | geweold wigsigor* 1553. *geræcan* 556, 2965. (Imperfective *ræcan* 747.)

Here are also to be mentioned the expressions *eorðan* (*meregrund*) *gefeoll* 2834 (2100); *hord gesceat* 2319; *sæbat gesæt* 633; *næs gerad* 2898; *fletræste gebeag* 1241 and *selreste gebeah* 690 (Trautmann's *gebeah* is as impossible as anything can be); perhaps *widre gewindan* 763 "reach by flight a greater distance or a more remote place" (*widre* acc. sing. neut.; as to the comparative, cf. *gerumlicor* 139).

NOTE.—Some durative verbs have been wrongly credited with a perfective meaning. (*wean*) *ahsian* 423, 1206, see under B VI 4. (*sundwudu*) *sohte* 208 [see also Sievers, *Beitr.*, XXIX, 322]; (*hæl*) *sceawedon* 204 [Sievers, *ibid.*].

2. Ingressive function.—*gesittan* in *wið earm gesæt* 749 (of course not "he (Beowulf) came down on his (Grendel's) arm" (Cl. Hall)). *gestandan* in *stiðmod gestod wið steapne rond* 2566. *gelicgan* in *windblond gelæg* ("subsided") 3146. *gebuan* "take possession of," "settle in," in *hu hit Hringdene | æfter beorþege gebun hæfdon* 116. (On the other hand *meduseld buan* 3065.)

3. The idea of combination ("together") is traceable in *geseon* "see each other" 1875, cf. *Andr.* 1013, *Exod.* 207 (Kluge, *Beitr.*, IX, 190; Sievers, *Anglia*, XIV, 141; Cosijn, *Beitr.*, XX, 100; Bright, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, II, 82; Pogatscher, *Anglia*, XXIII, 299); it is rather obscured in *gemetan* 2592; *þæt ða aglæcean hy eft gemetton* (cf. 2630; a clearer example in *Wulfst.* 204. 24, cf. Cosijn, *Beitr.*, XXI, 8). See also P. Fijn van Draat, *Engl. Stud.*, XXXI, 360.

III. "CONCRETION" (BRÉAL) OF ABSTRACT NOUNS

The development of an abstract meaning to a concrete one is of course very common in nouns. Numerous examples may be found in O. Thiele, *Die konsonantischen Suffixe der Abstrakta des Altenglischen* (1902). Besides, the border line was especially indefinite in the OE poetical language (see Gummere, *The Anglo-Saxon Metaphor*, 16, 33 ff.). Distinctly poetical instances are compounds like *wæteregeſa* 1260, "the terrible water," *eðelwyn* 2493, and combinations of nouns and qualifying genitives

like (*mid*)*gryrum ecga* 483 ("terrible swords"), *wæpna cyst* 1559 ("the choicest of weapons").

Well-known cases of concretion occurring in *Beowulf* are, e. g., *geoguð*, "period of youth"—"young persons;" *duguð*, "doughtiness," "excellence"—"persons of mature age;" *mægen*, "strength"—"host," "troop," (cf. "force"); *fultum*, "help"—"helper," such as a sword 1455 (or an army, in prose); *œht*, "power," "possession"—"property." Further, *willa*, "will," "desire"—"object of one's desire," "pleasant thing" (*ne bið þe wilna gad* 660, 950); *pearf*, "need," "necessity"—"what is needed" (also "necessities") (*fremmað . . . leoda pearfe* 2800, cf. *folcred fremede* 3006).

The plurals of *hroþor* and *liss* denote "acts of kindness," "favors," "benefits" (*gehwæðer oðrum hroþra gemyndig* 2171, *gen is eall æt þe | lissa gelong* 2149), as that of *hynðo*, "injuries" (*heardra hynða* 166). *fæhðo* means "enmity," "feud," and "hostile deed" (as is ll. 1380, 2513), *nið*, "hatred," "malice," and "contest."

ar is not only "honor," "kindness," but also "property," "estate": *gemunde ða ða are þe he him œr forgeaf* 2606. Kluge (*Beitr.*, IX, 192) regarded this *ar* as a separate word (related to *agan*), but as the very reference to the parallel development of Lat. *honor* would tend to show, it is merely the concrete variety of the ordinary noun *ar*.

est (cf. *unnan*, above) is "favor" ("good will"), "bequest" ("will"), "legacy," see Cosijn, *Aant.* on 3074.

ellen, "courage," "valor," also "valiant deed(s),"¹ as in *ða æfelingsas ellen fremedon* 3 (by no means—"promoted bravery," as Earle translates); *ic gefremman sceal | eorlic ellen* 636 (*ellenweorc œfnan* 1464). *mærðo*, also "glorious deed," as in *mærðo fremede* 2134, *hæbbe ic mærða fela | ongunnen on geogope* 408. *wigweorðing*, literally "idol worship," carries the sense of "sacrifice" in *hwilum hie geheton æt h(r)œgtrafum | wigweorpunga* 175. *wundor* "wondrous thing or

¹ On the other hand, *hild*, *wig*, "war," "battle," occur also in the sense of "valor," "battle strength," e. g., *hæfde Higelaces hilde gefrunen, | wlonces wigcraeft* 2952, *Heremodes hild* 901, *wig ond wisdom* 350 "valor and wisdom" (so Pref. to *Cur. F.*, 3, 8), perhaps also *guð* 1658 (see *Aant.*), = *guðcraeft* 127.

being: *hine wundra þæs fela | swe[n]cte on grunde* 1509; so *hondwundor* 2768.

wuldor (perhaps) "heaven" in *wuldres wealdend* 17, 183, 1753. (So *wuldor* "heaven," *wite* "hell," *Jul.* 152 f., *in wuldre, Christ* 1243, etc.; cf. Danish *helvede*=*āðηs*).

gang "going," then "track" 1391, 1404 (cf. Goth. *gaggs*=*āγopá, ἄμφοδον*). *fær* "going," then "vessel": *æfelinges fær* 33. *rad* "riding," then "road" in *hronrad, swanrad, seglrad*. *sund* "swimming," and (in poetry) "sea," "water," e. g., *streamas wundon, | sund wið sande* 212.

rest is both "rest" and "resting-place." In *Beowulf* the former meaning is probably nowhere to be recognized except in the compound *æfenræst* 1252. (1237 is doubtful.)

grap="grasp" and "claw;" so *hildegrap*.

seon in *wundorsiona fela* 995, *whiteseon* 1650 ("spectacle").

gesceaft "creation" and "created thing(s)," as in *þas lenan gesceaft* 1622 (hardly "existence" as it is usually rendered, but "earth").

searu "skill," "cunning," "artifice," "battle" (419, see Schemann 91, Trautmann), and "armor."

gewitt "intellect" and "seat of intellect," "head": *fyr unswidor | weoll of gewitte* 2881.

The continuation of this paper ("D") contains notes on ll. 12, 20 ff., 28 ff., 58, 62, 72 f., 76, 104 ff., 109, 128, 131, 135, 141, 142, 161, 207 ff., 276, 303 ff., 307, 349, 377, 420, 440, 457, 487, 535, 601, 644, 665 ff., 681, 694, 756, 765, 779, 816, 833, 868, 871, 898 ff., 992, 1005, 1224, 1240, 1246, 1519, 1530, 1550, 1604, 1634, 1665, 1688 ff., 1705, 1728 ff., 1807 ff., 1864, 1902, 1968, 1978 f., 2018, 2041, 2152, 2156, 2222, 2287, 2330, 2448, 2527, 2570 ff., 2623, 2684 ff., 2836.

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A NEW SOURCE OF THE "YVAIN"

So much has been said in recent years on the genesis of Crestien's *Yvain* that it seems presumptuous to come forward with a new theory of its origin at this late date. If we consider the comparatively short standing of Romance studies, the sources of the romance have long been a matter of interest and dispute. The first scholarly word on the subject appeared in 1869, when Rauch published his essay,¹ and the last complete treatment² of the question is of 1903. Between these two dates lies an extended and often vehement discussion. Indeed, the heat of controversy has raged about this and the other works of Crestien, like the tempest of Broceliande, whose fury fell on whoever pried into its mystery.

There is no need to recall here the ardor with which Foerster has upheld his cherished theory that the *Matron of Ephesus* furnished the animus or motif of the romantic tale. Mr. A. C. L. Brown in his recent *Yvain* study³ deals, I think, conclusively with this side of the problem. His discussion makes clear the futility of maintaining a theory whose main argument consists in a vague identification. In its place he urges an hypothesis of Celtic origin. A Celtic fairy-mistress tale, of the type preserved to us in the *Cuchulaind Serlige*, or "Sick-Bed of Cuchulaind," he thinks was the background out of which the *Yvain* was gradually evolved. The fairy realm, the hospitable host, the giant herdsman, the madness consequent on forsaken love, are all of them features shared alike by Crestien's story and tales of the Celtic other-world. And the likelihood of their ultimate identity is increased by the fact that other works of Crestien are, at least in part, of Celtic descent. Erec's adventure of the *Joie de la Cour*⁴ and the capture of Guinevere by Melwas,⁵ king of the

¹ *Die wälische, französische und deutsche Bearbeitung der Iweinsage* (Berlin).

² Arthur C. L. Brown, *Iwain: A Study in the Origins of Arthurian Romance* ("Harvard Studies in Philology and Literature," Vol. VIII; Boston, 1903).

³ *Op. cit.*

⁴ *Erec*, vss. 5447-6410.

⁵ *Chev. à la charrette*; cf. G. Paris, *Romania*, Vol. XII, pp. 459-534.

shades, to mention but two instances, are evident examples of the dressing-up of Celtic material in chivalric garb.

Now, a theory with so much evidence in its favor cannot be lightly questioned. If the identification of the *Yvain* with the legend of the Celtic fairy realm does not wholly account for its origin, there must be certain essential points in the romances which this theory leaves unexplained. Several of these points I recently mentioned in an article in *Modern Language Notes*.¹ It was there shown that the nearer one draws to *Yvain* in his analysis of the Celtic story type, the less convincing the Celtic theory becomes. One cannot readily agree that "nearly all the names of the dramatis personæ are Celtic,"² without any proof of the statement, or at least a more detailed one than has been offered. Esclados (vs. 1970), to be sure, appears to be Celtic.³ But the name *Yvain*⁴ is shrouded in almost as much mystery as that of Lancelot. And, to my knowledge, no explanation of Laudine and Lunete has ever been given (beyond stating that they are Celtic), no more than of their ally the Dameisele Sauvage. Further, on the face of it, it seems unlikely that the romance was based throughout on one clearly defined source.⁵ If the analogy of *Cligés* be inadmissible on the ground that it is not a genuine romance of the Round Table, there still remains the *Erec*, in which an original story-theme is so interwoven with additions as to resemble a combination of unrelated episodes. But it is chiefly the main hypothesis of the Celtic theory that appears to me untenable. Though it is necessary to admit the presence of the fairy-mistress idea in the *Yvain*, its importance there is scarcely more marked than in other works of Crestien. The contemporary value of the work was, I believe, correctly judged by Foerster when he said: "Jetzt muss der Held, anstatt wie im *Erec* sich ganz der Minne zu widmen und verliegen, die

¹ Vol. XIX, pp. 80-85.

² A. C. L. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

³ See the parallel Dr. Brown (p. 42) draws between Esclados and Manannan.

⁴ The name is mentioned in Wace, *Brut*, vs. 6218, though it cannot be said that Crestien found it there. See, for what is known in regard to it, Zimmer, *Göttingensche Gelehrte Anzeige*, 1890, p. 527.

⁵ Cf. Foerster, *Yvain* (*Textsausgabe*, 2te Auflage, Halle, 1902), p. xlvi.

Minne verschmähen und nur dem Rittertum leben. Dadurch wird auch das wetterwendische Weib gestraft."¹ The *Yvain* represents rather the irony of the fairy-mistress' character, not her exaltation and triumph. Yet this is not necessarily an indication of the original source of the story, the "kernel" of it, as Foerster says—in a word, the *conte* to which Crestien refers. And it is this kernel, not the origin of the subsidiary episodes, which I take it scholars have been trying to find. It will be remembered that Baist² considered the *conte* to be of folk-origin; in fact, he qualified it as a *Märchen*. The present article is an attempt to identify this *Märchen* with the Arician myth of Diana. According to the view here advocated, this tale was either localized in Brittany in one of its many forms before Crestien became acquainted with it, or, indeed, he himself located it there in obedience to a hint given him by Wace, in whose *Roman de Rou* the Breton fountain is described.³ In Crestien's hands the story then became the basis of a romance making a distinctly contemporary appeal, as to both its main theme and the details through which this theme was worked out.⁴

The evidence on the subject may be considered under three heads: (1) similarity of situation, (2) similarity of striking details, (3) similarity of names. But before adducing this evi-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. xlvi.

² *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Vol. XXI, pp. 402-5.

³ Foerster cites the passage from Wace in *op. cit.*, p. xv. Baist holds that the substitution Crestien has made of a herd of wild cattle for the *ostore* and *granz cers* of Wace, is significant, because marvelous herdsman are common in insular Celtic stories (*und in der Bretagne herrschten*), and the "giant herdsman" of *Yvain* may be one of these. Cf. Baist, *loc. cit.* Certainly no one will deny that the *Yvain* is cast in the popular mold of an other-world tale. In this respect it represents a survival of that highly romantic spirit of the early part of the twelfth century which produced the *Débat de l'âme et du corps*, the *Vie de Sainte Brendan*, the *Vie du Pape Grégoire*, and later on the *Espurgatoire de Saint Patriz*. That being the case, it seems but natural that Crestien should have decked it out with details appropriate to its literary type. Of these the "giant herdsman" might be one; that is, a mere literary convention. In the same way the idea of the "helpful animal" may have suggested itself; unless, indeed, Crestien derived the latter entirely from the Golffier story (cf. the recent article in the *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assn.* for June by Professor Kenneth McKenzie), with which he must have been acquainted.

But only the shell of the romance is Celtic; its spirit is entirely French, and the ultimate background of the tale has every indication of popular folk-origin. Presumably (cf. vs. 115) *Yvain*'s visit is just seven years after Calogrenant's.

⁴ Baist seems to me entirely right in his observation that the reconciliation at the end of the story is only a variant of the original method by which Lunete had persuaded her mistress.

dence, it will be necessary to glance briefly at the history of the Diana myth.¹

To the Romans Diana was above all *Diana Nemorensis*, or "Diana of the Wood."² As such she was especially worshiped on the shores of the woodland lake of Nemi. The lake and grove sacred to her were sometimes known as the lake and grove of Aricia.³ The form and the significance of her cult have in late years been so thoroughly studied⁴ that a detailed discussion of them here is unnecessary. I shall therefore confine myself to what is most pertinent and important for our present purposes.

The worship of Diana as a sylvan deity or tree-spirit was widespread over Italy as late as the second century of our era. In fact, *s. v.* "Dianaticus," Du Cange⁵ gives a hitherto unnoticed reference to her cult and priesthood, adduced from a sermon of S. Maximus of Turin, who flourished as late as 466 A. D. The body of the account goes as follows:

Insanum enim numen insanum solet habere pontificem: talis enim sacerdos parat se vino ad plagas Deae suae, ut dum est ebrius, poenam suam miser iste non sentiat Nam ut paulisper describamus habitum vatis hujusce, est ei adulterinis criniculis hirsutum caput, nuda habens pectora, pallio crura semicincta, et more gladiatorum paratur ad pugnam ferrum gestat in manibus, nisi quod gladiatore pejor est, quia ille adversus alterum dimicare cogitur, iste contra se pugnare compellitur.

From still other sources⁶ we learn that this same bishop of Turin spent years of his life in endeavoring to eradicate the popular worship of the goddess—*Dianae arvorum numinis*, as the sources now say. To her in course of time every grove

¹ Cf. especially Frazer, *Golden Bough* (London, 1890, 2 vols.); Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon* (Leipzig), *s. v.* "Diana;" Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie* (Leipzig, 1896); Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis* (Niort, 1884), *s. v.* "Diana," "Dianatus;" Lucy A. Paton, *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance* (Boston, 1903), 275; Wolfram v. Eschenbach, *Parzival*, XIII, §§ 600 ff. (ed. Martin).

² Cf. Ovid, *Ars amatoria*, I, 259:

"Ecce suburbanae templum nemorale Diane
Partaque per gladios regna nocente manu."

³ Statius, *Sylv.*, III, 1, 56:

"Fumat Aricinum Triviae nemus."

⁴ Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, of which there is now a second edition; also, W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte* (Berlin, 1877).

⁵ *Op. cit.*

Encyclopædia of Biblical Literature (New York, 1873), *s. v.* "Maximus of Turin."

became sacred. Most frequently associated with her was the wood-god Silvanus; in Gallic inscriptions it is frequently the *silvanae*, or wood-fairies, that are named with her.¹ Like a tree-spirit, she helps women in travail.² She is the protectress of wild animals, but more especially of cattle; in which respect she differs from Artemis, goddess of the hunt, and draws near to Silvanus, whose "specialty" is cattle.³ The rites connected with her spring at Nemi are typical of the tree-spirit—the goddess of growth and vegetation. The constantly bubbling water, as Frazer points out,⁴ is indicative of the rain-making divinity. Her priest is slain in the bloom of his youth in order that vegetable life be kept intact. The breaking of the boughs—the Golden Bough—is for the purpose of extracting fire, exemplifying the dependence of vegetable life on the sun's light and warmth. Thus, also, arose the belief in Diana as a fire-goddess and her identification with the midday demon. The midsummer fires built all over northern Europe on the twenty-fourth of June are an offering to this guardian of the woods and fields.

Thus it is no matter for surprise to find the cult of the Arician goddess carried to the northern provinces in the stream of Roman colonization. It is unnecessary to bring forward here all the references to Diana in the literature and folklore of the North. From the second to the fifteenth century there is abundant evidence that the folk-mind had a definite conception of her prominent characteristics. In Germany she was regarded as the goddess of Mount Abnoba;⁵ in France she persisted as the tutelary divinity of the Ardennes Mountains.⁶ Gregory of Tours reports that at Trèves he found an established cult of Diana which he strove to destroy.⁷ Similarly, Ordericus Vitalis⁸ relates that a certain Taurinus entered a temple of Diana at Evreux in 1080; after purifying the temple he consecrated it to the Virgin. On every

¹ *CIL*, III, Suppl. 10394.

² Roscher, col. 1007.

³ This may account in part for Crestien's introducing the "giant herdsman."

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ Orelli, *Inscriptionum latinarum selectarum collectio* (Turici, 1828-56), No. 1986.

⁶ Jacob Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, transl. by J. S. Stallybross (London, 1882), Vol. I, p. 111, note.

⁷ *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

⁸ *Historia ecclesiastica*, Vol. V, chap. 7.

hand references to her demoniacal character are to be met with. In a passage of the *Life* of Cæsarius, bishop of Arles, she is a sort of midday demon *quod rustici Dianam appellant.*¹ It is also affirmed² that the Hædui dreaded her in this capacity. In Old French she is usually a *prophetesse*, a *chanteresse*.³ Wace, though speaking of the classical goddess, shows his intimacy with folk tradition by saying of her:⁴

Diables ert
Semblance de feme prendoit,
Par quoi le pule decevoit.
Dyane se faisoit nommer,
Et deuesse de bois clamer.

Further, according to Lebillot, the Bretons have a rapacious demon called *La Guenne*, known in other parts, he says, as "La Diane."⁵

There is nothing irrational, then, in assuming that so widespread a tale may have come into Crestien's hands—in one form or another—and have been used by him to launch a new romance. In any case, time and place favored such an occurrence; let us now see what testimony the *Yvain* has to offer.

SIMILARITY OF SITUATION

The *Yvain* records three distinct visits to the Fountain at Broceliande. The first is by Calogrenant, the second by Yvain, and the third by Arthur. The first and second are practically identical accounts: the visitor spends the preceding night at the "hospitable castle," and is shown the road the next day by the "giant herdsman." The events at the Fountain are alike, except that Yvain conquers and Calogrenant is conquered. But one detail, of importance I think, is peculiar to Calogrenant's visit:

¹ Cf. Grimm, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 1161, 1162. The Poles also have identified her with the midday demon; see Grimm, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 933, note.

² Roscher, *op. cit.*, s. v. "Meridianus daemon."

³ Godefroid de Bouillon, 83, 150; Dolopathos, 12473; Münchener Brut, 443; Robert le Diable, 1955.

⁴ Brut, vss. 636 ff.

⁵ *Traditions et superstitions de la H. Bretagne* (Paris, 1882), p. 158.

Espoir si fu tierce passee
 Et pot estre pres de midi
 Quant l'arbre et la chapele vi.¹

In other words, the hero reaches the spot at high noon. Now, Arthur's visit differs from that of the others in that the king goes direct from Carduel to the Fountain. The hospitable host and the giant herdsman are not only not mentioned, but his coming is heralded by quite a different person, *la Dameisele Sauvage*.² It is known for some time previous that he will arrive *la voille Mon seignor saint Jehan Batiste*; i. e., on the twenty-fourth of June. The events at the Fountain are, then, the element common to all three accounts. These are well known: The hero pours water from the Fountain on a marble slab; a violent rain-, hail-, and snow-storm ensues, followed by the most beautiful sunshine; a knight rides forth, challenging the hero for disturbing his repose and destroying his wood; they fight, and the victor, as is evident from the story, becomes *ipso facto* the defender of the Fountain. This function, the defense of the Fountain, is the essential point in the whole tale, as is obvious from the number of times Crestien mentions it and the peculiar insistence he places on its execution (cf. vss. 1618, 1736, 2034, 6596, etc.).

If now we turn to the Diana myth, we find almost an identical situation: The grove and lake (fountain) of Aricia are sacred to the goddess and must not be disturbed. An armed priest keeps watch to ward off all intruders. In course of time one makes his way in, usually a "runaway slave" (Yvain was virtually a "runaway" from Carduel),³ and challenges the priest by breaking a sacred bough near the deity's temple. A combat ensues, the victor of which is the future defender of the spring. It is difficult to understand how such a tale, when transferred to mediæval thought, could have resulted in anything else than the Fountain and "its custom," constantly in need of defense.

SIMILARITY OF STRIKING DETAILS

On close inspection both of the original functions—fire and rain—of the Sylvan deity are present in *Yvain*. The storm is

¹ Vss. 410-12.

² Vs. 1618.

³ Vs. 669.

too well-known to require comment here.¹ It is known, too, that the incident of the "singing birds" is mere later addition and not part of the original source.² It must be noted, however, that Crestien's Fountain boils, though its water is said to be cold—a characteristic suggestive of the bubbling of Diana's spring.

The midday demon or fire divinity, embodied in the Arician goddess, seems clearly reflected in several of Crestien's details. First, Calogrenant, as was pointed out above, arrives at the Fountain at high-noon,³ the poet making a point of the circumstance. Then Arthur, who has come direct from Carduel, arrives at the grove on St. John's Eve.⁴ This, we remember, is the season

¹The description of the storm seems to me to be chiefly an elaboration of Wace's account (cf. Foerster, *op. cit.*, xxx):

" La fontaine de Berenton
Sort d'une part lez un perron.
Aler soloient veneor
A Berenton par grant chalor,
E a lor corz l'eve espuisier
E le perron desus moiillier;
Por go soloient pluie avoir.
Issi soleit jadis ploever
En la forest e environ
Mais jo ne sai par quel raison."

Rou, vss. 6399-6408.

² By thus elaborating the description of the *pluie*, Crestien was enabled to join to it the account of the tree and the "singing birds," which Kolbing (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte*, Vol. XI, pp. 442-48) believes he borrowed from the Brendan legend. With this view of Kolbing I agree despite Mr. Brown's (*op. cit.*, p. 90) objections to it. For I cannot see why Crestien should not have drawn on his memory in this instance for the embellishment of his incidents, inasmuch as he must have done so in other cases (cf. G. Paris, *Journal des Savants*, 1902—article on *Cligés*). Crestien, surely, cannot be set down as a mere transliterator, as the Celticists would have us believe. Though he was not a great inventive genius in the modern sense, he was certainly one of the best writers of his day, to whom a certain seriousness of purpose cannot be denied. And until the works of Crestien are considered as works of "literature"—that is, as the product of a certain artistic ideal, however crude—this matter of sources will never be solved—nor would it be worth solving. Baist (*loc. cit.*) has shown that Crestien could scarcely have evolved the whole first part out of Wace's description alone ("nur aus Wace's Beschreibung"). But as Wace was then the great master, whom Thomas and Marie (cf. L. Faule, *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XX, p. 109) were drawing on, and who thus formed the link between the Anglo-Norman historians and the French romancers, it is quite possible that Crestien got at least the hint of his Fountain description there. Certain of the Grail romances make much of a peculiar rainstorm occurring only in the Grail forest. This is the same style of adventure as the storm at Broceliande.

³" Espoir si fu tierce passee
Et pot estre pres de midi,
Quant l'arbre et la chapele vi."—Vss. 410-13.

⁴" Qu'il iroit veoir la fontainne
Ja ainz ne passeroit quinzainne,
Si que il i vaudra la voille
Mon seignor saint Johan Batiste."—Vss. 665-69.

Cf. Foerster's excellent criticism, *op. cit.*, XI-XIV.

for the mid-summer offering to the deity of vegetation. On this occasion it was often the practice to burn in effigy the protectress of the wood and the fields. One point in particular has always puzzled the *Yvain* commentators; that is, the threatened burning of Lunete at the stake.¹ Even Baist was forced to admit the difficulty of explaining it on other grounds than as a flagrant example of poetic license, for mere felony was never visited with such severe punishment. But if we once admit that Lunete in reality represents an original tree-spirit, this incident of the tale is at least intelligible as a literary survival of a folk-custom misunderstood, and consequently misrepresented, by a literal mediæval mind. Thus, these three details probably point to an undercurrent of folk-tale, of the kind embodied in the Diana myth, the formal elements of which long survived its animating motive.

We now come to the third and main part of this study:

THE TESTIMONY OF THE NAMES

It is here especially that French literature contemporary with the *Yvain* furnishes important evidence. The equation here suggested is that Lunete=Luna, Laudine=La diane, and the Dameisele Sauvage=Silvanus or Silvana.

Phonetically there can be no objection to deriving Lunete from the diminutive of Luna. The Luned of the Mabinogi may either be regarded as a celticized form of Lunete, or as a homophonous Welsh name for one originally French; as, for instance, Peredur for Perceval. The only occurrence of Lunete outside the *Yvain* legend is in the *Livre d'Artus*.² There she is the beautiful and clever cousin of Niniane. Although this reference associates her again with the Perilous Fountain, it is none the less very significant because, as Miss Paton has recently shown,³ in the story "of one fay, Niniane; there is an echo of the old Diana myth that lingered about the lakes and woods." The *Merlin*⁴ tells us that Niniane (there called Viviane) was the gift

¹ See *ibid.*, X.

² Summarized by E. Freymond, *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, Vol. XVII, p. 89.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 239.

⁴ P. Paris, *Romans de la table ronde* (Paris, 1868-77), Vol. II, p. 174.

of Diana: her father Dionas lived in the forest of Briosque, where he liked to hunt; more than once he had met the goddess of the woods, Diane, whose godson he was and who had given him his name; one day Diane granted him a *don*; this *don* was Niniane. Later on, we are told, it happened that Merlin built for Niniane a beautiful orchard, called the *Repaire de joie et liesse*. There was there a fountain by whose waters Merlin came to find his love *La veille de la St. Jean*, i. e., as we saw above, at the special festival of the wood-goddess, Diana. In the light of these facts, I think we must admit that the relationship of Lunete with Niniane is of some importance. One point is quite certain from the evidence of the *Yvain*, and that is that Lunete's rôle in the tale was originally coequal, if not identical, with that of Laudine. In fact, she has more grounds for Yvain's attentions than the proud mistress of the Fountain herself. Does she not say at the beginning?

Et sachiez bien, se je pooie,
Servise et enor vos feroie;
Que vos le feistes ja moi.¹

It is she who saves his life subsequently by giving him the ring; it is she who presides over every step of his career, who finally brings him back to the Fountain, and whom Yvain rescues from torture. Moreover, her attitude to her mistress is surely not the subservience of a mere messenger: it is not Laudine but Lunete who determines that Laudine must marry Yvain, though he be the murderer of her husband; and, again, it is the same faithful guardian who reunites the great lady with her defender. Thus, Lunete was in every way fitted to become the *amie* of the renowned Gawain, whom Crestien likens to the sun, as he does Lunete to the moon, not alone because of her goodness of heart, but also *por ce que Lunete a non*.²

In concluding his first episode, Crestien says:

Prise a Laudine de Landuc,
La dame, qui fu fille au duc
Laudunet, don an note un lai.³

¹ Vss. 1001-3.

² Vs. 2414.

³ Vss. 2151-53.

This is the only mention of the heroine's name in the entire poem. Six manuscripts (including M and S) omit it altogether, reading *La dame de Landuc* in place of *Laudine de Landuc*. Hartmann von Aue¹ of course retains Laudine, but the Welsh version² calls the heroine simply the "Lady of the Fountain." To my knowledge, the name is not found elsewhere in Arthurian literature. Evidently it was not widely known, at least not in the form of Laudine.³ Leaving aside for the moment the association of Laudine with Landuc, it will be remembered that I mentioned above the prevalence of *Diana* in the popular form of *La diane*—which in Brittany seems to have given the curious variant *La Guenne*. Crestien and his contemporaries are notably careless about their proper names, witness: Erec d'Estregales, due to a fusion of Breton Weroc with Welsh Rydderck;⁴ Blihis, identical with Bleheris or even Bleobleheris,⁵ Giflet with Gerflet; Waucher de Denain, known widely as Gautier de Dourdon,⁶ etc. Instances of this kind might be multiplied. Why, then, especially when we consider the pertinence of such an identification, should not Laudine be a perverted form of *La diane*, which Crestien, or his predecessor, either misunderstood or purposely misrepresented, just as the scribes of his own work, ignorantly or wittingly, supplanted Laudine with *La dame*?

Turning to Landuc, we find this place mentioned prominently in the romance *Durmart li Gallois*.⁷ At Landuc it is *en mi la pree* that Cardroians li Ros has established a sparrow-hawk in honor of his love, Yde or Ydain de Landuc—in substance an adventure similar to the one at Lalut, described by Chrestien, at which Erec wins the hand of Enide.⁸ The parallel grows more

¹ *Iwein*, ed. E. Henrici, 2 vols. (Halle, 1891-93).

² *Mabinogion*, French transl., by J. Loth, *Cours de littérature celtique* (Paris, 1889), Vol. II.

³ Wace, *Brut*, vs. 8217, says that Merlin stopped at a fountain near *Labenes* (var. *Laubane*). The *Marques de Rome* (ed. Johann Alton, Tübingen, 1889), p. 60, tells of the sister of the emperor of Constantinople, *Lawrine*, whose resort is called *Beau Manoir*, round about which there is a *vergier*, with fruitful trees and sparkling fountains.

⁴ E. Brugger, "Beiträge zur Erklärung der arthurischen Geographie," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, Vol. XXVII, p. 113.

⁵ Cf. G. Paris, *Romania*, Vol. VIII, p. 425. Miss Weston sees in this *Blihis* the *Brieni* of the Tristan, the author of the original source of the first continuation of the *Perceval*. See Gröber objections, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Vol. XXIX, p. 248.

⁶ *Romania*, Vol. XXXII, p. 585.

⁷ Ed. Stengel (Stuttgart, 1873); cf. vss. 2005 ff.

⁸ *Erec*, vss. 393 ff. and 6249 ff.

striking when we note that Cardroians (like Mabonagrain) is possibly resolvable into Caer d'Evrains, i. e., City of Evrains, and Evrain we remember as the hospitable host in Erec, at whose castle Erec spends the night before proceeding to the *Joie de la Cour*. Phillipot¹ has shown that Evrains originally means "gold," and the "city of gold" would thus be the other world. This suggests at once the name Laudunet, for Laudunet is, according to the *Prose Tristan*,² the "king of the red city," obviously a similar mysterious abode. Laudunet's chief part in romance was to have acted as a messenger to Arthur's court at the time of Mark's abdication. The message he delivered was answered by Arthur through the medium of no other than Yvain. When, now, we bear in mind that the *Yvain* incident of the "Castle of Ill Adventure" furnishes a close parallel to the *Joie de la Cour* of the *Erec*, it becomes more and more manifest that in composing *Yvain* Chrestien was pursuing his usual custom of repeating and elaborating a former situation, previously treated by him, and which in this instance, as in others, he has spun about a fresh story. Obviously this situation is that of the *Joie de la Cour*; and the "lai" concerning Laudunet probably had reference to it. The original heroine of this tale was a fay, I think. Perhaps her name was Idain. Possibly even she is to be identified with the *Imane von der Beafontane* (*Imaine de la Bele Fontaine*) whom Wolfram mentions.³ And the adventure itself occurred at Landuc or Lalut—for the two seem to me to be one—where the sparrow-hawk was exhibited. In place of Idain we find substituted in the one case Enide, and in the other Laudine.⁴ At all events, it is possible to assume that the Lady of the Fountain was not originally called Laudine, but rather La Diane, and that the latter name was altered, celticized so to speak, when once brought into relation with a prevailing literary theme.

If the above view be correct, the further association of the Dameisele Sauvage with Silvaus follows as a matter of course.

¹ *Romania*, Vol. XXV, pp. 258-94. ² Ed. Loeseth (Paris, 1891), p. 438 and §§ 594 and 608.

³ Brugger, *loc. cit.* and *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 1, would identify *Imane* with *Niniane*. Perhaps all three names are related.

⁴ That is, provided the *Durmart* preserves the original episode. There might then be a phonetic connection between Ide and Enide, and Idain and Laudine.

For the relationship between Diana and the wood-sprite Silvanus was particularly intimate, and this intimacy exists also between Laudine and the Dameisele Sauvage, who apparently warns her mistress whenever her sacred precincts are to be invaded. That the character should here be a woman instead of a man is of no great importance; there were *silvane* as well as *silvani*.

In the light of the above data, it seems reasonable to infer that the basis of the *Yvain* is, as Baist first claimed, a *Märchen*. The fairy-tale manner, as he has shown, crops out in many points of the romance. It is evident even in Calogrenant's characterization of his own adventure:

Car ne vuel pas parler de songe,
Ne de fable ne de mangonge,
Don maint autre vos ont servi
Ainz vos dirai ce, que je vi.¹

And, further, it is clear that the *conte* on which Crestien drew represented a version of the Italic Diana myth. And should this inference prove too far-sweeping, it is at least probable that the source itself was a fusion of this theme with one of Celtic origin. The testimony of the names, the general plot, certain notable details, as well as the evidence of other literature of the epoch, point to this conclusion. The *Yvain* is what it is by reason of the episode of the Fountain. That constitutes the distinctive element of the romance, the other incidents being either subsidiary or present in a greater or less degree in other works of Crestien. Certain minor features are clearly additions, embellishments in some cases, taken from outside sources. Thus, the localization of the Fountain at Broceliande is in imitation of Wace—Crestien probably never visited Brittany—and the incident of the "singing birds" on the mystic tree was taken from the Vision literature. Possibly Crestien himself heard the Fountain story near his native heath; he mentions Argone² in one of the lines of the poem, and the forest of Argone stood under Diana's special care.

But whatever was the poet's particular source, it is clear that he treated this source in his own peculiar way, molding it instinctively to accord with the current literary forms, combining it with

¹Vss. 171-74.

²Vs. 3228.

whatever antecedent material he chose, and making it, in true mediæval style, the vehicle of ideas it was never meant to convey. And here, to my mind, lies the main value of the Celtic hypothesis: in making clear that Laudine is in spirit a typical fairy-mistress. She is beautiful beyond comparison, proud and disdainful to those about her, and toward one like Yvain, who has once submitted to her charms, absolutely relentless. Moreover, the journey to her abode—in two descriptions at least—is beset with the usual obstacles found in the Celtic description of the journey to the fairy realm, such as “hospitable host” and “giant herdsman.” But we should bear in mind that the Celtic adventure story was during the second part of the twelfth century the established formula of literary expression, Crestien shows his recognition of this important fact in several ways: by introducing again and again other-world adventures into his romances; by connecting the eastern story of Cligés with King Arthur’s court. Furthermore, the disdainful lady existed not only in legend as the fairy mistress, but also in life as the obdurate molder of literary convention. Such a one in real life was Eleanor of Poitou, the *précieuse* of her time, or Marie of Champagne, for whom Crestien plied his pen and bowed his spirit. His best-known representation of her in literature is as Arthur’s queen, Guinevere. But she was evidently not to his liking; court poet that he was, by far more *précieux* than his contemporary Thomas, in his inmost soul he preferred to Guinevere the trustful and faith-abiding Enide, at once the wife and *amie* of her liege. And so in Yvain, though ignorance and convention have transformed the goddess of the lake and the wood¹ into a soulless literary type, Crestien yet remains true to a certain ideal in that he depicts the great lady as the antithesis of herself, as

cele qui prist
Celui qui son seignor ocist.²

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¹ *Yvain*, vss. 2366, 2367:

“Qu’ele estoit au mien esciant
Plus bele que nule deesse.”

² Vss. 1809, 1810.

Modern Philology

VOL. III

January, 1906

No. 3

SHAKSPERE, MARSTON, AND THE MALCONTENT TYPE

I. JAQUES A MALCONTENT

Now that the date of Marston's *Malcontent* has been determined to be the year 1600,¹ a question of interest arises as to another play of that year—registered on August 4th²—Shakspere's *As You Like It*. Is Jaques a recast of the title-hero, Malevole? Jaques, too, is a Malcontent—a melancholy figure conceived in the Elizabethan “humorous” manner, a professional fantastic meditator, a professional cynic and censor. He is the only “humorous” character in the play—practically the only one since *Love's Labor's Lost*³—and in the prominence of this quality, as well as in other respects, he is unlike any character of Shakspere's before or after him.⁴ And he is a figure (and name) utterly unknown to the source from which Shakspere drew his plot, Lodge's novel of *Rosalind*. There is reason, then, in the question we ask, and we shall see that there is reason for not asking the converse of it—is Malevole a recast of Jaques?—instead.

in igne.
Date En
6
No

¹ For the evidence the reader is referred to the writer's monograph on *John Webster* (Cambridge, Mass., 1905), pp. 55–60. In chap. iii may be found some account of the Malcontent in revenge plays.

² Arber's *Transcript of the Stationers' Reg.*, III, 36, 37; Furness, *Variorum A. Y. L. I.*, pp. 293, 294.

³ Professor A. H. Thorndike, who has had the kindness to read this article, suggests Don John in *Much Ado* (reg. 1600). He is slightly “humorous,” and is melancholy, but is not at all a Malcontent as that character, here defined, is conceived by Marston.

⁴ As in Jonson, his humor is continually being discussed, and (see below) it is at times treated satirically.

Sorby

The points of similarity between Jaques and Malevole are many. Both appear constantly, not as plain human beings, but as "humorous" Malcontents in their professional garb of cynicism and melancholy: of this, directly or indirectly, they and their interlocutors never fail to remind us. As such, they, like the

✓ Fool, hold a privileged position: they are "as free as air, and blow on whom they please." Freest they are with their master the Duke, and he in return is fondest of them;¹ and with the other persons of the drama they are pretty uniformly blunt and cynical, or ironically friendly.² With the Fool, however—Passarello in the *Malcontent* and Touchstone in *As You Like It*—they are on excellent terms. They draw him out, revel in his grotesque wisdom, and eagerly fling it in the face of the more foolish world.³ Their conversation is alike lively, abrupt, fantastically phrased; but both are most at home in the set, isolated speech or soliloquy. Here appear their essentially melancholy and Malcontent bias, their railing at the follies and abuses of society, at classes like courtiers and ladies, and at "the world"⁴ in general, and their contemplation—in picturesque fashion—of the vanity and transitoriness of human pretensions, distinctions, and existence⁵ itself.

There are details which, with the above points, make connection between the plays seem pretty probable. The Duke, Jaques's master, has been deposed, as has Duke Alfonso, who is disguised as Malevole; and in the end both come to their own.⁶ Here the only discrepancy lies in the very Shakespearian separation of the disguise-character, or Malcontent, from the true character of the Duke. That, genetically, this disguise is represented by Jaques—Alfonso and Malevole, though one person, are, in

¹ Both dukes find him "full of matter": *A. Y. L. I.*, II, 1, 64–70; II, 5, 33, 34; 7, 1–10; *Malc.* (Bullen), I, 1, 25–42. Both seek him out eagerly when he is absent.

² *A. Y. L. I.*, III, 2, 287 ff., with Orlando; *Malc.*, II, 3, 170 ff., with Mendoza, and generally with the bad characters, as Ferrando, Maquerelle, and Bilio.

³ *Malc.*, I, 3, especially ll. 57, 58; *A. Y. L. I.*, II, 6, 12 ff.; III, 3; V, 4, 40 ff.

⁴ "Rail at our mistress, the world;" "O world, most vile;" etc. In Jaques, indeed, the rôle of cynic and censor is less prominent than in Malevole; yet see II, 1, 50–63; II, 5, 62, 63; II, 7, 59–87; III, 2, 285 f.; etc.

⁵ *Malc.*, II, 3, 191–200; III, 1, 156–70; IV, 2, 25–29; IV, 2, 141–51. Cf. especially the last with "All the world's a stage," etc.; and see *A. Y. L. I.*, II, 7, 12–34.

⁶ So much, of course, is in Lodge's novel.

Marston's hands, almost as separate—becomes circumstantially evident at the end. Like Malevole, after a fashion unique in Shakspere, and in keeping only with a duke or sovereign, he portions off their lot of weal or woe to the various persons of the drama in one similarly phrased, final speech:

[*To Duke*] You to your former honour I bequeath;
Your patience and virtue well deserves it:
[*To Orl.*] You to a love that your true faith doth merit:
[*To Oli.*] You to your land and love and great allies:
[*To Sil.*] You to a long and well-deserved bed:
[*To Touch.*] And you to wrangling; for thy loving voyage
Is but for two months victuall'd. So, to your pleasures:
I am for other than for dancing measures.

Malevole. You o'er-joy'd spirits, wipe your long-wet eyes.

[*To Pietro and Aurelia.*]

Hence with this man [*Kicks out Mendoza*]: an eagle takes not flies.
You to your vows [*To Pietro and Aurelia*]: and thou into the
suburbs. [*To Maquerelle.*]
You to my worst friend I would hardly give.
Thou art a perfect old knave [*To Bilioso*]: all-pleas'd live.
You two unto my breast [*To Celso and the Captain*]: thou to
my heart [*To Maria*].
The rest of idle actors part:
And as for me, I here assume my right,
To which I hope all's pleas'd: to all, good-night.

The purport of Jaques's wish—

I must have liberty
Withal, as large a charter as the wind,
To blow on whom I please—¹

moreover, is quite that of the character which Pietro gives Malevole,

Now shall you hear the extremity of a malcontent: he is as free as air; he blows on every man;²

and as Jaques continues, in praise of the privileges of motley—

for so fools have;
And they that are most galled with my folly,
They most must laugh. And why, sir, must they so?
The "why" is plain as way to parish church:

1. A. Y. L. I., II, 7, 47 ff.

2. *Malc.*, I, 1, 41, 42.

He that a fool doth very wisely hit
 Doth very foolishly, although he smart,
 Not to seem senseless of the bob¹—

his thought is like Malevole's in his self-gratulation on the advantages of his disguise:

Well, this disguise doth yet afford me that
 Which kings do seldom hear, or great men use
 Free speech: and though my state's usurped,
 Yet this affected strain gives me a tongue
 As fetterless as is² an emperor's.
 I may speak foolishly, ay, knavishly,
 Always carelessly, yet no one thinks it fashion
 To poise my breath; for he that laughs and strikes
 Is lightly felt, or seldom struck again.³

And Touchstone's satirical retort, V, 4, 42-49, being similarly provoked, may possibly be an echo of Malevole's, III, 1, 265-70. All these, together with Jaques's and Malevole's delight in jarring sounds,⁴ which I have not found in the contemporary descriptions of melancholy, and which is inconsistent with Jaques's sucking of melancholy from a song,⁵ are points of contact such as would come about quite naturally from Shakspere's seeing Marston's play on the boards.

(+) There is, however, a material objection to our theory. Malevole's humor is never once called melancholy, but that of a Malcontent, and Jaques's is always called melancholy. But to the Elizabethan mind the word "malcontent" implied melancholy—denoted, like "cynicism" with us today, an exacerbated form of it. The only proof I have to offer (but, I think, a conclusive one) is a comparison of the characteristics of Malevole with the symptoms of melancholy as given by Burton—collected in 1621, but all of them, being from authorities almost as venerable as Galen, certainly as well known⁶ to any Elizabethan as the symptoms of small-pox or diphtheria to the Englishman of today.

¹ A. Y. L. I., II, 7, 49-55.

² Mr. Bullen reads, by error, "in."

³ *Malc.*, I, 1, 201-9; a similar thought in a similar situation is uttered by Marston's Antonio, *Ant. Rev.*, IV, 1, 1-58.

⁴ See below.

⁵ A. Y. L. I., II, 5, 12-14.

⁶ In English I have found the titles of the following contemporary works: *A Treatise of Melancholie*, by T. Bright, 1586; *Of Melancholic Diseases* (1599); *Melancholike Humours*, by N. Breton, 1600.

. . . . mighty and often watchings, sometimes waking for a month, a year, together. (Burton,¹ vol. i, p. 441.)

. . . . little or no sleep, & that interrupt, terrible & fearful dreams absurd & interrupt dreams, & many phantastical visions.
(Pp. 440, 441.)

And although they be commonly lean, hirsute, uncheerful in countenance, withered, and not so pleasant to behold, by reason of those continual fears, griefs, and vexations yet their memories are most part good, they have happy wits, and excellent apprehensions. (P. 441.)

. . . . laughing, grinning, fleering, murmuring, talking to themselves, with strange mouths and faces, inarticulate voices, exclamations, etc.
(P. 441.)

And though they laugh many times, & seem to be extraordinary merry (as they will by fits) yet extreme lumpish again (in an instant, dull, & heavy).
(P. 447.)

Not affable in speech, or apt to vulgar compliment, but surly, dull, sad, austere.
(P. 451.)

If it come from melancholy itself adust, those men, saith Avicenna, are unusually sad and solitary have long, sore, and most corrupt imaginations they dream of graves still, and dead men, etc.
(P. 462.)

. . . . continually meditating. (P. 453.)

. . . . some think they are beasts cry like dogs, foxes, bray like asses, and low like kine. (P. 462.)

. . . . they are still fretting, chafing, sighing, grieving, complaining, finding faults, repining, grudging discontent, either for their own, other men's, or publick affairs, such as concern them not, things past, present, or to come. (P. 448.)

This is melancholy, and such, certainly, is the humor of Malevole. Here are his leanness,² wakefulness,³ and fearful or absurd dreams;⁴ his excellent apprehensions, abrupt changes from sobriety to mirth, and uncouth ejaculations;⁴ his howling like a beast;⁵ his corrupt imaginations and continual meditations; his surliness, his repinings, and his quarrel with the course of the world at large. One other symptom, his love of jarring sounds,⁶ which

¹ Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. by Shilleto, 3 vols. (London, 1896).

² *Malc.*, III, 1, 169.

³ *Ibid.*, III, 1, 157-70; I, 1, 86-100.

⁴ "Yaugh," "um," "god-a-man," "whoop" (Feliche), etc.

⁵ *Malc.*, I, 1, 24, stage direction: "howle againe."

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 1, first stage direction and ll. 10-12.

reappears in Jaques,¹ is not noticed by Burton—the melancholy are expressly said to be fond of music—and is, I am persuaded, a popular or a Marstonian invention, in keeping poetically rather than physiologically or psychologically; but enough, surely, has already been adduced to show that Malevole's humor is as much that of melancholy as is Jaques's itself.

As always, there are the three alternatives—Marston may be indebted to Shakspere, Shakspere to Marston, or both to a common source.

The first alternative is improbable, and for two reasons: the main features of Malevole are all at hand in the Feliche of the First Part of Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*, acted in 1599;² and of the two portrayals of the Malcontent—Jaques and Malevole—the latter is the cruder, the more popular and primitive. As for the one reason, Feliche, like Malevole, is a meditator, a foul-mouthed cynic and censor, whose business is to comment on life, and to rail at vices and affectations, whether before his eyes or abroad on the earth. He enjoys the privilege and license of Malevole, and rails at the duke, the court, and all the world. Like him, he takes now a prophetic, high-flying attitude, and threatens the wrath and thunder of God; now a familiar, ironically friendly

¹ "Here was he merry, hearing of a song.

Duke S. If he, compact of jars, grow musical,
We shall have shortly discord in the spheres."

(*A. Y. L. I.*, II, 7, 4-6.)

In this passage, the reader will observe, the Duke does not exactly say that Jaques delights in discordant sounds, but he does express surprise that Jaques, full of discord within, could delight in harmonious sounds. This seems to indicate an acquaintance on Shakspere's part with either a popular or the Marstonian notion of a connection between delight in discordant sounds and the temper of a Malcontent. For either notion there is evidence. The *Malcontent* begins with vile out-of-tune music from Malevole's den, and wastes no comment; Malevole, like Shakspere's Duke, once remarks that "discord to malcontents is very manna," and we can readily see that from metaphor to reality is no far cry. And ten years earlier old Hieronimo, who is several times said to be suffering from "melanchollie," is literal and explicit enough:

"Come in, old man, thou shalt to Izabell;
Leane on my arme: I thee, thou me shalt stay,
And thou and I and she will sing a song,
Three parts in one, but all of discords framed."

(*Sp. Tr.*, III, 13, 169 f.)

Vestiges of this popular notion of a Malcontent, perfectly intelligible to the audience, were, I think, carelessly retained by Shakspere, though at the risk of contradicting his more sentimental conceptions of a Malcontent.

² *A. & M.*, V, 1, 8: "*Anno Domini, 1599.*"

one, and draws out the fools and ninnies around him.¹ Like him, he is now sad and sour, now boisterously, indecently mirthful. Like him, he is fond of cynical, impudent asides, incisive jests and repartees, fantastic phrases, and uncouth expletives, and gets the name of "good" and "plainspoken." And like him unable to sleep at night, he paces about meditating.² The Malcontent, then, as a stage-figure,³ is Marston's independent creation, of which all the main features appear, so early as in 1599, in the first rough draft, *Feliche*⁴—most of the elements of the latter having been drawn, as we are yet to see, from the Kydian Hamlet and from the Macilente of Jonson.⁵

As to the other reason, we have seen already how much more "humorous" Malevole is than Jaques—how many more signs of melancholy he bears and how much more glaringly and popularly he is painted. He paces about in sleepless anguish, or dreams bad dreams; he plays the vilest out-of-tune music alone in his den, and snarls and howls as he emerges; he laughs one moment and is sullen the next; he bemoans his fate in resounding verse; he sings questionable songs, frisks about the stage, launches bitter gibes, and utters outlandish ejaculations. He has, moreover, none of the milder, more human symptoms of Jaques—also noticed by Burton—the sentimentality, the morbid delight in music and solitariness, the aversion to love matters and pastimes. Picturesque as Jaques, his is a louder-mouthed humor, meant to delight the popular Elizabethan heart; it is not psychologized, or tamed and mellowed down within the limits of decency and plausible

¹ He takes a delight in fools that in phrasing recalls that of Jaques, though the "fools" are not professional jesters and the delight is purely cynical and ironical, not at all æsthetic. Cf. *A. & M.*, III, 2, 120, 163.

² *A. & M.*, III, 2, 1-24.

³ Not, however, as a character in life. Though the matter has not yet been investigated, there can be no doubt that, partly under the influence of the physiological theories of the day, there arose in early Elizabethan times or earlier a mythology, so to speak, of human character. Monsters came into being in the popular fancy—unreal as the unicorn and chimera—monsters of the spirit, clothed in human flesh. The Machiavel, the Malcontent, the "atheist," the "empoisoner," are among them, and are not to be considered as merely the creations of the dramatists.

⁴ Why not *Feliche* instead of *Malevole*, then, as the model for Jaques? For two reasons not: at the points shown in the second and third paragraphs of this article *Malevole* bears a likeness to Jaques that *Feliche* lacks; and *Malevole* is a far more conspicuous character, in a more striking, generally more influential play.

⁵ See below, pp. 16-20.

humanity.¹ To the author of such a character what could Jaques have been? To the author of Jaques, on the other hand, Malevole might have been what Basilisco was to the author of Falstaff, or what Lylly's "merry servants" were to the author of the Dromios and of Launce and Speed. The relation inverted—the finished, humanly significant Jaques as prototype—would have been an anomaly in the evolution of the drama.

The third alternative—that Shakspere and Marston drew from a common source—is equally improbable, and thus the second—that Shakspere drew from Marston—is alone left open. For not only is there no such source now to be found, but, as it appears, there could hardly have ever been one. There are skits at melancholy in the contemporary plays, there are melancholy characters treated satirically,² but those are different matters.³ And the only melancholy characters treated sympathetically, the only characters in function or in temper at all like Malevole, Feliche, or Jaques—the Kydian Hamlet and Macilente—are scarcely like Jaques, and yet are so much like Feliche and Malevole as to be, very certainly, their sources.⁴ How, then, is there place for a common source?

Malevole was not influenced by Jaques, both were not conceivably derived from a common source, and shall we not infer that Jaques was influenced by Malevole? At least—what is almost as interesting—Jaques, born into the world of fancy the same year as Malevole, belongs like him to the Malcontent type, which is a Marstonian creation, and was influenced—directly or indirectly, through Malevole or through Feliche—by Marston.

¹ Cf. the case of Hamlet, below.

² Especially in Jonson's early comedies, *Every Man in His Humour*, *Every Man out of His Humour*, *Cynthia's Revels*, and the *Poetaster*. But even in the Stephen of the first-named play melancholy is no real quality of the character—is only one of his many affected attitudes—and is not at all prominent.

³ Not that Shakspere himself is not influenced by this point of view. He imparts to Jaques none of that odor of morality which is a bit rank in Malevole—expressly attributes his melancholy to a sated sensuality, and gives it a sentimental cast. And in IV, 1, in the company of Rosalind, he turns him for the moment into a satirical figure—the affected traveler—somewhat in the spirit of Jonson's satire of the contemporary affectation in the person of Stephen and others. But this point of view is different from Shakspere's prevailing one with Jaques, and from Marston's with Malevole: these are made Malcontents—fantastic meditators, cynics and censors.

⁴ See below, pp. 16-20.

II. HAMLET A MALCONTENT

If *As You Like It* betrays the influence of the *Malcontent* in 1600, what of *Hamlet* in 1601?¹ Hamlet, the hero, is of one family with Jaques and Malevole: he is, in the old sense of the word, melancholy, and he is a cynic. His melancholy and cynicism are less ostentatiously "humorous," yet, both practically and philosophically, alike thoroughgoing. More after Malevole's heart than Jaques himself, he is a professional somber, satirical meditator, who ranges widely from the main dramatic drift, and a mocker and censor of the vice and affectation round about him. Like Malevole and unlike Jaques, he is a revenger lurking at his own ancestral court, protected by the very recklessness and eccentricity of his innuendoes. Like Malevole and unlike Jaques, he is boisterous, uncouth and nonsensical, obscene, and yet is sympathetically treated—as Jaques is not²—as a tragic³ figure. Throughout he is far more like Malevole than like Jaques, and yet, as has been noted by a sound scholar like Professor Herford,⁴ who, we may suppose, had no inkling of the issue we are now raising, he is more like Jaques than any other character in Shakspere.

That in *Hamlet* Shakspere was imitating and emulating the revenge plays of Marston (and the *Malcontent* is to be included in their number) appears likely even from external, circumstantial evidence. In the case of *As You Like It* there could be only surmises that Shakspere was seeking to rival the success of Malevole; here, in the words of the Quarto of 1603, which, though probably garbled and curtailed, we will quote instead of the more famous, possibly later, words of the Folio, there is, at any rate, explicit testimony to a success greater than his own:

¹ See below the registering; scholars seem agreed that *Hamlet* was written no earlier. As to the evidence for the *Malcontent's* being subsequent to *Hamlet*, I have considered, and, I think confuted, it in my *John Webster*, pp. 60, 61. The only point of weight against the date 1600 is the allusion to the Scots. The allusions to *Hamlet* (*illo, ho, ho, etc., Malc., III, 1, 250, and I, 1, 350-53; Ham., II, 2, 315 f.*) are derived, one from the old *Hamlet*, and the other from the commentators' fancy.

² See, above, traces in Jaques of the influence of Jonson's satirical method.

³ This is a trifle strong for Malevole; but, as is commonly recognized, the play, except for the close, is a revenge tragedy. See below.

⁴ Eversley Shakspere, viii, pp. 128, 129.

Ross. My Lord, the Tragedians of the Citty

Those you took delight to see so often.

Ham. How comes it that they trauell? Do they grow restie?

Gil. No my lord, their reputation holds as it was wont.

Ham. How then?

Gil. Yfaith my Lord, noueltie carries it away,

For the principall publike audience that

Came to them, are turned to priuate playes,

And to the humour of children. (P. 30.)

The play in which these words are found itself belongs to the same class with what at this time were probably the most popular plays of the children's companies—Marston's two revenge tragedies, *Antonio and Mellida* and *Antonio's Revenge*, played by the "little eyasses" of Paul's, and his revenge comedy, the *Malcontent*, played by the "decimosextos" of Blackfriars. For from other sources we know that from 1599 to 1601 there was great interest, especially at the children's theaters, in revenge plays, and that it was Marston who wrote them. I draw, with some changes, from the evidence collected for another purpose by Professor Thorndike:¹

1. The popularity of plays dealing with ghosts attested by a *Warning for Fair Women*, 1599, by the Chamberlain's Men.
2. *Antonio and Mellida*, 1599, by Paul's Boys.
3. *Antonio's Revenge*, 1599, by Paul's Boys.
4. The *Malcontent*, 1600, by the Children at Blackfriars.²
5. The *Spanish Tragedy*, or "*Jeronimo*," revised for the Chapel Children about 1600.
6. Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois*, 1600, by Paul's Boys.³
7. *Julius Cæsar*, containing a revenge element and a ghost, 1600–01, by the Chamberlain's Men.

¹ He gathers evidence for the years 1597–1604, but that for the years 1597–98 amounts to the revival of the old play—yet unaltered—the *Spanish Tragedy*. See *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 1902, pp. 137 ff., "Hamlet and Elizabethan Revenge Plays."

² That it was there and by children (those of her Majesty's Revels, presumably, cf. the title-page of the *Fawn*, 1606) that the play was acted, appears from the Induction, written by Webster for the King's (Chamberlain's) Men in 1604. That it was originally written, not for men-players such as the Chamberlain's Company—"who had not the custom of music in their theatre"—but for children, appears from the songs indicated, which in several cases, as I, 1, 40, where one is necessary in order to give Malevole time to go to church and return, prove to be integral portions of the text.

³ The date is determined in an article on the "Dates of Chapman's Plays," *Modern Language Notes*, November, 1905.

8. Three lost plays, possibly revenge plays, written for Henslowe, 1599–1601.
9. *The Spanish Tragedy*, altered by Ben Jonson for Henslowe, 1601–2.
10. Chettle's *Hoffman*, 1602.
11. *Hamlet*, 1601–2, by the Chamberlain's Men.¹
12. The final *Hamlet*, 1603, by the Chamberlain's Men.

From these data it is easy to glean that at the time when Shakspere turned to Hamlet, the time when the stage, as he himself complains, was ruled by Children, it was the Children that led with original revenge plays²—from the pen of Marston—and it is not a precipitate inference that in his own revenge play Shakspere should be glancing at these.

By the tide of favor which followed the Children and their revenge poet, Shakspere and his more conservative company were swept along. In their *Warning for Fair Women*, of 1599, the author—Shakspere, some have thought—ridiculed revenge plays, perhaps in envy of their success:

How some damn'd tyrant to obtain a crown
 Stabs, hangs, imprisons, smothers, cutteth throats,
 And then a Chorus, too, comes howling in
 And tells us of the worrying of a cat:
 Then, too, a filthy whining ghost,
 Lapt in some foul sheet, or a leather pilch,
 Comes screaming like a pig half stick'd,
 And cries, *Vindicta!*—Revenge, Revenge!
 With that a little rosin flasheth forth³—

In their *Julius Cæsar*, of 1600–01, Shakspere so far conformed as to introduce a “revenge element and a ghost.” And by the end of 1601 the company had so fallen in the rear of fashion and favor that he was commissioned to recast a revenge play of their own, once famous but now half forgotten,⁴ from the pen

¹“As yt was latelie acted by the Lord Chamberleyne, his servantes,” July 26, 1602.

²To be sure they were playing other notable plays as well, as Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels* (1600) and the *Poetaster* (1601); but the success of these was not such as to lead Shakspere to imitate them.

³Quoted by Thorndike, p. 121; the play is to be found in Simpson's *School of Shakespeare*.

⁴Acted at Newington Butts in 1594, and at “the Theater” in 1596, when the Chamberlain's Company played there. (Sarrazin, *Kyd und sein Kreis*, p. 104.)

of the father of revenge plays, Kyd.¹ But he did not tinker at it, as Jonson did at the sister-play, the *Spanish Tragedy*. Jonson added only mad-scenes, and those not under Marston's influence; Shakspere cast his play wholly anew, in a present-day, a somewhat Marstonian, though a finer, mould. Like Marston in *Antonio's Revenge*, though more completely, he replaced the revenger's Senecan commonplaces with new, philosophic meditations;² and like Marston in his revenge comedy, though more delicately, he joined to the revenger some elements at least of a new character—the brooding, jeering Malcontent. With his quick intuition, Shakspere, as Jonson, Chapman, and Chettle³ nowise did, read the whole decree of popular favor, and in both the letter and the spirit he obeyed.

With the possible influence on *Hamlet* of Marston's revenge tragedies we cannot here concern ourselves—the notable influence is that of the *Malcontent*. This play, as I have elsewhere observed, was highly popular and influential: it determined the later development—in the hands of Tourneur and Webster—of the revenge type; and at an earlier day it influenced at one point the greatest play of the type, as well. That point was the character of the hero. In *Altofront* had appeared, for the first time united in one person, the revenger and the more or less feigned part, or disguise, called the *Malcontent*; and in *Hamlet* they appear again.⁴

In the present *Hamlet* there are two component elements—the “gentle boy”⁵ revenger, of Kydian origin, on the one hand, represented by the Kydian Hamlet, Marston's Antonio, and, less completely, the Horatio of the *Spanish Tragedy*; and the Mal-

¹ That the old *Hamlet* was by Kyd surely there is now no one left to doubt.

² For this purpose, Shakspere drew both upon his own stores and upon Montaigne. See in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 1902, pp. 312-47, an article by Miss Hooker.

³ Hamlet has almost no points in common with the “splendid lunacy” of Jonson's enlarged Hieronimo, or—except as a revenger, of course—with anything in Chapman or Chettle.

⁴ As we shall see, however, only in the matter of the union of revenger and Malcontent can Marston have been an innovator and Shakspere his imitator. The mere situation of the revenger lurking at his own court in disguise is a reminiscence of Antonio disguised at his court as a fool and, finally, of the old Hamlet himself.

⁵ The phrase, which occurs in *Ant. Rev.* addressed by Andrugio to his son, as in the *Sp. Tr.* addressed by Hieronimo to Horatio, furnishes a convenient label for a type.

content, of Marstonian origin, on the other hand, represented by Feliche and Malevole. As for the one element, Hamlet, as Ophelia laments, was

The expectancy and rose of the fair state,
The glass of fashion and the mould of form
(*Ham.*, III, 1, 160, 161)

or, as the Quarto has it,

the only flour of Denmark (P. 21)

just as the Spanish Horatio was

a mirror in our daies

(Sp. Tr., III, 8, 22);

but, like still another representative, Antonio, and the revenging father, Hieronimo, he was at the same time a shrinking, high-minded revenger. Such, pre-eminently, was the Kydian Hamlet. Like Antonio and Hieronimo, he was gentle and blameless in thought and deed, except in the matter of a conventional blood-thirstiness and a fierceness against his mother.¹ Like them, he meditated only a revenger's meditations—on justice, his own remissness, suicide, the future life, and the round of Senecan commonplaces. Like them, he was a revenger from first to last, and his pathos and irony were those of other revengers—childishly simple, personal, dramatic,² not contemplative, not philosophic or moral. And this part of Hamlet—his disposition, his deeds, and the bare themes of the revenger's meditations—Shakspere, after infusing into them the coherence of psychology and the glow of imagination, retained in his play.³

With the Malcontent element it is another matter. This, in rough terms, amounts to his madness—feigned like the disguise Malevole, but, like it, hard at times to separate from the real character underneath. It embraces fairly all of Hamlet that has nothing to do with revenge—the humor of melancholy, the

¹In the original *Hamlet*, no doubt, the Oresteian hero intended to kill his mother, and it was more than a desire to save her feelings that recalled the Ghost. Compare the Queen's words—"thou wilt not murther me?"—the account of rough usage at his hands which she gives to the King in Q I, p. 47, and Antonio's words just before his entirely similar visit to his mother, III, 2, 87, "why lives that mother?"

²As at the play, addressed to the King and Queen, III, 2, 240 ff., and *passim*; *Ant. Rev.*, III, 1, 95, 96, "the good, good prince, my most dear, dear lord;" *Sp. Tr.*, III, 14, 156-61.

³See Thorndike's article, already cited.

undramatic speculations, as in the graveyard, upon the vanity of human things, a thoroughgoing, sardonic cynicism and skepticism whether in general or in particular—irony of a general moral and satiric significance, on the one hand, and rude, obscene, Diogenic behavior toward women or vicious, affected persons, on the other. All this corresponds to the primitive mock-madness of the Kydian Hamlet, and may have been, as we shall see, a development from it, a substitute, or a little of both.

Some of these marks of the Malcontent are to be considered later; others—the humor of melancholy and all that concerns Hamlet's relations to the other characters of the play—require a word at present.

As for the melancholy, Hamlet's, like Malevole's, is conceived precisely, after Elizabethan fashion, as a malady. It is represented objectively, physiologically—not subjectively, as the unique passion of an individual soul. Though recognized to have possibly a quite personal grief as cause, it manifests only the trite, stereotyped symptoms and effects. As in the case of a true "humor," it is freely spoken of both by himself and by others as "melancholy,"¹ and by himself it is described in round, absolute terms, as if he were giving the symptoms of a fever, and without more knowledge than as in the case of a fever of the cause:²

I have of late—but wherefore I know not—lost all my mirth, forgone all custom of exercises; and indeed it goes so heavily with my disposition that this goodly frame, the earth, seems to me a sterile promontory, this most excellent canopy, the air, look you, this brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire, why, it appears no other thing to me than a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours. What a piece of work is man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god! the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals! And yet, to me, what is this quintessence of dust? man delights not me; no, nor woman neither, though by your smiling you seem to say so.³ (*Ham.*, II, 2, 306-23.)

¹ *Ham.*, II, 2, 630; III, 1, 173.

² It matters not to our argument if this be only a blind for Rosencrantz and Guildenstern. Altofront's melancholy, too, is feigned. In Altofront and Hamlet alike, moreover, many feigned qualities are treated at times as real.

³ That neither Hamlet nor Guildenstern and Rosenkrantz expressly say that these symptoms mean melancholy does not signify; they and the audience understood, and

Why, we may well wonder, does Hamlet describe his distemper to these spies, whom he has already detected, so unmistakably as melancholy, and not—in a half-mad way—as madness?

In his dealings with the other characters Hamlet, far more than Jaques, is Malevole over again. He is vivacious and abrupt, witty and uncouth, sportively familiar and rude, somber and filthily merry. Some of these qualities—the vivacity, the abruptness, the wit, the sarcasm—need, in either case, no illustration. The uncouth obscurity, which passes in Hamlet for madness and in Malevole for the eccentricity of a Malcontent's humor, and, in the former, for an evident reason, is more pronounced, appears in passages such as these:

Excellent, i' faith; of the chameleon's dish: I eat the air, promise-crammed: you cannot feed capons so. (*Ham.*, III, 2, 98-100.)

The king is a thing of nothing: bring me to him. Hide fox, and all after. (*Ham.*, IV, 2, 31-32.)

. . . or else shall he suffer not thinking on, with the hobby-horse, whose epitaph is For O, for O, the hobby-horse is forgot. (*Ham.*, III, 2, 143 f.)

Pietro. How dost thou live now-a-days, Malevole?

Mal. Why, like the Knight Sir Patrick Penlohangs, with killing o' spiders for my lady's monkey. (*Malc.*, I, 1, 84.)

Maquerelle. Will ye help me with a he-fox? Here's the duke.

Mal. Fried frogs are very good, and French-like, too. (*Malc.*, II, 2, 32.)

and in the outlandish expletives of Malevole, and in the doggerel, the snatches of old ballads allusively and derisively used, and the abrupt enigmas and riddles, followed by expository comment, of both.

The sportive familiarity and rudeness, traits not pleasant even in Hamlet, appear in Malevole's and Hamlet's behavior toward dotards like Polonius and Bilioiso, or toward affected ninnies like Osric and Balurdo.¹ They attack them with a false friendliness,

as for Shakspere, he, unlike his predecessors, does not say things out. Neglect of physical exercise, both as a cause and as a symptom, is given by Burton, I, pp. 349, 455; and compare what he has to say of the melancholy man's attitude toward women, p. 452, and of his disgust with company, nature, and life itself, pp. 455, 467, 475-76. It is worthy of note, also, that Hamlet, like Malevole, complains, as a melancholy man, of "bad dreams" (II, 2, 260-62). See the previous section, and the *Malc.*, I, 1, 88 f.

¹ In *A. & M.*, the butt of the Protomalecontent Feliche; in the *Malc.* there is no exact parallel to Osric.

they play the stops of their servility and folly, they jest with them beyond their apprehensions, they twit and mock¹ them, and they jeer at them both openly and in their sleeves. As, in III, 2, 103 ff., and *passim*, Hamlet meets Polonius, he, with far less excuse, shows the same disrespect for age, the same frisky familiarity, and the same disposition to muddle and put to confusion one who has not offended, as does Malevole when he meets Bilioso.²

Of their somberness and obscenity, of their levity in somberness³ and merriment in filth, there need be no illustration. These traits are not contradictory, but symptoms of a burrowing, dissolving turn of mind almost as characteristic of Malevole as of Hamlet. The obscenity, as that form of cynicism and satire most in place, is by both reserved more especially for women. Hamlet's jests and insinuations addressed to Ophelia, alone and still more at the play,⁴ are like nothing in Kyd, seeming, indeed, altogether out of keeping with the character of the "gentle boy,"⁵ and—on a hero's lips for a heroine's ears—are like nothing else in Shakspere, but are somewhat like Malevole's addressed to Bianca and Maquerelle.⁶

So far so good; but we have yet to reckon with Kyd—his *Hamlet* and its derivates, the *Fratricide Punished*⁷ and the first Quarto. In Kyd's other works, indeed, the *Spanish Tragedy* and *Soliman and Perseda*⁸—and such evidence is in this case not contemptible, for by reconstruction it is readily seen how in

¹ Hamlet (II, 2, 408 ff., and V, 2, 117 ff.) echoes Polonius and Osric as Feliche does Castilio in III, 2, 31 f., and somewhat as Malevole twists Bilioso.

² Cf. *Malec.*, I, 1, 260 ff.; IV, 2, 125 ff. One of the main subjects of Malevole's jeering conversation with Bilioso is his young wife, as Hamlet's with Polonius is his daughter; and with the wife Malevole's subject is Bilioso, as with the daughter Hamlet's is her father. Both deride their victims' gray hairs and failing bodily and mental powers: *Malec.*, I, 1, 76-80, 255; III, 1, 172-74; IV, 2, 128-31; *Ham.*, II, 2, 198-206, etc.

³ As in the graveyard scene, and when Hamlet reassures the attendants who go to seek Polonius that "he will stay until you come." Malevole *passim*. Cf. the abruptly somber rejoinders when Hamlet replies to Polonius' suggestion to "come out of the air," "into my grave?" and when Malevole, being asked when he shall "rise," replies, "at the resurrection."

⁴ For their full force, to be read in connection with the Quartos.—Cf. last ref. in note 2.

⁵ Smutty as Marston generally is, he makes Antonio in this respect blameless.

⁶ Hamlet's remarks to Ophelia, and to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, II, 2, 237 f., are of the same ingenious smuttiness as Malevole's *passim*, but more especially his to Bianca and Maquerelle, II, 2, and V, 2. Cf. Feliche's on painting, II, 1, 250-53; III, 2, 120-64.

⁷ *Der bestrafte Bruderniord*, or *The Fratricide Punished*.

⁸ I am aware that the authorship has been questioned and is not certain.

style, phrase, and plot Kyd only repeated himself—there is no trace of satire, satirist, or satirist's butt, of the humor of melancholy or of the philosophy of it, of the broodings on vanity and decay, or of any other of the notes of the Malcontent—vivacity, impudence, uncouth obscurity, or smut. And in his *Hamlet*, written as it was in 1589, and whether before or after the *Spanish Tragedy* only by a year or so,¹ it is probable that the hero, though indulging in personalities, was mad in as simple, primitive, really unsatirical a fashion as Hieronimo, and that the objects of his personalities—Corambis (Polonius) and the “braggart gentleman”² (Osric) were as simply, unsatirically comical as Jeronimo³ and those drolls whose drollery, like Polonius's, was so harshly interrupted by a tragic fate—Piston and Pedringano.⁴ But if it be granted that the Kydian *Hamlet* is the direct and only source, in all their divergences and aberrations, of the *Fratricide Punished* and the first Quarto—and here granted that must be⁵—then it must have contained after all the humor of melancholy, the satirist, and the satirist's butt, at least *in posse*. In the first Quarto, as in the *Fratricide Punished*, Hamlet is several times asserted to be suffering from melancholy, and in the Quarto he himself complains of it and gives the ground of his discontent —“I lack preferment”—in a way that recalls Kyd.⁶ In the

¹ See Bang, *Englische Studien*, xxviii, 229 f.; Boas's *Kyd*, and Thorndike's review of it, *Modern Language Notes*, 1902.

² Q I.

³ This likeness, noted first by Sarrazin, appears in his bustling importance (sympathetically treated, however, as Polonius' in Shakspere is not), in his discovery of conspiracies and of the causes of things generally, in his regard for those higher in station, in his counsels to his son at parting, in his interest in rhetorical matters, and in small points like his outcry of “news, news” (cf. *Jeronimo*, I, 3, 90 f.).

⁴ The Osric of the Kydian *Hamlet* doubtless fell in the ultimate general slaughter like the corresponding Phantasma in *F. P.* The latter's death startles us in the same rude way as does that of the other foolish comic characters of Kyd—as that of Polonius who coughs (*F. P.*), yells ludicrously, and is stabbed, or of Pedringano who, on the gibbet, is “turned off” laughing; and this argues an original likeness between the characters themselves.—Piston is the droll in *Soliman and Perseda*.

⁵ I. e., as being the position most unfavorable to my contention that Shakspere was influenced by Marston. Personally, I believe that the *F. P.* contains interpolations from the Shaksperean versions.

⁶ Q I, p. 29. Cf. *Jeronimo*, I, 1, 114–115. Whether also the description—

“ Yes faith, this great world you see contents me not
No nor the spangled heauens, nor earth nor sea,
No nor Man,” etc.—

be Kyd's, is doubtful; it seems rather to be a garbled report of Shakspere's phrasing.

Fratricide, as in Shakspere, Hamlet manipulates Phantasmo and frowns him down into a ridiculous acquiescence and self-contradiction; he admonishes Ophelia with cynical indecency; and he accosts Corambus¹ in a boisterous, mock-friendly way, calls him old Jeptha to his face and old fool behind his back, teases him about his daughter, mocks him and anticipates his news, in short, as the "old fool" himself avers, is always "vexing" him. And the butts, Corambis and Phantasmo, though foolish and droll rather than affected, manifest their foolish drollery in much the same way as Polonius and Osric do their affectation. To a Shakspere all this, crude and primitive as it is, would, in that day of satire,² have been suggestion enough for much of the humorous satirist in Hamlet and of the affected fool in Polonius and Osric, without a hint from Marston.

Indeed, Marston's Malcontent, as now becomes plain, was himself an outgrowth of the Kydian Hamlet. Nobody was ever more influenced by another than was Marston by Kyd, especially in his *Hamlet*, and here is only another instance. Feliche, whom we have recognized as the Protomalcontent, distinctly recalls Hamlet—we mean now always the Kydian Hamlet—in the situations of rallying a young woman on her cosmetic foibles and of jeering sportively at the fools and ninnies about him: he represents the frisky teaser or satirist in Hamlet, as Antonio does the revenger.³ And Malevole recalls Hamlet's sportive jeering at his victims still more, especially when with the old court-marshal⁴ Bilioso (an immediate descendant, by the way, of Corambis and Jeronimo), whom he calls "old huddle"⁵ for "old Jeptha" and teases about his young wife in default of a daughter; and as much as Feliche he recalls Hamlet with Ophelia in his obscene raillery of Bianca on her feminine failings and her ass of a husband. In Malevole, moreover, the revenger and mock-madman of the early Hamlet—characters separated in *Antonio and Mel-*

¹ *Sic* in *F. P.*

² Cf. Shakspere's own work at this time—*A. Y. L. I.*, *All's Well, Measure for Measure*. It was the day of *Every Man in His Humour* and *Every Man out of His Humour*, the day of Hall, Marston, Tourneur, and Donne.

³ Feliche, too, is a "gentle boy"—and this makes his origin the more unmistakable—a blameless youth cut off in his flower. In the spirit of the description of others of his class, he is called the "very hope of Italy" (*Ant. Rev.*, I, 1).

⁴ "Hofmarschall" (*F. P.*, III, 5, etc.).

⁵ *Malec.*, I, 1, 79.

lida—are now reunited, and quite probably the uncouthness, the sarcasm and irony that in Malevole have nothing to do with revenge, are echoes from the “subtile answers” and mock-mad gambols of the archaic Kydian hero. And his melancholy, as Feliche’s, may well have been suggested by simple assertions such as those concerning Hamlet in the first Quarto¹ or those concerning Hieronimo in the *Spanish Tragedy*.²

The Malcontent—Feliche, Malevole—strikes root in the mock-madness of the Kydian Hamlet, just as the Shaksperean Hamlet strikes root in him as a whole; did they, then, in their later ramifications, ever meet? We must think so. Hamlet and Malevole have in common (and in common with no other character on the stage of their day) at least two points which, in the light of the external evidence, seem to have been derived by one from the other. They are the points, not yet elucidated, which, in either play, have so little to do with the action or the other characters that they were just the things to borrow³—the broodings on vanity and decay⁴ and the set, impersonal satire.⁵

¹ See above, p. 17. And, of course, it may be that in the original, as in the Quarto, Hamlet himself makes some description of his humor.

² Most of the remaining points of Feliche and Malevole—points missing in Hamlet, observe—were taken from the Macilente of Jonson’s *Every Man out of His Humour* (1599): the envious, hypocritical critic on the stage, the lover of discord and the mischief-maker, the scholarly, stoical, religious censor of abuses, and—in spite of all shortcomings—the sympathetically treated hero. Like Feliche, he distinguishes his hatred from envy (ed. Gifford, Routledge, p. 35b), and cries “hal hal!” at the follies about him and at the mischief he causes (36, 43b); like Malevole, he not unjustly sets Deliro to doubting his wife (IV, 4), and delivers the closing words of the play; and like both, he utters various rhetorical outcries, beginning with an “Oh,” against the evils rampant about him or to the powers above, and complacently compares his own “parts” with those of the scamps who outstrip him (42a). All three are at times half consumed in the fire of their own rancor. Crites, on the other hand, another critic, in *Cynthia’s Revels* (1600), has no likeness to either Macilente or Marston’s Malcontents.—Macilente himself is slightly indebted to Marston’s Chrysogonus (in *Histriomastix*, 1599).

³ Professor Thorndike raises the objection that Malevole, unlike Jaques and Hamlet, is a mischief-maker and an accomplice. But in either case Shakspere borrows only what is easily borrowed—the figure of the Malcontent. In *A. Y. L. I.* he follows the plot of Lodge’s *Rosalind*, and there is no room for the afterthought, Jaques, except as a critical do-nothing. In *Hamlet* he took over a plot already completed. The moral quality of Malevole’s conduct, moreover, is not to be cast up against him, nor does it put him in a different category. His is a feigned part and one within the scope of his revenge—considerations that in the drama of the day (witness *Hamlet* itself) were all-potent.

⁴ Before Shakspere, there is not the slightest trace of a churchyard scene in any of the Kydian plays or derivatives; that in Tourneur’s *Athiest’s Tragedy* is, as I have shown in *John Webster*, later than that in *Hamlet* and, in some respects, done in imitation of it.

⁵ Macilente (*vide supra*) has impersonal satire, but this, the only point of contact with Hamlet, is only in the form of outcries, like Feliche’s and some of Malevole’s, not in that of picturesque broodings like others of Malevole’s and like Hamlet’s.

The two points may be considered together. Like Malevole's, Hamlet's Malcontent broodings, as in the churchyard, are set, professional speeches, athwart the issues in hand and addressed to no one in particular,¹ on the theme—all is at last ruin and confusion, vanity and rottenness:

Think this:—this earth is the only grave and Golgotha wherein all things that live must rot; 'tis but the draught wherein the heavenly bodies discharge their corruption; the very muck-hill on which the sub-lunary orbs cast their excrements; man is the slime of this dung-pit, and princes are the governors of these men; for, for our souls, they are as free as emperors, all of one piece; there goes but a pair of shears betwixt an emperor and the son of a bag-piper; only the dying, dressing, pressing, glossing, makes the difference. (*Malc.*, IV, 2, 140–51.)

I ha' seen a sumptuous steeple turned to a stinking privy; more beastly, the sacredest place made a dog's kennel; nay, most inhuman, the stoned coffins of long-dead Christians burst up and made hogs' troughs: *hic finis Priami.* (II, 3, 195–200.)

Men. Wherefore dost thou think churches were made?

Mal. To scour plough-shares: I ha' seen oxen plough up altars; *et nunc seges ubi Sion fuit.* (*Malc.*, II, 3, 191.)

To quote from the churchyard scene would be an impertinence; there and in Hamlet's uncanny observations after the death of Polonius—

Your worm is your only emperor for diet: we fat all creatures else to fat us, and we fat ourselves for maggots: your fat king and your lean beggar is but variable service, two dishes, but to one table: that's the end.

King. Alas, alas!

Ham. A man may fish with that worm that hath eat of a king, and eat of the fish that hath fed of that worm.

King. What dost thou mean by this?

Ham. Nothing but to show you how a king may go a progress through the guts of a beggar. (IV, 3.)—

the reader will readily note the same relentless confounding of the high and the low, of the mean and the mighty, in the laystall of death. Blent with this, or occurring separately, there is the same vein of general satire—on the cunning lawyer at last put to confusion; on the flattering courtier stricken dumb; on the gay, painted lady unmasked and laid bare in her ugliness; on lisping,

¹ Horatio is here hardly more than an audience.

ambling mistresses; or on cuckolds.¹ And, like Malevole's once more, both satire and speculations are set, impersonal, persistent as a sermon. Yet, Hamlet's *Meditations* show some differences. They are more dramatically formed and evoked, they insist rather on the gruesome transformations of death into regeneration than on the mere ruin of it, and they dwell upon particularities—the eye, the lip of the skull—with a piercing force.² For all their more dramatic cast, however, they betray—whether derived from Malevole's or not—a “humorous,” professional, Malcontent character,³ and even that persistent tracing of the movements of nature to an obscene and hideous conclusion, so prominent in them, is not unknown to Malevole.⁴

Before proceeding to a conclusion let us pause a moment to consider the possibilities arising from a connection, thus made probable, between Malevole and Shakspere's *Hamlet*. We have been holding to the conviction that the *Malcontent* is the earlier play, and that in the case of a connection, therefore, it is Malevole that must be the source; but what if our chronology be yet insufficiently determined? Even then it is clear, I think, that Malevole could not have been influenced by Shakspere's *Hamlet*—still less than by his *Jaques*—and that, if influence there was, it

¹ All this in the graveyard meditations and in the talk with Ophelia. Cf. in Bullen's ed., *Male.*, pp. 212, 213, 216, 221, 241, 253, 261, 262. Cf. especially Feliche, *A. & M.*, 39, 40, 54-6. In both *A. & M.* and *Malec.* there is constant satire of the court and flatterers, directly by Feliche and Malevole, and indirectly by the ridiculous examples, Balurdo and Bilioso.

² The broodings of Hamlet in the graveyard, as I now think, influenced Vendice's over the skull in Tourneur's *Rev. Tr.* (1607), I, 1, and Hippolito's in Dekker's *Hon. Whore* (1604), IV, 1. So, the influence of Shakspere's *Hamlet* makes itself felt in the subsequent development of the revenge type earlier than I had supposed (*John Webster*, p. 113)—before the *Atheist's Tr.* in 1611. But the broodings of Bosola, being more humorous and less dramatically formed, without insistence on particularities or on the transformations of decay into regeneration, are, as I have there shown (pp. 133, 134), derived from Malevole's.

³ As when Hamlet addresses Ophelia only as the representative of her sex—“I have heard of your paintings too well enough,” etc.—and bids Horatio get him to “my Lady's chamber,” i. e., any lady's, “and tell her to this favor she must come;” but more especially in the general irrelevance of these meditations to the action of the play.

⁴ Exactly the same method as Hamlet uses, IV, 3, 20 f., and V, 1, 223 f., to show how a king may go a progress through the guts of a beggar or Alexander stop a beer-barrel, is used by Malevole to show how adultery is mother of incest, I, 1, 170 f. I by no means wish to appear to hold that the broodings of Malevole and Hamlet are in themselves so like as necessarily to have been derived one from the other; or that they are without parallel in the literature of the day. (In Donne's *Progress of the Soul* [see especially the preface] of this very year [1601] there is something of a parallel; and in some play now lost there may have been another.) But I do hold that the broodings are like enough to have been derived one from the other when found on the lips of characters already so similar in form and function.

must have run the other way. For Malevole is only the issue of a natural development from Feliche, and there is but one important point that they have not, and Malevole and Hamlet have, in common—the broodings on vanity and corruption. Now those of Malevole could not have been derived from those of Hamlet. Malevole's are "humorous," are presented in a set, impersonal, undramatic fashion; Hamlet's, though they bear traces of a humorous origin, are presented dramatically—by means of dialogue instead of single, isolated speeches, and by the highly appropriate stage-setting of the churchyard and the business of the skull. Hamlet's broodings as independent, without relation to a more simple, primitive source such as those of Malevole, are hard to conceive of; Malevole's as derived from them—in old-fashioned, humorous mould as they are, without a vestige of the striking business or stage-setting, both of which could have no more escaped a playwright like Marston than, later, they could escape Dekker and Tourneur¹—are not to be conceived of at all. History must be, if anything, conceivable, reasonable; and if an immediate influence is to be established between the Malcontents—the Protomalcontent Feliche is out of the question—it must be the only reasonable one, that of Malevole on Hamlet.

Our results are a little complex. Hamlet, in both form and function, is at many points extraordinarily like the Malcontent, Malevole—far more like him than like the Protomalcontent, Feliche, of the year before. Many of these points, however, seem, in the light of the *Fratricide Punished* and the first Quarto, to have been present, potentially at least, in the Kydian Hamlet, and need not be sought farther afield. The Malcontent, Marston's creation, in turn, was, through Feliche, himself evolved out of the mock-madness of the Kydian Hamlet; and thus it appears that Malevole, though far less immediately, sprang from the same source as the Hamlet of Shakspere. Sprung from a source so remote and archaic, however, Hamlet and Malevole would hardly have turned out so similar—even at the points borrowed from Kyd—independently; and they actually have in

¹The skull in the *Honest Whore* and both of Tourneur's plays; the churchyard in the *Atheist's Tragedy* only.—For any or all of these there would have been room in the *Malcontent*—or Marston would have made room.

common two points unknown to Kyd or anyone else before them—points which are the core and essence of the Malcontent—impersonal, sermonizing meditation and satire. That these, directly or indirectly, were drawn from Marston (Marston could not have drawn them from Hamlet) is made more probable by various historical circumstances, such as the allusions to the Children, Marston's contemporary prominence as the Children's revenge poet, and the anterior date and the known vogue and influence as a revenge play of the *Malcontent* itself,—more probable, I say, but hardly certain. That, however, Shakspeare's Hamlet, by virtue of a partly common origin and of later, very similar, and surely not altogether unrelated, accretions and developments, conforms to the type of that rude stage-humor of which, after Kyd and Jonson, but far more than they, Marston had the making,—that medley of melancholy and cynicism, censoriousness and impudence, vivacity and uncouthness, somberness and obscene levity, impersonal satire and broodings on decay, called the Malcontent—is plain and certain enough.

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SHAKESPEARE ET VOLTAIRE “OTHELLO” ET “ZAÏRE”

Sous le premier titre de cet article, Mr. Lounsbury publiait naguère un assez gros volume.¹ C'est comme un chapitre développé d'un sujet plus général: Shakespeare en France, ou très général: Shakespeare en Europe. Attitude de Voltaire en face de Shakespeare, influence du poète anglais sur ses conceptions dramatiques, animosité de Voltaire contre Shakespeare, échos de cette lutte en Angleterre, telles sont les questions traitées dans ce livre. Rien de nouveau d'ailleurs.² C'est seulement une étude suivie, complète, et, à ce titre, fort utile, des rapports entre les deux poètes. Si je voulais ici discuter cet ouvrage, trois points principaux retiendraient mon attention: Mr. Lounsbury affirme la palinodie réelle de Voltaire à l'égard de Shakespeare, croit à l'influence profonde de ce dernier sur le théâtre du dix-huitième siècle, conteste le caractère national de notre tragédie classique. Sur ces questions importantes, sur la dernière en particulier, je ne partage pas l'opinion de l'auteur, et peut-être en dirai-je prochainement les raisons. Aujourd'hui, je m'en tiens à la pièce de *Zaïre*. Mr. Lounsbury pense qu'elle imite *Othello* de très près. C'est Villemain le premier qui porta jadis ce jugement.³ Dans un parallèle fameux, il comparait les deux tragédies, au grand désavantage de Voltaire. Après lui, la plupart des critiques ont rapproché *Zaïre* d'*Othello*, et reproduit peu ou prou les conclusions de leur illustre devancier. Mr. Lounsbury est absolument catégorique:

L'imitation d'*Othello* est flagrante. Elle s'étend à l'ensemble et aux détails. Dans les deux pièces, l'action roule sur une union mal assortie; dans les deux pièces, l'amour absorbe l'âme des principaux personnages;

¹ *Shakespeare and Voltaire*, by Thomas R. Lounsbury, L.H.D., LL.D., Professor of English in Yale University (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902).

² M. J. J. Jusserand, déjà célèbre par une histoire de la littérature anglaise, avait publié en 1899 un livre très informé, judicieux et spirituel sur *Shakespeare en France sous l'ancien régime*.

³ *Tableau de la littérature au 18^e siècle*, IX^e Léçon.

la jalouse du héros est la même, et aussi peu fondée; elle éclate par le même procédé, une lettre dans *Zaïre*, un mouchoir dans *Othello*. Dans les deux pièces, le confident est un traître; le dénouement est obtenu par le meurtre de l'héroïne. Enfin, dans les deux pièces, le héros, conscient de son crime et de son erreur, se tue en expiation.¹

En vérité, s'il en est ainsi, on s'indigne à bon droit que Voltaire, dans son *Épitre dédicatoire*, ait oublié si complètement *Othello* et omis jusqu'au nom même de Shakespeare. Mais en est-il ainsi? Je me propose de l'examiner.

Écartons d'abord le reproche général qu'on fait à Voltaire d'avoir gardé le silence sur ses emprunts. Je ne ferai pas observer qu'il suppose résolue la question même de ces emprunts. Car enfin si Voltaire n'a pas imité Shakespeare, son silence ne mérite aucun blame. Mais je vais plus loin, et, dussé-je paraître naïf ou paradoxal, voici comment je raisonne: Si Voltaire ne parle pas d'*Othello* dans sa préface, c'est qu'il pense ne lui rien devoir. Je sais bien que Voltaire ne fut jamais un modèle de délicatesse en matière littéraire; il a pris trop souvent son bien où il le trouvait, un peu en voleur, sans le dire. On cite en particulier le *Brutus*. Voltaire écrit dans son "Discours sur la tragédie" en tête de la pièce: "Nous nous étonnions qu'aucun Anglais n'eût traité ce sujet qui de tous est peut-être le plus convenable à votre théâtre." Or, c'était une erreur. Une tragédie de Nathaniel Lee, sur le même sujet, avait été représentée en 1681. Et un critique, Adam Hill, qui signale le fait à la date de 1735, accuse sans hésitation Voltaire de plagiat. Celui-ci se contenta de répondre par une note, en 1748: "Il y a un *Brutus* d'un auteur nommé Lee; c'est un ouvrage ignoré qu'on ne représente plus à Londres." Il se trompait encore. La pièce de Lee avait été imprimée l'année même de sa représentation, et ses œuvres dramatiques avaient eu plusieurs éditions. Seulement Voltaire l'ignorait. Comme le constate Mr. Lounsbury, il n'a qu'une légère connaissance des auteurs anglais qu'il mentionne; quant à ceux qu'il ne mentionne pas, il est cent fois certain qu'il les ignore totalement. Ce fut le cas de Lee.²

Mais, avec Shakespeare, il en va autrement. D'abord, si son admiration du génial poète est modérée, pleine même de réserves,

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 78.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 76, 77.

il ne la cache pas cependant. Il reconnaît volontiers que le théâtre anglais, personnifié dans Shakespeare, éveille en lui des idées nouvelles. Il loue *Julius Cæsar*, et signale en particulier la scène où Brutus et Antoine parlent au peuple romain, comme une des plus belles qui soient au théâtre; il avoue, ou peu s'en faut, qu'elle lui a inspiré sa *Mort de César*. A la vérité, dans la préface à l'édition de 1736, écrite par l'éditeur, mais inspirée par lui, nous lisons:

Shakespeare, père de la tragédie anglaise, est aussi le père de la barbarie qui y règne. Son génie sublime, sans culture et sans goût, a fait un chaos du théâtre qu'il a créé. Ses pièces sont des monstres dans lesquels il y a des parties qui sont des chefs-d'œuvre de la nature. Sa tragédie intitulée *La Mort de César* [erreur!] commence par son triomphe au Capitole et finit par la mort de Brutus et de Cassius à la bataille de Philippi. On assassine César sur le théâtre. On voit des sénateurs bouffonner avec la lie du peuple. C'est un mélange de ce que la tragédie a de plus terrible et de ce que la farce a de plus bas. Je ne fais que répéter ici ce que j'ai souvent entendu dire à celui dont je donne l'ouvrage au public. Il se détermina, pour satisfaire ses amis, à faire un *Jules César* qui, sans ressembler à celui de Shakespeare, fût pourtant tout entier dans le goût anglais.

Ne discutons pas ce jugement; s'il témoigne une médiocre intelligence de Shakespeare, à tout le moins il prouve que Voltaire ne reniait pas sa dette, qu'il voyait dans le *Julius Cæsar* la source inspiratrice de sa propre tragédie. L'aveu en est encore plus explicite dans une lettre à l'abbé Desfontaines (14 novembre 1735). Il l'invite à examiner le théâtre anglais, à lui comparer le théâtre français, si vide d'action, si dépouillé de grands intérêts; puis il ajoute:

Si vous aviez vu jouer la scène entière de Shakespeare (entre Brutus et Antoine), telle que je l'ai vue et telle que je l'ai à peu près traduite, nos déclarations d'amour et nos confidences vous paraîtraient de pauvres choses auprès.

Autre exemple tiré de *Sémiramis*. C'est *Eriphyle* remaniée. Dans les deux pièces apparaît une ombre. Après la représentation d'*Eriphyle*, Voltaire, dans la préface, se réclamait d'Eschyle; pas un mot de Shakespeare. Est-ce donc de la mauvaise foi? J'ose dire que non. A cette date, introduire une ombre sur la scène était une hardiesse inouïe. Shakespeare, trop peu connu

encore, et certainement trop peu apprécié, eût tout gâté. Les anciens au contraire, autorité encore suprême, et, sinon toujours suivie, du moins respectée, étaient de meilleurs garants. Voilà pourquoi Voltaire omet Shakespeare et cite Eschyle. Au reste, l'on sait que la pièce d'*Eriphyle* ne fut jamais imprimée. Si elle l'eût été, Voltaire n'aurait pas caché son emprunt. Lisez en effet *Sémiramis* qui n'est autre qu'*Eriphyle* sous un nom différent. Le point délicat à justifier c'est toujours l'apparition de l'ombre. Quelle autorité invoque-t-il en premier lieu? Shakespeare. Pourquoi aujourd'hui et non hier? Par crainte des lecteurs mieux informés, affirme Mr. Lounsbury.¹ Bien que Voltaire, en d'autres circonstances, mérite une opinion aussi injurieuse, elle me paraît ici gratuite. Simplement, il se couvre de Shakespeare, parce que, en 1748, l'opinion française n'étant plus rebelle au grand tragique, son nom aura plus de poids, et justice pourra lui être rendue. D'ailleurs, Voltaire s'appuie encore sur Eschyle, non pour diminuer sa dette à l'égard de *Hamlet*, mais parce que, après tout, les *Perses* lui sont antérieurs, parce que Shakespeare n'avait pas inventé ce ressort d'émotion dramatique, parce qu'il était bon, il était nécessaire de joindre l'autorité des anciens à celle de Shakespeare. Je m'arrête à ces exemples; il m'est permis maintenant d'offrir une double conclusion: d'abord, que Voltaire n'a jamais nié ses emprunts réels. S'il ne reconnaît pas sa dette aussi pleinement que le voudraient certains critiques, je dirai, non qu'il a tort, mais qu'elle ne lui est pas apparue aussi large qu'à eux-mêmes. A-t-il bien ou mal jugé? Il serait trop long de l'examiner dans chacune de ces pièces. Je l'essaierai tout à l'heure à propos de *Zaire*. Et voici ma seconde conclusion: dès lors que Voltaire, dans sa préface, garde un silence complet sur Shakespeare, il faut penser avec lui qu'il n'a pas voulu l'imiter, qu'il ne se sent à aucun degré précis son débiteur. Songez en outre que Voltaire dédie sa pièce à un Anglais, Falkener, commerçant heureux et lettré. Si vous admettez que l'imitation d'*Othello* est flagrante, comment Falkener ne s'en est-il pas aperçu? Comment l'oubli impertinent de Voltaire n'a-t-il pas blessé l'orgueil national? Or, Falkener ne protesta point. Ne

¹ *Shakespeare and Voltaire*, p. 126.

serait-ce donc pas qu'il partageait avec beaucoup de ses contemporains l'opinion de son illustre correspondant ?

Ce qui a trompé sans doute Mr. Lounsbury, et, avant lui, Villemain et puis d'autres critiques encore, c'est qu'ils voient trop en *Zaire* une peinture de la jalousie. Orosmane est jaloux; Othello est jaloux; donc Orosmane reproduit Othello. Si je force le raisonnement, je traduis bien leur pensée. Je crois qu'ils commettent une erreur. Mais admettons-la un instant. De ce qu'Orosmane est jaloux, s'ensuit-il qu'il reproduise Othello? Pourquoi pas aussi bien Hermione, Roxane, Mithridate de Racine? Ne pouvait-on, même à cette époque, représenter la jalousie sans imiter Shakespeare? Et si l'on veut à toute force que Voltaire ait imité quelqu'un, pourquoi pas, je le répète, Racine? Encore une fois Hermione, Roxane, Mithridate étaient d'excellents modèles; même le traître ne manque pas; dans sa scélérité concentrée Narcisse (*Britannicus*) vaut Iago. Dira-t-on qu'en ce temps-là Voltaire se nourrissait de Shakespeare? J'affirme que Racine lui était plus familier encore et qu'il était son maître d'élection. En vérité, je prouverais facilement que, dans *Zaire* et ailleurs, Voltaire est plutôt le disciple de Racine que celui de Shakespeare.¹

Au reste, *Zaire* n'est pas une étude de la jalousie. Examinons en effet la pièce. Au premier acte, Zaire cause avec Fatime dans le palais d'Orosmane où elle a été élevée. Elle avoue avec une sorte de fierté heureuse qu'elle aime le Soudan, qu'elle en est aimée. A la suivante qui lui parle de la religion chrétienne, elle répond avec ravissement: "Orosmane m'aime, et j'ai tout oublié." De son côté, le Soudan la comble de galanteries délicates, à peine interrompues par l'arrivée soudaine de Nérestan, revenu de France avec la rançon de dix chevaliers captifs. Un combat de générosité s'engage entre les deux héros. Orosmane accorde la liberté de cent chevaliers; il n'excepte que Lusignan. "Pour Zaire, dit-il, elle n'est pas d'un prix qui soit en ta puissance."

¹ Mais, dira-t-on, s'il est vrai qu'il doive tant à Racine, pourquoi Voltaire ne le déclare-t-il pas expressément? N'est-ce pas de la mauvaise foi à l'égard de Racine? Je réponds que déiant sa pièce à un Anglais, il n'avait pas à lui rappeler ses modèles français. D'ailleurs, dans cette épître, tout en constatant ses lacunes, il exalte la tragédie française qu'il personifie en Racine. Il s'est toujours proclamé son disciple; il s'est toujours inspiré de lui. On le savait, on le disait. Loin de protester, Voltaire s'en fit une gloire.

Et il renvoie Nérestan d'un geste de maître. C'est alors que pour la première fois Orosmane dit à Corasmin: "Que veut cet esclave infidèle? Il soupirait, . . . ses yeux se sont tournés vers elle. . . ." Est-ce de la jalouse? Orosmane en repousse la pensée même; il sait que Zaïre l'aime, et qu'il l'aime "avec idolâtrie." Pas le moindre doute en son âme. Cela est si vrai que dans les deux actes suivants il n'est pas une fois question de jalouse. Avouez que si Voltaire avait songé principalement à peindre cette passion, il eût été bien maladroit. Or, il est peut-être tout, excepté cela, et Villemain écrase trop aisément Orosmane sous Othello. L'acte deuxième est presque entièrement consacré aux scènes fameuses de reconnaissance. De ces coups de théâtre naît le drame. Quel drame? Le conflit entre l'amour et la religion. Au début du troisième acte, Orosmane s'entretient avec son confident; celui-ci s'étonne que le sultan ait facilité une nouvelle entrevue de Nérestan avec Zaïre. "Pourquoi pas?" répond Orosmane; ils ont été captifs ensemble dès leur jeune âge. Et puis, Zaïre l'a voulu." Aucun soupçon. Un peu plus tard, il presse Zaïre d'être son épouse. Sous divers prétextes, elle demande des délais. Le Soudan s'étonne, s'irrite, mais cède. Zaïre partie, Orosmane se demande: "Si c'était ce Français!" Cette pensée le met en fureur. Mais il la repousse comme honteuse:

Non, c'est trop sur Zaïre arrêter un soupçon,
Non, son cœur n'est point fait pour une trahison.

Ainsi, pas de vraie jalouse; de la colère seulement contre un caprice qu'il ne peut comprendre. Bientôt, il brise en son cœur avec Zaïre, il ordonne de fermer les portes du séraïl. Mais c'est de l'orgueil blessé. Voyez plutôt l'entrevue du quatrième acte. Orosmane déclare à Zaïre qu'il la rejette loin de lui. Que lui reproche-t-il? Son infidélité? Pas le moins du monde; son caprice seulement. Et comme Zaïre pleure, il s'attendrit, si bien que Zaïre implorant encore un jour de délai, il le lui accorde, non sans inquiétude, mais sans défiance. "On m'aime, c'est assez."¹ Il faut une lettre ambiguë de Nérestan pour provoquer une soudaine explosion de jalouse. Enfin, nous y voilà! cette

¹ IV, 3.

lettre rappelle bien le mouchoir de Desdémone. Mais pas du tout; cela rappelle *Bajazet* de Racine, le billet à Atalide, les fureurs de Roxane, le piège qu'elle tend.¹ Tout est analogue. C'est pourquoi le cinquième acte ne reproduit pas, quoi qu'on dise, celui d'*Othello*, malgré les apparences. Dans les deux pièces sans doute, le meurtre de l'héroïne est un effet de la jalouse. Mais dans *Zaire*, la jalouse, bien que naturelle, est un pur accident, un moyen nécessaire de dénouement; dans *Othello*, elle est toute la tragédie et aboutit logiquement à la mort de Desdémone. Quelques involontaires et fatales ressemblances de détail ne peuvent accuser l'imitation. Reste le suicide d'Orosmane. Vous songez à celui d'*Othello*. Et je conviens que la similitude est frappante. Alors, imitation? Peut-être. Mais rappelez-vous Hermione se tuant après le meurtre de Pyrrhus;² dites-vous que la logique de la situation, de la passion surtout, conduisait d'elle-même à ce meurtre; et décidez si, au lieu d'imitation, il ne faut pas parler plutôt de coïncidence inévitable. C'était évidemment l'opinion de Voltaire. Car il se tait sur *Othello* en 1736, date de la deuxième édition de *Zaire*, comme en 1732. Or, ses *Lettres philosophiques*, où il révélait Shakespeare à la France, avaient paru en 1734. De la part des contemporains mieux informés, il pouvait redouter un rapprochement accusateur. Cependant, il se tait. Quant à moi, bien que la ressemblance semble trop exacte pour être fortuite, je penche à croire qu'il a eu raison.

Jusqu'ici donc les deux pièces sont différentes. Cette différence éclatera plus visible si nous poussons l'analyse à fond. Nous n'avons pas trouvé la jalouse comme passion principale. En revanche, il y a dans *Zaire* un conflit dramatique entre la religion et l'amour. Je ne fais pas une découverte; mais quoique d'autres m'aient précédé, j'en dois parler après eux. Et d'abord, c'est une tragédie d'amour. Que Voltaire l'ait ainsi voulue, ses lettres, outre la pièce même, l'attestent. Il écrit à son ami Fornont:

Tout le monde me reproche ici que je ne mets pas d'amour dans mes pièces. Ils en auront cette fois-ci, et je vous jure que ce ne sera pas de la galanterie. Je veux qu'il n'y ait rien de si turc, de si chrétien, de si

¹ *Bajazet*, IV, 5.

² *Andromaque*, V.

amoureux, de si tendre, de si furieux, que ce que je versifie à présent pour leur plaisir. J'ai déjà l'honneur d'en avoir fait un acte. Ou je suis fort trompé, ou ce sera la pièce la plus singulière que nous ayons au théâtre. Les noms de Montmorency, de saint Louis, de Saladin, de Jésus, de Mahomet s'y trouveront. On y parlera de la Seine et du Jourdain, de Paris et de Jérusalem. On aimera, on baptisera, on tuera. . . .¹

Et en effet regardons Zaïre. Élevée dès son enfance dans le sérail, elle y grandit sous l'œil du sultan. A son insu, l'amour naît dans son cœur, l'envahit avec une force douce et irrésistible. Avant d'être chrétienne, elle s'abandonne à lui avec ravissement:

Je ne connais que lui, sa gloire, sa puissance;
Vivre sous Orosmane est ma seule espérance;
Le reste est un vain songe. . . .
Je ne vois qu'Orosmane, et mon âme enivrée
Se remplit du bonheur de s'en voir adorée.
Mets-toi devant les yeux sa grâce, ses exploits;
Songe à ce bras puissant, vainqueur de tant de rois,
A cet aimable front que la gloire environne.²

Cet amour se connaît; cette passion garde sa fierté. Zaïre ne veut pas d'une couronne éphémère, du rang honteux de maîtresse. Plutôt la mort. Sa modestie virginal ne comprend que la dignité d'épouse. Devant Orosmane, quand ils chantent leurs duos d'amour, toute frémisante, elle s'exprime pourtant avec une ardeur contenue.³ Ou bien, elle se redresse avec orgueil, quand il l'insulte d'un soupçon.⁴ Chrétienne, son amour reste invincible, mais devient douloureux et se mouille de larmes. Jamais d'éclat, jamais de violence. C'est la décence, la pudeur dans la passion profonde et tragique. Je songe à une sœur modeste des Andromaque, des Bérénice, des Monime. Certes, je comprends qu'elle

¹ 29 mai, 1732; XXXIII, 272.

² I, 1; cf. I, 2. Ces vers rappellent un peu le poétique couplet de Bérénice:

Titus m'aime; il peut tout: il n'a plus qu'à parler. . . .
De cette nuit, Phénice, as-tu vu la splendeur?
Tes yeux ne sont-ils pas tout pleins de sa grandeur?
Ces flambeaux, ce bûcher, cette nuit enflammée,
Ces aigles, ces faisceaux, ce peuple, cette armée. . . .
Cette pourpre, cet or que rehaussait sa gloire. . . .
Parle: peut-on le voir sans penser, comme moi,
Qu'en quelque obscurité que le sort l'eût fait naître,
Le monde, en le voyant, eût reconnu son maître? (I, 5.)

Cf. *Andromaque*, II, 3.

³ I, 2.

⁴ IV, 6.

ait séduit les contemporains puisqu'elle nous charme encore. Or, c'est la tragédie d'amour, et non un drame de jalousie, qui les enchantait. Outre la vérité générale, Zaire reproduisait quelques traits de modèles vivants, Adrienne Lecouvreur, M^{le} Aïssé. Universelle et moderne, tragique par surcroit, elle est bien différente de Desdémone, instinctive, candide, passive, enfant plutôt que jeune fille. C'est pourquoi, sans nier son rôle touchant, j'ose lui préférer Zaire.

J'aime moins Orosmane. Voltaire a beau écrire à l'ami Fornont: "Mon amoureux n'est pas un jeune abbé à la toilette d'une bégueule. C'est le plus passionné, le plus fier, le plus tendre, le plus généreux, le plus justement jaloux, le plus cruel et le plus malheureux de tous les hommes."¹ S'il est tout cela, c'est en dépit des mœurs turques. Ce Soudan méprise les mœurs du sérail, se confond en tendresses délicates:

Je sais vous estimer autant que je vous aime,
Et sur votre vertu me fier à vous-même. . . .
Je me croirais hui d'être aimé faiblement.²

Devant les caprices ou plutôt les irrésolutions de Zaire, il s'incline, malgré son impatience, avec une grâce chevaleresque. Et quand sa colère éclate, il a, pour rompre, une galanterie hautaine qui le sauve à la fois du ridicule et de la brutalité.³ Vraiment, il est aussi peu Turc que possible; il aime sans doute avec passion, mais comme Pyrrhus, et à la française. Othello amoureux écrase Orosmane. Sans vouloir refaire une analyse cent fois faite, je rappelle avec quelle simplicité, avec quelle franchise male, au début de la pièce, ce général de fortune raconte son amour. Tant qu'il est heureux, cet amour s'étale avec une joie naïve et profonde. Puis, c'est le More, crédule comme un enfant, violent comme un sauvage, le noir qui a du sang africain dans les veines, et dont les passions violentes, contenues jusqu'ici, s'allument à l'étincelle de la jalousie. Rien de plus poignant que les souffrances de cet amour blessé, que les ravages de cette jalousie, jusqu'au dénouement tragique où l'entraîne son aveuglement. On a épousé les formules admiratives sur ce caractère si merveilleusement étudié. Il est bien vrai que l'Othello de Shakespeare est

¹ 25 juin, 1732; XXXIII, 273.

² I, 2.

³ IV, 3.

incomparable. Ce ne fut pas l'opinion de Voltaire, je le sais. En peignant Orosmane, il crut surpasser son sublime rival. Il voulut faire et fit certainement autre chose. Ce qui revient à dire qu'il ne l'imita point.

Autre différence: les mœurs chrétiennes. Admettons, comme il le dit, que Voltaire doive au théâtre anglais la hardiesse d'avoir mis sur la scène les noms de nos rois et des anciennes familles du royaume.¹ On accordera que cette inspiration un peu vague n'ôte rien à l'originalité du poète. L'idée neuve de la pièce est bien l'idée chrétienne. Elle se dresse, dès la début, en face de l'amour profane; à mesure qu'elle grandit, elle s'y oppose davantage; elle pénètre, elle pare tout de ses couleurs. Quelque chose du souffle des croisades palpite dans l'âme de Nérestan, de Châtillon, surtout dans l'âme de Lusignan. Dieu, Jésus-Christ, la délivrance du saint tombeau, haine du musulman, fidélité à la foi jusqu'au martyre, c'est le thème des pensées et des discours, cela imprègne le drame d'esprit religieux, lui prête un intérêt nouveau et profond. Voltaire répond victorieusement à Boileau qui, malgré le *Polyeucte* de Corneille, avait proscrit le merveilleux chrétien. Et c'est de quoi Chateaubriand félicite l'auteur de *Zaïre*, je veux dire d'avoir compris le pouvoir dramatique du christianisme qui suscite des conflits moraux entre les passions, et son pouvoir pathétique, à cause des souvenirs sacrés qu'il rappelle.² Oui, il y a de tout cela dans *Zaïre*.

Et pourtant, ici, je sens des réserves se lever dans mon esprit. S'il faut avouer toute ma pensée, ce christianisme ne me paraît pas absolument sincère, de bonne marque. J'ai pu m'en douter dès le commencement, lorsque Zaïre disserte en philosophe sur la diversité des religions:

Je le vois trop: les soins qu'on prend de notre enfance
Forment nos sentiments, nos mœurs, notre croyance.
J'eusse été près du Gange esclave des faux dieux,
Chrétienne dans Paris, musulmane en ces lieux.
L'instruction fait tout; et la main de nos pères
Grave en nos faibles cœurs ces premiers caractères.³

¹ *Épitre dédicatoire à Mr. Falkener*, 6^e éd. Garnier, p. 147.

² *Génie du christianisme*, II^e Partie, Livre 11, p. 207.

³ I, 1.

Singulière préface à l'exaltation de la foi chrétienne ! Il y a bien, je le sais, la belle tirade de Lusignan: "Grand Dieu ! j'ai combattu soixante ans pour ta gloire," etc. Voltaire est entré autant qu'il l'a pu, et, si je l'ose dire, dans la peau du vénérable personnage; pas dans son cœur. Ce discours du vieux chevalier sonne comme de l'excellente rhétorique. Quant à Nérestan, lorsqu'il tente d'expliquer à Zaïre le baptême, *l'efficace de la grâce*, je vois bien qu'il sait son catéchisme. Mais la foi, mais l'accent de conviction intime, cela n'y est pas. Ah ! que Néarque, dans une occasion semblable, parle autrement à Polyeucte, et que celui-ci, prêchant le christianisme à Pauline, est autrement éloquent!¹ Corneille laisse aller son cœur, Voltaire joue avec son esprit. Son arrière-pensée se trahit dans les vers, cités plus haut, sur l'origine des religions, dans ceux où Zaïre regrette que Dieu, dont cent fois on lui peignit la bonté, réprouve une chère alliance, et dans ceux où elle n'est pas loin de trouver sa loi barbare.² En somme, quelle est la source de la pitié que nous inspire la jeune héroïne, qu'elle inspirera du moins à la généralité des spectateurs ? La voici : Zaïre est innocente, Zaïre serait heureuse si le christianisme ne venait à la traverse de son bonheur. Elle est victime d'une religion intransigeante, Voltaire dirait, du fanatisme. Je suis presque certain qu'il eût souri malicieusement à l'opinion, d'ailleurs ironique, de Châteaubriand. Au reste, il n'importe. En dépit de ces réserves, le cadre de *Zaïre* demeure indubitablement chrétien. L'effort de Voltaire pour se dégager de lui-même, pour s'oublier, n'a jamais été plus sensible ni même plus réussi. Et cela, joint à la peinture toute française de l'amour, à la donnée originale de la pièce, établit sa complète indépendance à l'égard de Shakespeare. *Zaïre* est une pièce classique. Je ne songe pas seulement aux trois unités, à l'absence du comique, à la condition royale des personnages, à leur langage souvent pompeux. *Zaïre* est classique au meilleur sens du mot. Comme les meilleures tragédies de Corneille et de Racine, elle place le drame dans un conflit d'ordre général. De là, un intérêt universel et durable.

Je conclus. Il est certain que Voltaire a subi l'influence du

¹ *Polyeucte*, I, 1; II, 6; IV, 2, 3.

² III, 4, 5.

théâtre anglais et de Shakespeare en particulier. Cela est vrai aussi pour tout le dix-huitième siècle. Mais on a beaucoup exagéré cette influence. Ne parlons ici que de Voltaire. Deux ou trois pièces exceptées—*La Mort de César, Sémiramis*¹—elle ne porte guère sur le fond ni sur l'esprit ni sur la conduite de ses tragédies. Il a puisé chez les Anglais une action plus saisissante, le goût des péripéties, le souci du spectacle, un désir de liberté plus grande, en somme, quelque chose d'extérieur. Et si l'on arrête dans ces bornes l'imitation d'*Othello* à propos de *Zaire*, si on la réduit à quelques ressemblances de détail inévitables, nous sommes d'accord. J'ai eu le dessein de prouver l'originalité de *Zaire*, non pour diminuer la gloire de Shakespeare—elle est au-dessus de toute atteinte—non pour lui disputer sa part d'influence, lorsqu'elle est certaine, mais pour rendre justice à Voltaire, quand il y a droit. Il se trouve que son chef-d'œuvre² est, à mon avis, de source et de couleur entièrement françaises. J'ai du plaisir à le proclamer.

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¹ Je ne cite pas *Mahomet*. Mr. Lounsbury le rapproche de *Macbeth*. D'après lui, Pal-mire reproduit *Lady Macbeth*. Je ne vois entre les deux héroïnes aucun rapport de caractère, de situation, de passion ni de langage. Si une simple analogie suffisait pour crier à l'imitation, je songerais plutôt à *Rodogune* de Corneille, où une jeune princesse pousse son amant au meurtre de sa mère. Je songerais encore au *Marchand de Londres* de Lillo. Mais d'ailleurs, après analyse et comparaison, je serais tenté de conclure que Voltaire ne s'est peut-être souvenu d'aucune de ces deux pièces.

² Ce qui ne veut pas dire une pièce sans défauts.

GREENE'S "MENAPHON" AND "THE THRACIAN WONDER"

1. In William Warner's *Albion's England*¹ is told the pastoral story of Curan and Argentile. The following is a brief outline:² Adelbright, upon his deathbed, intrusted his only child, the princess Argentile, to the guardianship of his brother, Edel. Edel, scheming to make himself sole king of the realm, kept his niece mewed up from all suitors. The fame of her beauty, however, spread over all the world. Curan, "son unto a prince in Danske," disguised himself as a kitchen drudge, and thus secured access to the princess, revealed his noble birth, and declared his love. "Her answer was, she husbandless would stay." The uncle, discovering the secret courtship of the kitchen groom, began to urge the suit, for by such an ignoble match he hoped effectively to dispose of his niece. In order to escape the designs of her uncle, Argentile fled to the fields and took up the quiet life of a shepherdess. "When Curan heard of her escape, the anguish in his heart was more than much, and after her from court he did depart." He settled as a shepherd near the spot where Argentile daily tended her flocks. Soon, by chance, he met the beautiful shepherdess, and "then began a second loue, the worser of the twaene." Argentile yielded to the suit of the importunate shepherd, disclosed her identity, and all ended happily.

2. So far as I can learn, no one has suggested this story as the source of Robert Greene's *Menaphon*. *Albion's England* was printed in 1586, *Menaphon* appeared in 1589; Greene, therefore, was probably familiar with Warner's poem. In his novel he has used the same general plot; this, however, he has modified, expanded, and filled in with details. From England the scene is transferred to the more conventional Arcadia; the uncle is changed

¹ Book IV, chap. xx.

² The outline given by Collier (*Poet. Decam.*, Vol. I, pp. 285, 286), and often quoted, is materially incorrect. Curan is not driven from court, nor did the princess love him at all until the second courtship. Moreover, he followed her into the country, and not she him.

to the harsh father; a child is added; the rural background is fully developed; and the closing events are treated in detail. For the plots of his novels Greene needed little more than a suggestion; this, in the case of *Menaphon*, came, I believe, from *Albion's England*.

3. In 1617 the story appeared in a third version by William Webster:

The most pleasant and delightful Historie of Curan, a Prince of Danske, and the fayre Princesse Argentile, Daughter and Heyre to Adelbright, sometime King of Northumberland. Shewing His first Loue vnto her, his successlesse suits, and the low deiections he underwent for her sake. His second Loue to the same Lady unknowne, taking her for a poore Countrie Damsell. She (by reason of the vnkindnesse of King Edell her vnkle and Gardian) hauing forsooke the Court, and vndertooke the profession of a Neatherdes Mayde. His constant loue (after her long continued unkindnes) rewarded with her wished consent, their happie Nuptials, and mutuall reioycings, his valour and victorious warre with King Edell. And lastly his peacefull installment in the Kingly Throne. Enterlacte with many pritty and pithie prayses of beauty, and other amorous discourses, pleasing, smooth and delightfull. By William Webster. London. 1617. [4to, 32 leaves; a poem in six-line stanzas].¹

This is obviously founded on Warner's *Albion's England*. "It is much expanded," says Collier; "the incidents are related in more detail, and the speeches of the persons given at greater length."² The work is inaccessible to me; the title, however, indicates no borrowing whatever from Greene.³

4. In 1661 Francis Kirkman printed a play called *The Thracian Wonder*, assigning it on the title-page to John Webster and William Rowley. In his remarks addressed to the reader he gives the following introduction:

It is now the second time of my appearing in print in this nature: I should not have troubled you, but that I believe that you will be as well pleased as myself; I am sure that when I applied myself to buying and

¹ Hazlitt's *Hand-Book*, p. 647.

² There is another case of borrowing from Warner's poem, which perhaps deserves notice. "The 11th Ballad in Evans's Collection (Vol. I, edit. 1777) is an impudent plagiary from Warner, in which generally his very words, with a slight alteration, are used: the names are changed for better concealment."—Collier.

³ The last reference that I can find to this poem is in the catalogue of Heber's sale (1836). His copy which cost him £15 15s sold for £4 10s. Apparently it is the only copy in existence. It is not in the British Museum or in the Bodleian Library.

reading of books, I was very well satisfied when I could purchase a new play. I have promised you three this term,—*A Cure for a Cuckold* was the first; this the second; and the third, viz. *Gamer Gurton's Needle*, is ready for you . . . I have several manuscripts of this nature, written by worthy authors; and I account it much pity they should now lie dormant, and buried in oblivion.

Writers on the drama are generally agreed that Kirkman was mistaken in attributing the play to Webster and Rowley.¹ Mr. Fleay alone has attempted to identify the real author. He is sure that the play is one of Heywood's lost pieces:

1598, Dec. 6; 1599, Jan. 26. *War without blows and Love without suit* ("without strife" in the second entry). This is the same play as *The Thracian Wonder*; cf. in i. 2, "You never shall again renew your suit;" but the love is given at the end without any suit; and in iii. 2, "Here was a happy war finished without blows." It was probably, like many other of Heywood's plays, revived for the Queen's men c. 1607, when W. Rowley and Webster were writing for them; whence the absurd attribution of the authorship to them by Kirkman.²

With remarkable inconsistency Mr. Fleay later in the same work³ says:

The probable date of production is c. 1617, and the company Prince Charles'. The plot is from *Curan and Argentile*, William Webster's poem, 1617, which was an enlargement of Warner's story in his *Albion's England*, 1586.

It is hard to see how a play performed in 1598, and revived in 1607, could take its plot from a work dating 1617.

In assigning the source of the play to the pastoral poems of Warner and of Webster, Mr. Fleay is following all other writers on the subject.⁴ Hence his trouble with dates. The dramatist, however, had in mind, not Warner or Webster, but Greene's

¹ "Kirkman probably knowing the story and that a man of the name of Webster (meaning William Webster) had versified it, thought he might attribute it safely to his name-sake John Webster." Collier, *Poet. Decam.*, Vol. I, pp. 268, 269. Kirkman's professional reputation was perhaps not of the best. On the title page of the first (separate) edition of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Beggar's Bush*, Printed for H. Robinson and Anne Moseley, 1661, appears the following notice conspicuously displayed: "You may speedily expect those other Playes, which Kirkman and his Hawkers have deceived the buyers withall, selling them at treble the value, that this and the rest will be sold for, which are the only originall and corrected copies, as they were first purchased by us at no mean rate, and since printed by us."

² *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, Vol. I, p. 287.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 332.

⁴ See Collier, Dyce, Hazlitt, Sidney Lee, etc.

popular and well-known novel, *Menaphon*.¹ In his introduction to *Menaphon* Mr. Arber says: "It is really in its form a Prose Play enlivened by Songs." The author of *The Thracian Wonder* proves Mr. Arber's statement; he has followed the story as closely as did Shakespeare in dramatizing *Pandosto* or *Rosalind*.² The following is a comparison of the *dramatis personæ* of the two pieces:³

"THRACIAN WONDER"

Pheander, king of Thrace; later disguised; falls in love with his own daughter.

Ariadne, daughter to Pheander; disguised as shepherdess queen.

King of Sicilia.

Radagon, son to Sicilia; in love with Ariadne; disguised as the shepherd Menalcas.

Sophos, uncle to Ariadne; takes side of the lovers.

Eusanius, son to Ariadne and Radagon; lost; disguised as shepherd pays court to his mother.

King of Africa, who rears Eusanius in his court.

Lillia Guida, daughter to Africa, in love with Eusanius.

Antimon, shepherd; rescues Ariadne, pays suit to her, and, being rejected, thrusts her from his cote.

Palemon, shepherd swain in love with Serena.

"MENAPHON"

Democles, king of Arcadia; later disguised; falls in love with his own daughter.

Sephestia, daughter to Democles; disguised as shepherdess queen.

King of Thrace.

Maximus, son to Thrace; in love with Sephestia; disguised as shepherd Melicertus.

Lamedon, uncle to Sephestia; takes side of lovers.

Pleusidippus, son to Sephestia and Maximus; lost; disguised as shepherd pays court to his mother.

King of Thrace, who rears Pleusidippus in his court.

Olympia, daughter to Thrace; in love with Pleusidippus.

Menaphon, shepherd; rescues Sephestia, pays suit to her, and, being rejected, thrusts her from his cote.

Doron, shepherd swain, in love with Carmela.

¹ Mr. Fleay's ingenious identification of *The Thracian Wonder* with Heywood's play is thus, in reality, free from conflict in dates. *Menaphon* was printed in 1589; the entry in Henslowe is dated 1598: "Lent vnto Robarte shawe, the 6 of desembr 1598 to bye a Boocke called ware with owt blowes & loue with owt sewte of Thomas hawodes some of iij 11." And again: "Lent vnto Robart shawe the 26 of Janewaraye 1598 to paye Thomas hawode in full payment for his boooke called Ware with owt blowes & loue with owt stryfe the some of xxxx s."

² A careful comparison of the play with Warner's poem shows no borrowing whatever.

³ I am responsible for both *dramatis personæ*.

"THRACIAN WONDER"

Serena, shepherdess beloved by
Palemon.

Clown, a coarse, foolish shepherd.

Tityrus, shepherd who disdains
love, is overcome by Ariadne.

Pythia, priestess at Delphi.

Two Lords, ambassadors to Delphi.

*Lords, attendants, soldiers, shep-
herds, and shepherdesses.*

"MENAPHON"

Carmela, shepherdess beloved by
Doron.

(Probably suggested by the clownish
lovemaking of Doron and Carmela.)

(Probably suggested by Menaphon's early disdain of love,
and later conquest by Sephestia.)

Pythia, priestess at Delphi.

Two Lords, ambassadors to Delphi.

*Lords, attendants, soldiers, pirates,
shepherds, and shepherdesses.*

It would be tedious to trace the similarity of plot throughout. The two works are within reach of everyone. I have collected, however, a number of passages borrowed with little change from *Menaphon*. I do not claim that these are all the passages thus borrowed; a more careful study would probably reveal others. The following, however, are conclusive enough:

I, 2; p. 129:¹

Tit. Yes, prithee mark it;
I'll tell thee my opinion now of love.

Love is a law, a discord of such force,
That 'twixt our sense and reason makes divorce;
Love's a desire, that to obtain betime,
We lose an age of years pluck'd from our prime;
Love is a thing to which we soon consent,
As soon refuse, but sooner far repent.

Menaphon, pp. 88, 89:²

But Gentlemen, since we haue talkte of Loue so long, you shall
guae me leaue to shewe my opinion of that foolish fancie thus.

What thing is Loue? It is a power diuine
That raines in vs: or else a wreakefull law
That doomes our mindes, to beautie to encline. . . .

Loue is a discord, and a strange diuorce
Betwixt our sense and reason, by whose power,
As madde with reason, we admit that force. . . .

The numbers refer to Hazlitt's edition of *Webster's Dramatic Works* (1857), Vol. IV.

The numbers refer to Arber's reprint of *Menaphon*.

Loue's a desire, which for to waite a time,
 Dooth loose an age of yeeres, and so doth passe,
 As dooth the shadow seuerd from his prime,
 Seeming as though it were, yet neuer was.

Leauing behinde nought but repentant thoughts
 Of daies ill spent, for that which profits noughts.

I, 2; p. 129:

They're like the winds upon Lapanthae's shore,
 That still are changing: O, then love no more!

Menaphon, p. 25:

As vpon the shoares of *Lapanthe* the winds continue neuer
 one day in one quarter, so the thoughtes of a louer neuer continue
 scarce a minute in one passion.

I, 2; p. 129:

A woman's love is like that Syrian flower,
 That buds, and spreads, and withers in an hour.

Menaphon, p. 43:

. . . . like the hearbes in *Syria*, that flourish in the morne, and
 fade before night.

I, 2; p. 132:

See where she comes!
 Like to Diana in her summer's weed,
 Going to sport by Arethusa's fount.

Menaphon, p. 41:

Like to *Diana* in her Summer weed
 Girt with a crimson roabe of brightest die,
 goes faire *Samela*.
 Whiter than be the flockes that straggling feede,
 When washt by *Arethusa*, faint they lie.

I, 2; p. 133:

Serena commands Palemon not to pay further court to her.
 Palemon replies:

"Dear love,
 Recall this doom, and let me undergo
 Herculean labours."

Menaphon, p. 54:

Samela commands Melicertus: "I charge you . . . not to say
 any more as touching loue for this time." Melicertus replies: "If
 thou hadst enioyned me as *Juno* did to *Hercules*, most daungerous
 labours . . ."

I, 2; p. 134:

Bar me my food—I'll like the Argive live
 In contemplation of my mistress' beauty.

Menaphon, p. 36:

Menaphon, like the *Argive* in the Date gardens of *Arabia*,
 liued with the contemplation of his Mistres beautie.

I, 2; p. 134:

Whereas the snickfail grows, and hyacinth;
 The cowslip, primrose, and the violet,
 Shall serve to make thee garlands for thy head.

Menaphon, p. 36:

There growes the cintfoyle, and the hyacinth, the cowslopp, the
 primrose, and the violet, which my flockes shall spare for flowers to
 make thee garlands.

I, 2; p. 134:

I'll fetch Senessa from the down of swans.¹

Menaphon, p. 77:

Or like the downe of Swannes where *Senesse* wonnes.

I, 2; p. 134:

Thou shalt be garded round with jolly swains,
 Such as was Luna's love on Latmus' hill:
 Thy music shall surpass the Argus-tamer.

Menaphon, p. 47:

I should bee garded from the foldes with iollie Swaines, such as
 was *Lunas* Loue on the hills of Latmos; their pipes sounding like
 the melodie of *Mercurie*, when he lulld asleepe *Argus*.

II, 2; p. 145:

In every corner here content sits smiling.

Menaphon, p. 33:

In euerie corner of the house Content sitting smiling. . . .

II, 2, p. 145:

The mountain tops I make my morning walks,
 The evening shades my recreation.

Menaphon, p. 36:

The mountaine tops shall be thy mornings walke, and the shadie
 valleies thy euennings arbour.

¹ "In common with Mr. Dyce, I am wholly unable to make sense of this line. I think I have seen the name *Senessa* as the appellation of a certain *Druidess*."—Hazlitt. *Qy.* Coined by Greene in his Euphuistic manner from *cygne*.

II, 2; p. 145, 146:

I take delight to gaze upon the stars,
In which, methinks, I read philosophy;
And by the astronomical aspects
I search out nature's secrets; the chief means
For the preventing my lamb's prejudice.
I tell you, sir, I find, in being a shepherd,
What many kings want in their royalties.

Menaphon, p. 24:

Thou art a shepheard *Menaphon*, who in feeding of thy flockes,
findest out natures secrecie, and in preuenting thy lambes preuidice
conceiptest the Astronomicall motions of the heauens: holding thy
sheep-walkes to yeeld as great Philosophie, as the Ancients discourse
in their learned Academies and by being a shepheard findest
that which Kings want in their royalties.

II, 3; p. 152 (the following is the oracle in *The Thracian Wonder*):

Content shall keep in town and field,
When Neptune from his waves shall yield
A Thracian Wonder; and as when
It shall be prov'd 'mongst Thracian men,
That lambs have lions to their guides,
And seas have neither ebbs nor tides;
Then shall a shepherd from the plain
Restore your health and crown again.

Menaphon, p. 22 (the following is the oracle in *Menaphon*):

When *Neptune* riding on the Southerne seas
shall from the bosome of his Lemman yeeld
Th' *arcadian* wonder,¹ men and Gods to please:
Plentie in pride shall march amidst the field,
Dead men shall warre, and vnborne babes shall frowne,
And with their fawchens hew their foemen downe.
When Lambes haue Lions for their surest guide,
and Planets rest vpon th' *arcadian* hills:
When swelling seas haue neither ebb nor tide,
When equall bankes the Ocean margine fills.
Then looke *Arcadians* for a happie time,
And sweete content within your troubled Clyme.

III, 1; p. 159:

Comets portend at first blaze, but take effect
Within the bosom of the destinies;
So oracles at Delphos though foretold,
Are shap'd and finish'd in your council-house.

¹ This clause, of course, suggested the title of the play.

Menaphon, p. 22:

. . . . that Comets did portend at the first blaze, but tooke effect in the dated bosome of the destinies; that oracles were foretold at the *Delphian Cau*e, but were shapte out and finished in the Counsell house.

III, 1; p. 159:

And yet I charge you both upon your lives,
Let not the commons understand so much,
Lest several censures raise a mutiny.

Menaphon, p. 23:

. . . . commanded by proclamation that no man should prie into the quiddities of *Apollos* answe, least sundrie censures of his diuine secrecie, should trouble *Arcadia* with some sodaine mutinie.

IV, 1; p. 173:

Sitting upon the plain,
I saw a face of such surpassing beauty,
That Jove and nature, should they both contend
To make a shape of their mix'd purity,
Could not invent a sky-born form so beautiful as she.

Menaphon, p. 52:

Not *Ioue* or Nature should they both agree
To make a woman of the Firmament,
Of his mixt puritie could not inuent
A Skie borne form so beautifull as she.

The fact that the author's debt to Greene has passed unnoticed so long calls to mind the passage in Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour*:¹

Fast. She does observe as pure a phrase, and use as choice figures in her ordinary conferences, as any be in the *Arcadia*.

Car. Or rather in *Greenes* works, whence she may steal with more security.

Greene himself complains, in his *Groat's Worth of Wit* (1592), of "those puppets, who speak from our mouths, those anticks garnisht in our colours." It is just possible that he included in his attack the author of *The Thracian Wonder*.

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¹This play was acted in 1599. Did Jonson have in mind the borrowings in *The Thracian Wonder*? If so, this goes to support Fleay's identification of the play with Heywood's *War without blows and Love without suit*, 1598.

THE ABYSSINIAN PARADISE IN COLERIDGE AND MILTON

In his *Poems of Coleridge*, p. 292, Dr. Garnett annotates the allusion to Abyssinia in *Kubla Khan* as follows:

L. 40. *Singing of Mount Abora.* There seems to be no mountain of this name in Abyssinia at the present day, though one may be mentioned by some ancient traveler. Whether this be the case, or whether the mountain be Coleridge's invention, the name must be connected with the river Atbara, the Astaboras of the ancients, which rises in Abyssinia and falls into the Nile near Berber. The principal affluent of this river is the Tacazze = *terrible*, so called from the impetuosity of its stream. If Coleridge knew this, an unconscious association with the impetuosity of the river he had been describing may have led to the apparently far-fetched introduction of the Abyssinian maid into a poem of Tartary.

Abora might be a variant spelling, not only of *Atbara*, but of *Amara* in some old itinerary or, say, in one of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century books that touch on the location of the paradise terrestrial. I have not, however, been able to find the variant in anything that Coleridge read. Presumably he read many both of the earlier and of the later travelers. One of the later, the best authority that he could have for his knowledge of Abyssinia, was James Bruce, whose *Travels to Discover the Sources of the Nile* fell into Coleridge's hand perhaps as early as 1794.¹ It is barely possible that Coleridge borrowed the book from Southey, for the latter's library in 1844 contained a copy of the Dublin (1790) edition. Bruce, of course, mentions the river *Astaboras* or *Atbara*, as well as *Atbara*, a peninsula, and *Amhara* (compare *Amara*), a "division of country." He speaks of the *Tacazzè* also, remarking on the contrast between its placidity at one season² and its turbulence when swollen with rain:

But three fathoms it certainly had rolled in its bed; and this prodigious body of water, passing furiously from a high ground in a very deep descent, tearing up rocks and large trees in its course, and forcing down

¹ *Coleridge's Poems: Facsimile Reproduction*, p. 173.

² Edinburgh edition (1790), Vol. III, p. 157.

their broken fragments scattered on its stream, with a noise like thunder echoed from a hundred hills, these very naturally suggest an idea, that, from these circumstances, it is very rightly called the *terrible*.¹

Some of the diction and imagery here reminds one of Coleridge's tumultuous river *Alph*. However, there is in general not enough of the fabulous about Bruce to warrant the supposition that Coleridge is indebted to him for much of *Kubla Khan*, full though that poem be of the spirit of the "old travellers." In any case, I cannot believe that Dr. Garnett has hit upon the "unconscious association" that brought Abyssinia into "a poem of Tartary."

For that matter, I cannot regard "poem of Tartary" as an entirely fitting name for Coleridge's sensuous vision. This might preferably be termed a dream of the terrestrial, or even of the "false," paradise; since, aside from its unworthy, acquiescent admission of demoniac love within so-called "holy" precincts,² it reads like an arras of reminiscences from several accounts of natural³ or enchanted parks, and from various descriptions of that elusive and danger-fraught garden which mystic geographers have studied to locate from Florida to Cathay.⁴ Like the Tartar paradise at the beginning of *Kubla Khan* and the bewitched inclosure of the Old Man of the Mountain which seems to appear toward the end,⁵ this Abyssinian hill in the middle is simply one of those "sumptuous" retreats whose allurements occupied the imagination of a marvel-hunter like Samuel Purchas. It is certainly not "Coleridge's invention." The Portuguese Alvarez passed by the mountain *Amara* in Abyssinia and was acquainted with the myth concerning it.⁶ Incidentally he speaks of a city

¹ Edinburgh edition (1790), Vol. III, p. 158.

² A savage place! as holy and enchanted
As e'er beneath a wan ing moon was haunted
By woman wailing for her demon-lover!

— *Kubla Khan*, ll. 14-16

³ For example, Bartram's descriptions of Georgia and Florida in his *Travels*, etc (Philadelphia, 1791).

⁴ See the authorities cited in Pierre Daniel Huet's *La situation du paradis terrestre* (Paris, 1711).

⁵ Compare Purchas his *Pilgrimage* (1617), p. 428.

⁶ See his account (chap. 54) in Ramusio.

in that region, called *Abra*, the name of which may in some way be connected with Coleridge's *Abora*.

However, if we do not demand unusual exactitude in the poet's handling of proper names, we need not go far afield to discover his mountain; no farther, in fact, than the volume which he says he was reading before he fell asleep and dreamed his *Kubla Khan*. Purchas has an entire chapter of his *Pilgrimage*, entitled "Of the Hill Amara," in which he has collected the substance of the stories about that fabulous spot. An excerpt or two from him may serve in identification:

The hill Amara hath alreadie been often mentioned, and nothing indeed in all Ethiopia more deserueth mention. . . . This hill is situate as the nauil of that Ethiopian body, and center of their Empire, vnder the Equinoctiall line, where the Sun may take his best view thereo, as not encountering in all his long iourny with the like Theatre, wherein the Graces & Muses are actors, no place more graced with Natures store, the Sunne himself so in loue with the sight, that the first & last thing he vieweth in all those parts is this hill. . . . Once, Heauen and Earth, Nature and Industrie, have all been corriuals to it, all presenting their best presents, to make it of this so louely presence, some taking this for the place of our Fore-fathers Paradise. And yet though thus admired of others, as a Paradise, it is made a Prison to some [i. e., the princes of Abyssinia], on whom Nature had bestowed the greatest freedome. . . .¹

This, then, is the *Mount Abora* of which Coleridge (or his slave-girl) sings, a paradise which he is led to compare with that of Tartary by the most intimate of mental associations. It is also the *Mount Amara* of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, occurring in a section of that poem with which I can fancy the author of *Kubla Khan* as especially familiar; in the fourth book, where Milton offers his marvelous description of the authentic paradise terrestrial, distinguishing it carefully from sundry false claimants:

Nor, where Abassin kings their issue guard,
Mount Amara (though this by some supposed
True Paradise) under the Ethiop line
By Nilus' head, enclosed with shining rock
A whole day's journey high, but wide remote
From this Assyrian garden. . . .²

¹ Purchas (1617), p. 843.

² *Paradise Lost*, Book IV, ll. 280-86.

When the industrious Todd¹ pointed out a connection between these lines and Purchas' chapter on Mount Amara, quoting the passage given below from the *Pilgrimage*, he failed to note that later on in the fourth book Milton had, in spite of his distinction, to all appearances levied on Purchas' description of the false Abyssinian garden for embellishment of the true "Assyrian." Purchas goes on with the account of his "hill."

It is situate in a great Plaine largely extending it selfe every way, without other hill in the same for the space of 30. leagues, the forme thereof round and circular, the height such, that it is a daies worke to ascend from the foot to the top; round about, the rock is cut so smooth and euen, without any vnequall swellings, that it seemeth to him that stands beneath, like a high wall, whereon the Heauen is as it were propped: and at the top it is over-hanged with rocks, iutting forth of the sides the space of a mile, bearing out like mushromes, so that it is impossible to ascend it. . . . It is above twenty leagues in circuit compassed with a wall on the top, well wrought, that neither man nor beast in chase may fall downe. The top is a plaine field, onely toward the South is a rising hill, beautifying this plaine, as it were with a watch-tower, not seruing alone to the eye, but yeelding also a pleasant spring which passeth through all that Plaine and making a Lake, whence issueth a River, which hauing from these tops espied Nilus, never leaves seeking to find him, whom he cannot leave both to seeke and finde. . . . The way vp to it is cut out within the Rocke, not with staires, but ascending by little and little, that one may ride vp with ease; it hath also holes cut to let in light, and at the foote of this ascending place, a faire gate, with a *Corpus du Garde*. Halfe way vp is a faire and spacious Hall cut out of the same rocke, with three windowes very large vpwards: the ascent is about the length of a lance and a halfe: and at the top is a gate with another gard. . . . There are no Cities on the top, but palaces, standing by themselves, in number four and thirtie, spacious, sumptuous, and beautifull, where the Princes of the Royall bloud have their abode with their Families. The Souldiers that gard the place dwell in Tents.²

This sunlit and symmetrical hill, with its miracle of inner carven passages, may partially explain Coleridge's "sunny dome" and "caves of ice" (why of ice?) which must have puzzled more than one reader in *Kubla Khan*. The preceding lines from Milton should also be compared, and, as I have hinted, the following as well:

¹ *Milton's Poetical Works*, ed. Todd (1809), Vol. III, pp. 101, 102.

² Purchas (1617), p. 844.

. . . . the setting Sun
 Slowly descended, and with right aspect
 Against the eastern gate of Paradise
 Levelled his evening rays. It was a rock
 Of alabaster, piled up to the clouds,
 Conspicuous far, winding with one ascent
 Accessible from Earth, one entrance high;
 The rest was craggy cliff, that overhung
 Still as it rose, impossible to climb.
 Betwixt these rocky pillars Gabriel sat,
 Chief of the angelic guards . . .¹

There are, it is true, too many points of similarity in the various paradeses of The Fathers and geographers to permit the critic to say with great assurance that Milton or Coleridge borrowed this or that embellishment of his mystical inclosure from any one prior writer. We are dealing here, I presume, with a world-old effort of imagination showing certain reappearing essentials of an inherited conception, such as a fountain with outflowing "sinuous rills," a symmetrical mountain, a disappearing "sacred river," all within a wall of measured circuit, and the like, the chief of which may be found in a poem of small compass like *Kubla Khan*²—probably all of them in the fourth book of *Paradise Lost*. In how far Milton may be indebted to Purchas' compendium for all sorts of quasi-geographical lore, in addition to the slight obligations already indicated, is a question lying rather in the province of the professed student of Milton. For the present writer, whose interest here is more particularly in Coleridge, it seems enough to point out the relationship between Coleridge's beautiful fragment and Milton's completed masterpiece; to indicate, in passing, Milton's greater distinctness and mastery in handling his material; finally, to suggest, on the basis of this brief paper, that, instead of continuing to treat *Kubla Khan* as a sort of incomparable *hapax legomenon*, wholly unexplainable, because

¹ *Paradise Lost*, Book IV, ll. 540-49.

² Compare, for example, Coleridge's "mighty fountain," "sinuous rills," and "meandering" river with the following, quoted by Todd: "In ipso horutorum apice *fons* est eximius, qui primum argenteis aquarum vorticibus ebulliens, mox diffusus in fluvium sinuosus flexibus, atque meandris concusus *oberrat*, et felicia arva perennibus fuscundat rivulis."—P. Causinus, *de Elogiis*, lib. XI., edit. 1634 (Todd, *Milton's Poetical Works* [1809], Vol. III, pp. 95, 96). Cf. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book IV, ll. 223 ff., and the first part of *Kubla Khan*.

incomparable, we shall understand it and its author better if we seek to trace the subtle, yet no less real, connection between them and the literature to which they belong. Specifically, let the reader of Coleridge be also a reader of Coleridge's master, Milton, and the lover of *Kubla Khan* a lover also of that "pleasant soil" in which "his far more pleasant garden God ordained."¹

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¹ *Paradise Lost*, Book IV, l. 215.

AN OBSCURE PASSAGE IN DANTE'S "PURGATORY"

Sicura, quasi rocca in alto monte,
Seder sopr' esso una puttana sciolta
M' apparve con le ciglia intorno pronte:
E, come perchè non gli fosse tolta,
Vidi di costa a lei dritto un gigante,
E baciavansi insieme alcuna volta.
Ma, perchè l' occhio cupido e vagante
A me rivolse, quel feroce drudo
La flagellò dal capo infin le piante.
Poi, di sospetto pieno e d'ira crudo,
Disciolse il mostro, e trassel per la selva
Tanto, che sol di lei mi fece scudo
Alla puttana ed alla nuova belva.

—*Purg.*, xxxii, 148–60.

The general meaning of this passage may be fairly considered as accepted. The harlot seated upon the car of the church is the degenerate papacy (or a special pope), and the giant typifies the kings of France (or a special king). They caress each other in forming alliances. But when the harlot turns her eyes on Dante, her fierce lover scourges her, and afterward drags her away through the wood from out Dante's sight. This latter is also commonly accepted as indicating the removal of the seat of the papacy to Avignon.

The disagreement in interpretation comes in the meaning of the harlot turning her eyes on Dante. Mr. Norton, in the note to this passage in the last edition of his translation, says: "The meaning . . . is obscure, and no satisfactory interpretation of it has been proposed;" and Dr. Moore in his *Studies*¹ passes over the phrase.

Leaving out of consideration the hopelessly indeterminate solutions, the explanations offered may be brought into three divisions; viz., that the papacy was looking longingly toward (a) men of worth, or the Christian people; (b) the Italian people; (c) the other rulers, his (Philip's) enemies, or the Ghibellines.

¹ Vol. III, pp. 208, 209.

The first two explanations do not satisfy us on account of their vagueness. Philip could hardly object to the pope's having to do with honorable men or Christian peoples, as long as this did not interfere with his own plans. Still more could the people of Italy be expected to draw the pope's attention; and if Philip were sure of the pope, he would hardly be likely to object to this. Our dissatisfaction with the previous explanations loses much of its strength when applied to the third class. Philip's (or the French) plans would be seriously hindered if the papacy were to turn toward the other princes, his enemies, the Ghibellines. But Dante expressly says *a me*, and he never takes himself elsewhere as the representative of princes. Still here he does make himself enter into the allegory; so we must find some meaning for the personal element introduced, and yet one which shall be in consonance with the historical bearing of the passage in question.

The whole allusion is evidently a political one. Now, what was Dante's position? He was never against the theoretical papacy, but only against the debased and debauched popes of his times. He was fiercely opposed to the house of France, because it was debasing the papacy and because it was working against that Holy Roman Empire which meant so much to Dante during the time when this passage must have been written. He may have already composed his *De Monarchia*, although this is of slight bearing on the case. Still Dante, while holding to his theoretical date of 1300, was not averse to looking ahead and to utilizing his subsequent knowledge. Coming back to the time probably indicated in the passage under consideration; if we are to consider that the end of the canto marks the year 1305, then we must consider Dante's condition prior to that time. Even if his political importance has been unduly emphasized by some writers, it is nevertheless a fact that he took no inconsiderable part in the politics of Florence from 1298 to 1302. He may have gone to Rome in the Jubilee year; he may or may not have gone later as an ambassador to the pope; at all events, he steadfastly opposed the pretensions of the pope at Florence. For a time after his exile he worked with the Ghibellines, until he saw the hopelessness of the lines along which they were struggling.

Moreover, Dante took himself very seriously. He was a deep thinker, he held definite and healthy political views, and he knew it. He earnestly wanted these views to triumph, and he was insistent in expressing, and desirous of imposing, them, as is shown by his own words, and especially by his letters at the time of the descent of Henry of Luxemburg. Such a man occupies a large position in his own world—larger, perhaps, than in the world as seen by others.

With these ideas in view, and taking into consideration the explanations already proposed, may we not see in the harlot's turning her eyes upon Dante a tendency of the papacy to accept the political ideas advocated by him, and at least a movement toward them? Dante does not use a phrase which would indicate that much advance was necessarily made, simply *l' occhio a me rivolse*—a preparatory step, but one fraught with hopeful possibilities. Now, to what historical fact, or facts, can this refer?

If we accept the usual interpretation of the scourging as indicating the affair of Anagni, Dante evidently alludes to the facts which led up to it, which were as follows: Albert was elected emperor of Germany in 1298, and when Boniface VIII denied his right, asserting his own supremacy, Albert took up arms and compelled the archbishop of Mayence, a former ally of the pope, to make an alliance with him (Albert). This forced the pope's hand, and he soon came to an understanding with Albert, to whom he offered the headship of the Holy Roman Empire in 1303, in return for Albert's protection; also excommunicating Philip, with whom he had a serious quarrel. Philip then took immediate action in conjunction with the Colonna family and Boniface was arrested in Anagni.

That Dante looked upon "Alberto Tedesco" as a hope of the imperial party, and as the man that his own ideals demanded, is shown in the powerful appeal in *Purg.*, VI, 97-117; and any recognition of him by the papacy would be a step in the right direction. The news that Boniface had entered into an agreement with Albert, and would crown him emperor, would, therefore, seem to justify Dante's phrase—both in its personal and in its historical bearing. The question of Dante's theoretical equal

balance would be of importance ultimately; for the present it would be sufficient that the pope had broken away from France and had acknowledged the empire.

Some objection has been raised to considering the scourging as indicating the episode of Anagni. Whether this be considered valid or not (and it generally is not), it suggests another explanation for the words under consideration, and one which gives even a more personal interpretation to the *a me*.

It is clear that the harlot cannot typify Boniface VIII during the whole episode; for between his death and the removal of the papacy to Avignon two other popes had been chosen—Benedict XI and Clement V. There is, then, no reason why one of these others should not be referred to, if the circumstances permit of it. Indeed, it would be quite in consonance with the Dantesque structure, assuming that lines 151–53 referred to Boniface VIII, and lines 157–60 to Clement V, that the central terzina should refer to the central one of the popes of the period, Benedict XI. Let us examine the events of the short tenure of this pope.

On October 22, 1303, Niccolò Boccasino was elected pope, taking the name of Benedict XI. He was a just, conscientious, and holy man, desirous of bringing peace to the world, and of making the papacy what it should be—the source of peace and good-will. He found ample occasion near at hand in Rome and Florence, the two plague spots of Italian politics. Neglecting Rome, the conditions in Florence are well known. The Blacks were intrenched in power, and the Whites exiled. Desirous of reconciling the two factions, Benedict sent the cardinal Niccolò da Prato to Florence. While things promised well at first, and it looked as if the Whites might be allowed to return, the Ultra-Blacks precipitated matters, and the cardinal was forced to return to his master.

We know the importance that this had for Dante; we can imagine that it filled a large part in his thoughts for many days; and we have a remembrance of it in the much-discussed letter to the cardinal, Niccolò da Prato.¹ And yet apparently Dante has

¹ A late and full discussion as to the genuineness of this letter will be found in *Dante e Firenze*, Zenatti (Sansoni), pp. 343–490.

not indicated Benedict XI in the *Divina Commedia*, unless he refers to him here. The efforts of the papacy to effect the return of the banished Whites, of whom Dante considered himself not the least, would be precisely what we might expect to find mentioned here, and the personal element of the allusion would be even more applicable here than in the broader field of world-politics. In turning his eyes upon the banished Whites, the pope would be turning them upon Dante in person.

Will the rest of the terzina bear out this interpretation? What was the scourging from head to foot, the completest of punishments wreaked upon the papacy?

On July 7, 1304, Benedict died, of poison it is generally believed; and such was certainly the belief in Dante's day. So, when we find a contemporary chronicler, Ferreto di Vicenza, recording that Benedict XI died, poisoned by order of Philip of France, we have all necessary to complete this interpretation of Dante's phrase. Later historical research may or may not confirm the exactness of his assertion;¹ it is sufficient for us that it was current at the time. It may also be true that, if Benedict did die poisoned by Philip, the reason would be found rather in the political situation at Rome. But the pope's death, coming, as it did, about a month after the failure of the cardinal to pacify Florence, might well have been closely connected in Dante's mind with this attempted pacification, and would have been the completest of scourgings.

These two explanations are presented as suggestions for a closer and more personal interpretation of lines 154 and 155.

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¹ It does not seem to have been generally held as a fact, Ferreto being the only chronicler who asserts it. Cf. Gautier, *Benoit XI* (Tours, 1876), pp. 222-27.

THE DIFFERENCES IN THE MIDDLE ENGLISH "ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE" AND THEIR BEARING UPON CHAUCER'S AUTHORSHIP

Kaluza's theory that Chaucer never translated more of the *Rommanz de la Rose* than the existing fragments A and C is in conflict with the evidence contained in the Prologue of the *Legend of Good Women* (ll. 322–31, Later Version, Skeat's edition), where the god of love reproaches Chaucer with having translated the *Rommanz*,¹ in these words:

And thou my fo, and al my folk werreyest,
And of myn olde servaunts thou misseyest,
And hindrest hem, with thy translacioun,
And lettest folk from hir devocioun
To serve me, and holdest hit folye
To serve Love. Thou mayst hit nat denye;
For in pleyn text, withouten nede of glose,
Thou hast translated the Romaunce of the Rose,
That is an heresye ageyns my lawe,
And makest wyse folk fro me withdrawe.

This certainly does not refer to the existing fragments A and C, which do not hinder lovers or hold it folly to serve love. Under the allegory, Fragment A contains nothing but a playful account of a young man enjoying life in his youth, and finally being about to fall in love when the fragment ends. Fragment C is directed against hypocrisy and the begging friars, but is decidedly favorable to the lover and the god of love. In this Fragment C, "Richesse" is severely blamed for refusing to help the lover because he is poor, and the dominant note of the fragment is "Doun shal the castel every del"—the castle in which "Ielousye" had imprisoned "Faire-Welcoming." These objections to his translation of the *Rommanz*, which Chaucer puts into the mouth of the god of love, certainly apply to no part of the extant

¹ *Rommanz* indicates *li Rommanz de la Rose*, and the ME translation is referred to as the *Romaunt*. The line-numbering employed throughout this paper is that of Kaluza for the *Rommanz*, and that of Skeat for the *Romaunt*.

Romaunt, but Fragment B, in which a long enumeration of the woes of lovers is given by the god of love, and the lover is sorely mistreated by "Wikked-Tunge," "Daunger," and "Ielousye," and harangued by Dame "Resoun" for over a thousand lines on the folly of love and the preferable character of friendship.

To anyone who has in mind the contents of the different fragments, Chaucer's own words cited above must convey the conviction that his translation did include more than the extant fragments A and C. But whether the extant Fragment B is the one he translated or not is another question. The point made here is not new, but is worth insisting on because of Kaluza's disregard of it in setting up his hypothesis. Ten Brink, as far back as 1867,¹ mentioned this evidence as to Chaucer's having paid fully as much attention to translating the later satirical part of the *Rommanz* as to the earlier portion of *Guillaume de Lorris*.

Lindner and Lounsbury have mentioned the mistranslation:

For thou shalt for this sinne dwelle
Right in the *devils ers* of helle, (7578)

from

Vous en irés ou *puis d'enfer*. (12422)

Lounsbury considered this a proof of Chaucerian authorship, for the translator seems to have had in mind Chaucer's *Somnour's Prologue* in writing this passage, which has nothing in the original to suggest it. Later, Kaluza thought he disposed of this discrepancy between the original and the translation by finding that most of the manuscripts of the *Rommanz* which he examined read:

Vous en irés ou *cul d'enfer*.

It seems, however, that the last word has not been said about this. Whether the translator's original read *cul d'enfer* or *puis d'enfer* really makes no particular difference; the one meant "bottom of hell" and the other "pit of hell." There is a mistranslation in either case. Kaluza makes the same mistake as the translator of Fragment C did. He overlooks the fact that *cul* in OF as well as in modern French, besides indicating a part of the body, was a very common term for the bottom of any object or cavity. The

¹ *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, Vol. VII, pp. 313, 314.

original text meant nothing but "You'll go to the bottom of hell," no matter which reading we adopt. In Godefroy's dictionary this very passage is given as an instance of *cul* meaning simply "bottom" in general. We find a similar reference to the "bottom of hell" in other words in the *Mystère d'Adam*:¹ "d'emfer m'estoet tempter le fond." Lounsbury's point is well taken. We have, however, an instance of *cul* meaning a part of the body in a passage of the original of Fragment B:

Tout li megre du cul lor tremble. (3626)

B was careful to avoid a literal translation:

Bothe Drede and she ful sore quook; (3966)

There are several other interesting specimens of mistranslation.

Lors leva li vilains la *hure* (3711)

is translated by

With that the cherl his *clubbe* gan shake. (4061)

The original says that the ruffian then stood his hair (*hure*) on end. The word *hure* seems to have been unknown to the translator; and he took it to mean "clubbe" from the context.

Qui nuit et jor sourt a grans ondes
Par deux *doiz* creuses et parfondes (1524)

is translated:

That welmeth up with wawes brighte
The mountance of two *finger* highte. (1562)

Here the translator confused *doiz* from *ductos* with *doiz* from *digitos*. Perhaps he did not know that there were two different words having the same form (similar to the two uses of *cul* which he mistook). Or he may have noticed that the word in the text was the one meaning "tubes;" then, by a common psychological process, the other word *doiz* meaning "fingers" suggested itself unsought, and a phrase formed itself about this last word "finger" in the poet's mind. This phrase he considered good enough to put into his translation. We are not justified in concluding that the translator's knowledge of (continental) French was at fault, though it may have been. It

¹ Bartsch's *Chrestomathie*, 6th ed., p. 94, l. 28.

would be a capital point if it could be shown that such mistranslations through ignorance (?) of the language of the original were confined to any particular fragment of the poem; but this does not seem to be the case. It is not worth while to attempt to make a complete collection of data covering the phenomenon, because of the impossibility of deciding whether the words in question were really mistranslated because the translator did not know his French well enough or whether he altered them for other reasons, such as the need of making correct metre and rimes, or because he thought it would improve the passage to change it.

To prove that such cases are really mistranslations through ignorance of (continental) French, it would be necessary to have repeated instances of the same mistake made by the same translator. Such a case seems really to occur in Fragment B. The translator of this part seems to have really misunderstood the adverb *espoir*, confusing it with the noun *espoir* which meant "hope," though the adverb was always used in OF with the meaning "perhaps." This adverb occurs 7 times in the original of B. It is translated once "as I hope" (*Rommanz*, l. 2018); once, "I hope" (l. 4039); once, "I trowe" (l. 4164); and 4 times (in the passages corresponding to *Rommanz*, ll. 2037, 4965, 4993, 5002) it has no one word corresponding to it in the translation. But we have evidence that C did not misunderstand this adverb *espoir*. He translated it once properly by "percas" (l. 11517); once by "redily" (l. 11816); and omitted it once (l. 11926). The word does not occur in the original of A.

A methodical search fails to reveal any more instances of variation between the different fragments in the translation of single words, such as the varying translation of the names of "Bel-Acueil" and the "Bouton" already observed. The vocabulary of the different fragments differs so much, owing to the different subjects treated, that very few words occur in all three sections, aside from the commonest words which are necessarily found in any and all books. Here is a splendid opportunity for someone to prove a difference of authorship of the different fragments by a "vocabulary test"! There is, of course,

some variation in the translation of single words, but it is indiscriminate and does not coincide with any division of the poem into fragments. Fragment B shows more variation in this respect than the other fragments, but this may be due to the greater length of Fragment B, and the consequent greater ease of finding variations among the greater amount of data this fragment offers.

The "Dous-Parlers" of *Rommanz*, ll. 2655, 2743, 4098, is translated "Swete-Speche," but the same character of l. 2667 appears in the translation as "Swete-Speking." "Swete-Speking" makes bad metre in the last instance, but it is necessary to the rime; the first two cases of translation by "Swete-Speche" also occur in rimes. There is a similar variation in the translation of "Douls-Pensers" in *Rommanz*, ll. 2629, 2633, 2742, 4097, by "Swete-Thought," while the same character in *Rommanz*, l. 2645, is translated as "Swete-Thenking." Compare the uniform translation of "Dous-Regars" throughout both A and B as "Swete-Loking." These variations are, it will be noticed, all in Fragment B.

The occasional confusion of a group of words in B is also worthy of remark. One of these groups is *diex*, *amors*, and *diex d'amors*; the other is *boutons*, *rose*, and *rosiers*. In A we never find the words of these groups translated otherwise than literally. But in B these words are sometimes substituted for one another in translating. In B, *diex d'amors* is translated simply "love" in four instances (corresponding to *Rommanz*, ll. 4095, 4112, 4149, 4170), though in 8 other instances it appears as "god of love," as we should expect. Similarly, *diex* though translated "god" in 17 instances in B, is also translated "love" in one instance (corresponding to *Rommanz*, l. 4324) in which *diex d'amors* is meant, but not verbally stated. B also translated *diex* in one instance by "lord"! (*Rommanz*, l. 2475), probably to avoid monotony, as "A! god!" occurs a few lines lower. B generally translated *amors* by "love," but in 7 instances (at the places corresponding to *Rommanz*, ll. 1829, 1837, 2749, 2988, 2999, 3484, 4591) he substituted "the god of love." Scattering instances in B of other trans-

lations of *amors* are: "loving" (corresponding to ll. 2260, 4330); "freendship" (corresponding to l. 4705); "lovers" (corresponding to l. 2658); and "paramours" corresponding to *par amors*, in ll. 4234, 4374), the only analogy in the other fragments to the confusion of this group of words being an isolated instance in Fragment C, where *dieu d'amors* (l. 10702) is translated "love," and perhaps the 3 instances in C where *dix* (ll. 12048, 12083, 12084) is translated "Crist" or "Jesus Crist."

The words of the other group (*boutons*, *rose*, and *rosiers*) were never confused by the translator of Fragment A. None of these words occur in the original of Fragment C, except *rose* which occurs only 3 times and is translated literally in each instance; C must therefore be left out of consideration. In B there is considerable confusion of the words of this group. *Boutons* appears translated "botoun" 19 times; it is also translated "rose" 2 times (*Rommanz*, ll. 1771, 1791). *Rose* is translated literally 23 times; it also appears "botoun" once (l. 3751), and as "roser" 5 times (corresponding to ll. 2783, 2816, 2831, 2843, 2907). This substitution of "roser" for "rose(s)" occurs in a rime only in the last instance mentioned. It is therefore possible that the other instances are copyists' blunders; for if these translations by "roser" were amended to "rose(s)," neither the metre nor the sense of the passages would be disturbed, and a closer correspondence with the original would be secured. *Rosiers* is translated by B 8 times literally, and 4 times by "roses" (*Rommanz*, ll. 1793, 3009, 3783, 3925). It is possible that these four substitutions are also the work of copyists, and that the correct reading is "roser(s)."

A differs strikingly from the other fragments in invariably translating the French *diex* by "god" wherever it occurs (*Rommanz* ll. 40, 440, 492, 776, 1005, 1130, 1307, 1450, 1460, 1502). In the original of Fragment B *diex* occurs 42 times; the word is either omitted from the translation or a direct translation avoided in 22 out of these 42 instances (in the places corresponding to *Rommanz* ll. 2302, 2487, 2665, 2710, 2829, 2908, 3023, 3237, 3372, 3488, 3548, 3869, 3900, 4014, 4031, 4057, 4093, 4100, 4634, 4666, 4799, 4870); while it is translated by "god," "lord,"

or "love" in the passages corresponding to *Rommanz*, ll. 1891, 2033, 2289, 2475, 2477, 2970, 3228, 3351, 3375, 3891, 4149, 4170, 4174, 4324, 4441, 4670, 5005, 5047, 5103, 5108. In the original of Fragment C *diex* occurs 38 times; the word is either omitted or a direct translation of it avoided in 15 out of these 38 instances (viz., in the passages corresponding to *Rommanz*, ll. 11128, 11184, 11551, 11556, 11558, 11648, 11683, 11823, 12176, 12340, 12362, 12445, 12481, 12505, 12528); while it is translated by "god," "Crist," or "Jesus Crist" in the other 23 instances (occurring in *Rommanz*, ll. 10857, 10896, 11186, 11308, 11309, 11409, 11418, 11433, 11450, 11462, 11476, 11523, 11574, 11678, 11680, 12048, 12083, 12084, 12090, 12091, 12132, 12151, 12437).

In the last half of Fragment B there are departures from the original in the gender of several of the characters. I have not noticed any similar deviation in the other sections of the poem.

"Jalousie" is invariably referred to as feminine in the original; pronouns, articles, and inflectional endings indicate its gender in *Rommanz*, ll. 3510, 3511, 3512, 3548, 3582, 3584, 3597, 3622, 3699, 3700, 3704, 3781, 3893, 3918, 3919, 3920, 3921, 3923, 3927, 3987, 3989, 3990, 3997, 4000. In the *Romaunt*, however, "Ielousye" is invariably masculine, as is shown by pronouns, etc., in ll. 3821, 3822, 3823, 3870, 3964, 4049, 4050, 4053, 4148, 4204, 4302, 4304, 4305, 4306, 4307, 4308, 4313, 4314, 4381, 4383, 4384, 4392. Outside of the second half of B, "Jalousie" occurs only once (*Rommanz*, l. 12411), and there is no indication of its gender there either in the original or in the translation.

"Paor" is always referred to as feminine in the *Rommanz* (ll. 3619, 3620, 3629, 3860, 3864, 3866). "Drede," its translation, is referred to in *Romaunt*, ll. 3960, 3961, 3962, 3968, 3969 as masculine; but several hundred lines further on in *Romaunt*, ll. 4216, 4217, 4222, 4225, 4226, it is always feminine. This character is mentioned only once outside of the last half of Fragment B (in *Rommanz* C, l. 10749), and there no indication of the gender is to be found either in the original or in the translation.

As the double negatives *ne . . . pas*, *ne . . . point*, and *ne . . . mie* were frequently used in the *Rommanz de la Rose*, but had not yet become obligatory in the language of that time, it is possible that the different translators may have treated them differently. One of the translators may have had a feeling for these double negatives as such. A complete collection of data covering the translation of these double negatives shows, however, that none of the translators had any habitual way of treating them.

Putting together the three categories of double negatives mentioned above, we find: A translated 11 out of 45 instances by a double negative or intensifying word or phrase; B, 22 out of 131; C, 12 out of 72. A gave 1 out of 4 special treatment; B and C, 1 out of 6 each.

Agreement on such a point is what we should rather expect, and is of no particular consequence, for different authors would probably not differ much in a matter like this. A marked divergence in the treatment of double negatives in different parts of the poem would, however, if it existed, be a strong indication of difference of authorship.

An investigation of the accuracy with which the different translators translated exact numbers shows that the numerals above 2 were accurately translated by A 18 times out of a possible 24; by B 11 times out of a possible 18; and by C 7 times out of a possible 15. Three of the 8 cases not properly translated by C are substitutions of another number for the one in the original. A further examination of the 7 cases correctly translated in Fragment C reveals the fact that in all the cases but one in which C accurately translated the numerals he did so simply because he could not avoid it. These 6 unavoidable cases are:

Neis les onze mile vierges, (11127)
The eleven thousand maydens dere, (6247)

Tout droit ou trentiesme chapitre: (11408)
In his [thrittethe] chapitre right: (6532)

En l'an de l'Incarnacion (11964)
Mil et deus cens cinc et cinquante,
The yeer of the incarnacioun (7096)

A thousand and two hundred yeer,
Fyve and fifty, ferther ne ner,

Lor batailles en quatre partent: (12200)
And foure batels they gan make, (7348)

Si s'en vont en quatre parties (12201)
And parted hem in foure anoon, (7349)

Por assaillir les quatre portes (12202)
The foure gates for to assaile, (7351)

The first example is a reference to the well-known mediaeval legend of the eleven thousand virgins. This number the translator could not change or omit without spoiling the tradition. The second case is an exact reference to the number of the chapter from which a biblical citation appearing in the text is taken; this the translator could not change. The third case is an exact date, the year 1255, the date of the appearance of the *Evangile Pardurable* in Paris. Obviously the translator could not change this either. As to the other three examples: We have been told earlier in the story that "Ielousye" had a square castle built about the "Roser," with a gate on each side and guards at all four gates. Now we come to a passage where it is said that the party about to take the castle divide their forces in *four*, and go forth in *four* parties to assail the *four* gates. These numbers could not be changed or omitted without changing the story, and the translator had to follow copy again, in spite of his evident habit of avoiding an accurate translation of numerals where he could. It would be desirable to have more examples of this in C on which to base a conclusion, but the translator's tendency is pretty evident from what we have.

There are also a few cases in the other fragments where the translator could not avoid translating numbers accurately. The numerals referring to the ten arrows of the god of love, five of them corresponding to each of his two bows, are a necessary part of the story. Though one or two of these cases may be omitted, as they are, in fact, twice in A, yet it would be impossible for the translator to omit all of them or change them all, without changing the story. After all such cases are deducted, we find that 12 of

the 18 cases in which A translated numerals correctly were cases in which he could have avoided an accurate translation if he had cared to do so; and, similarly, 10 of the 11 cases B translated literally were also avoidable ones. The habit of A and B of translating higher numbers correctly is further attested by their generally accurate translation of *deus* (two). A translated *deus* properly 9 times out of 12, and B 3 times out of 5; in the original of C the word does not occur.

Kaluza has published some general statistics showing the frequency with which the riming words of the original are retained in different parts of the translation. A further investigation of the treatment of particular riming terminations shows that the translators had each a noticeable fondness for retaining certain terminations in preference to others. Such a comparison should include only terminations occurring in both languages frequently. And it is not the absolute number of such riming terminations retained by the translator which is of importance, but rather the relative number compared with the total number which the original contains and which he might have retained. After discarding the data relating to riming terminations which were not found to occur often enough to permit of drawing valid conclusions from them, ten common terminations remained: OF *-esse* (< Lat. *-issam*, *-itiam*), *-age* (< Lat. *-aticum*), *-able* (< Lat. *-abilem*), *-ure* (< Lat. *-ura*), *-ise* (< Lat. *-itium*, *-itiam*), *-eus(e)* (< Lat. *-osam*, *-osum*), *-ie* (< Lat. *-ia*), *-on* (< Lat. *-onem*), *-ance(s)*, *-ence* (< Lat. *-antium*, *-entiam*), and *-tié*, *-té* (< Lat. *-tatem*). Whenever a rime in the original with one or both terminations of the etymology here mentioned has corresponding to it in the translation a rime with one or both terminations of the same etymology (viz.: ME *-esse* [or *-nesse* < OE *-nes(se)*], *-age*, *-able*, *-ure*, *-yse*, *-ous*, *-y(e)*, *-oun*, *-aunce(s)* or *-ence(s)*, and *-tee*), then the rime is regarded as retained whether the riming words are identical or not. To keep the inquiry within bounds and make sure of the possibility of retaining the same rimes, terminations identical phonetically with the ones above mentioned, but of different etymology, are not considered.

Of the *-esse* rimes A retained 7 out of 8; B, 8 out of 12; and

C, 8 out of 9. The treatment of this group of rimes is substantially the same in all three sections of the poem.

Of the *-age* rimes A retained 8 out of 10; B, 11 out of 19; and C, 5 out of 11. This rime seems to have been more of a favorite with A than with B or C.

Of the *-able* rimes A retained 4 out of 6; B, 9 out of 11; and C, 9 out of 10. This rime is nearly always retained throughout the poem.

Of the *-ure* rimes A retained 8 out of 16; B, 7 out of 28; and C, 7 out of 10. We see that this rime was generally kept by C, but avoided by B, while the position of A is neutral.

Of the *-ise* rimes A retained 4 out of 8; B, 15 out of 17; and C, the only one which there was in that section of the original. B differs from A in keeping nearly all these rimes that he could.

Of the *-eus(e)* rimes A retained 7 out of 13; B, 11 out of 23; and C, 10 out of 13. C differs from the other fragments in retaining a larger proportion of these rimes.

Of the *-ie* rimes A retained 12 out of 13; B, 18 out of 27; and C, 6 out of 17. A shows a remarkable fondness for this rime; B also generally keeps it; but C avoids it.

Of the rimes in *-on* A retained 8 out of 12; B, 18 out of 35; and C, 11 out of 22. A had a greater tendency to retain these rimes than the others had; while B and C kept about half of theirs.

Of the rimes in *-ance(s)*, *-ence(s)* A retained 6 out of 12; B, 23 out of 33; and C, 19 out of 33. B had a more marked preference for these rimes than either of the other translators.

Of the rimes *-tié*, *-té* A retained 8 out of 13; B, 17 out of 40; and C, 11 out of 20. There is no very striking difference here, though A retained this class of rimes slightly more frequently than the others did.

Interlinear padding, or the insertion of one entire line of matter between two lines of matter fairly closely translated from the original, occurs with different frequency in the different fragments. This extra line added by the translator on his own account is generally either an amplification of the adjacent lines or simply stereotyped phrases. The translation would be more literal, and would make just as good sense, if the padding had been left out,

but there would be no rimes at the places in question. The extra line seems to have been added for the sake of forming a couplet with one of the adjacent lines, and thus gaining a rime.

There are some interesting cases where a pair of alternate lines is thus introduced for padding, as in:

Si le baés a conchiér. (2919)

For thou wolt shame him, if thou
might,

Ne me quier mes en vous fiér;

Bothe ageyn resoun and right.

Car bien est ores esprouvée

I wol no more in thee affye,

That comest so slyghly for tespye;

For it preveth wonder wel, (3157)

This occurs as follows: *Romaunt*, ll. 2698+2700, 3132+3134, 3154+3156 (quoted), 4261+4263, 4722+4724, 4980+4982, 5097+5099, 5248+5250, 7202+7204. All of these instances occur in Fragment B, except the last pair, which is in C.

The commonest kind of interlinear padding is the isolated insertion of a single line between two lines properly translated, as in:

Romaunt A: 36, 172, 238, 336, 365, 430, 532, 580, 624, 688, 709, 728, 777, 811, 828, 950, 1096, 1114, 1142, 1147, 1212, 1284, 1294, 1322, 1342, 1378, 1386, 1420, 1434, 1480, 1528, 1618, 1624, 1646, 1700.

Romaunt B: 1766, 1773, 1783, 1801, 1846, 1853, 1897, 1906, 1915, 1921, 1938, 1950, 1980, 2036, 2039, 2042, 2138, 2151, 2236, 2340, 2442, 2528, 2548, 2574, 2650, 2731, 2740, 2842, 2944, 2953, 2978, 3121, 3125, 3176, 3185, 3198, 3230, 3312, 3316, 3378, 3391, 3396, 3409, 3466, 3632, 3686, 3827, 3941, 3992, 4046, 4122, 4125, 4235, 4460, 4601, 4631, 4642, 4708, 4712, 4746, 4829, 4859, 4883, 4894, 4905, 5041, 5078, 5156, 5197, 5262, 5424, 5574, 5586, 5611, 5776.

Romaunt C: 6037, 6088, 6128, 6263, 6363, 6370, 6546, 6551, 6892, 7126, 7142, 7154, 7272, 7322, 7374, 7395, 7522, 7599, 7618, 7622.

Putting together all the cases of interlinear padding, both the isolated cases and the pairs of alternate lines inserted, we find there are 35 cases of interlinear padding in A in 1,705 lines; 91 cases in B in 4,105 lines; and 22 cases in C in 1,888 lines. We see that the phenomenon is about twice as frequent in Fragments A and B as in C.

Sometimes, instead of inserting a line on his own account, the translator substituted a line of different matter for the line in his original. This was seemingly done for the same purpose of making the rimes come out right. For example:

Quant elz reurent lor martires;	Whan thy resseyved martirdom, (6251)
N'encor n'en sont el mie pires.	And wonnen heven unto her hoom.
Bons cuers fait la pensee bone,	Good herte makith the gode thought;

(11131)

Such interlinear substitutions occur in the *Romaunt* as follows:

A (6 times in 1,705 lines): 222, 406, 632, 718, 1090, 1181.

B (21 times in 4,105 lines): 1713, 1824, 1874, 2049, 2182, 2422, 2983, 3252, 3302, 3502, 3604, 4012, 4354, 4386, 4419, 4512, 4568, 5072, 5313, 5462, 5519.

C (18 times in 1,888 lines): 6252, 6353, 6359, 6464, 6648, 6666, 6767, 6827, 6888, 7049, 7071, 7094, 7118, 7328, 7591, 7636, 7684, 7697.

We see that the translator of C resorted to this expedient three times as frequently as the translator of A, and twice as often as did the translator of B.

Fragment B shows a number of instances of simplification of repetitions which appear in the original, and repetition of matter which is not repeated in the original. Repetitions of one line or less appear, it is true, occasionally throughout the translation. Only cases in which the matter repeated amounts to two lines or more are here considered. The repetitions do not always correspond closely in words, but they do in sense.

Three repetitions existing in the *Rommanz* are simplified by being translated once only in the *Romaunt* at ll. 2295–96, 2315–16, 3647–48. The following passages, on the other hand, appear repeated in the translation: *Rommanz*, ll. 1765–66, 1900–03 (repeated three times, although nearly the same idea had been repeated three times already in the lines just preceding both in the original and in the translation), 2177 and 2178 (repeated twice, although the same idea had already been repeated four or five times in the lines just preceding both in the original and in the translation), 3068–69, 3632–33, 4315–16, 4317–18, 4605–06, 11573–74. The last example is the only one found in Fragment C. There are none at all in Fragment A; but in B there are 14 instances. Eleven of them are repetitions of two lines introduced by the translator, and 3 are cases of suppression by the translator of repetitions which existed in the original.

A translated accurately on the average 8.58 lines out of every 10 of his original; B, 6.53 lines; and C, 7.47 lines. This matter which is literally translated appears in the translation as 8.28 lines in A, 6.25 lines in B, and 7.11 lines in C. There is no noticeable difference in the different parts in the relative expansion of this matter which is really translated literally. Interpolations, substitutions, and inaccurately translated matter to the amount of 2 lines to each 10 of the original in A, 5.53 lines in B, and 3.08 lines in C, make up the remainder of what we find in the text of the *Romaunt*. C has almost the same total expansion as A, when compared with the original, but arrives at the same result in a different way: about 1 line less in each 10 of the original is accurately translated, and the difference is offset by more matter being slightly altered or added by the translator.

The foregoing results may be briefly summarized as follows: All three fragments agree in showing no divergence in their way of translating the double negatives, and in retaining the *-esse*, *-able*, and *-té* rimes of the original with about the same frequency.

A differs from B and C: in always translating *dier* literally by "god," while the others show a tendency to pass over or avoid it; in retaining more of the *-age*, *-ie*, *-on* rimes of the original; and in making less use of interlinear substitutions.

B differs from C in showing more delicacy in avoiding a literal translation of *cul* meaning a part of the body. B differs from A in confusing the words of the groups *dier*, *amors*, *dier d'amors*; and *boutons*, *rose*, *rosiers*, by sometimes substituting in translation one term for another of the same group. B differs from both the other fragments: in changing the gender of the characters "Jalousie" and "Paor" from what it was in the original (the other fragments contain no reference to the gender of these two, but do not change the gender of any characters of which they do indicate the gender); in frequently inserting a pair of alternate lines as interlinear padding; in making numerous deviations from the original in the matter of lengthy repetitions; in avoiding the retention of *-ure* rimes occurring in the original; in retaining more of the *-ance*, *-ence* rimes than the others, as well

as showing a decided preference over A for retaining the *-ise* rimes. This tendency of B to retain more of some classes of rimes than the other translators is remarkable as indicating a decided habit of his; for Kaluza's statistics show that B in general had less of a tendency to retain the riming words of his original than the other translators had (A retaining 17.7 per cent.; B, 12 per cent.; C, 20.4 per cent.).

C differs from A and B: in avoiding, where possible, a literal translation of exact numbers, whereas the other fragments usually have them properly translated, even where it would have been easy to avoid them; in retaining more of the *-eus(e)*, *-ure* rimes of the original; in avoiding reproducing *-ie* rimes; in not resorting so often to interlinear padding; and in making more use of interlinear substitutions.

In addition to these differences in the three parts of the translation A, B, and C, there are also some differences between the first half of Fragment B and the last half.

The change in the gender of two of the characters from what it was in the original is more properly a difference between the last half of B and all the rest of the translation, as these changes occur only in the last part of B.

The first half of Fragment B differs from the second half of the same fragment in retaining a much smaller proportion of some of the "cheap rimes." Of the *-tē*, *-tiē* rimes, the first half of B shows 7 instances retained out of 24, while the second half has 10 retained out of 16. Of the *-ance*, *-ence* rimes the first half shows 9 out of 16 retained; the second half, 14 out of 17. Of the *-on* rimes, 5 out of 16 were kept in the first half; 13 out of 19, in the second half. Of the *-ie* rimes, the first half of B has 5 out of 13 retained; the second half, 13 out of 14.

There are 52 instances of interlinear padding in the first half of Fragment B to 39 instances in the last half.

There are twice as many instances in the first half of B, as compared with the last half, of variations from the original in the matter of lengthy repetitions.

The amount of matter literally translated from the original is about the same throughout Fragment B, but in the last half of

the fragment there is much wider fluctuation in the amount of matter slightly altered or interpolated than there is in the first half.

Are we to conclude that the portion heretofore known as Fragment B really consists of two parts? Hardly. Though there are some differences between the two halves of it, there is still more similarity. At any rate, the differences are of a rather microscopic character. There is no break or joint between the two parts, either, so far as observed. Only a general difference between the first part and the last part has been noticed, with no exact place of transition from the one to the other part apparent. In arranging the data contained in the foregoing, B has been divided into exact halves whenever there was a question of difference in the two parts of it. Furthermore, such a division of the poem into four fragments, containing each approximately a quarter of it, would raise the question as to whether the different parts are by different authors or not. In case they are, we should have to account for a remarkable state of affairs: the *Rommanz de la Rose* being translated in English by at least four different persons, and all of the translations being lost except a part of each, which some copyists put together in a sort of medley.

Though the evidence is not sufficient to permit us to conclude that Fragment B really consists of two parts, something may be inferred from it—the hint to be a little skeptical as to there being even three fragments. If Fragment B had the characteristics of Fragment C, and *vice versa*, and if the gap of over five thousand lines did not exist between B and C, then the poem would have a more continuous character: very good in the first quarter; not quite so good in the second quarter; and worse yet in the last half. In that case, investigators would probably not have been so eager to base a division of the translation into three fragments upon mere internal evidence, such as these indications of differences in Fragment B. The most noteworthy indication of a division into fragments (aside from the “Knop—Botoun” and “Bialacoil—Fair-welcoming” points, and the special title that C bears in the manuscript) is not so much the bare fact that the different parts differ in some internal characteristics, as the order in which the different parts, with their corresponding character-

istics, occur, and the big gap of over five thousand lines between two of them. Two of the fragments are almost alike. If they occurred in conjunction as a continuous translation, it might never have occurred to anyone to consider them separate fragments. But between them the continuity of the character of the composition is broken by a big gap of over five thousand lines, as well as by 4,105 lines of loosely translated matter (Fragment B) differing considerably from the beginning and end of the poem in rimes, in metrical and dialectal details, and in its names for two of the allegorical characters. The conclusion is thus hardly to be avoided that there are really three parts of the translation, though not necessarily by different authors.

Many of the details which have been published, showing differences in the different parts of the poem, are not of such a character as to prove anything, each taken separately. But they are worth something as a further confirmation of a division inferred from evidence of more capital importance. In this they are like the differences pointed out between the first half and the last half of Fragment B, except that the "evidence of more capital importance" for any such division of Fragment B is wanting.

The differences between the three fragments which are here published for the first time need not be considered as offering any evidence conclusive in itself, but they are worth something as a confirmation of the division into three fragments already made and commonly accepted. Doubtless some such differences in details could be found in the different parts of any literary composition of some length. But it is worthy of remark that, with a single exception, *all* the tests here applied resulted in finding some variations in the habits of translation, corresponding to this division into fragments.

The question of how many different authors produced the extant *Romaunt*, and what connection Chaucer had with the work, are matters more difficult to decide. We have plenty of data on the question. We have, indeed, more facts than we know what to do with. The facts are unfortunately not self-interpreting. Contradictory results are attained by different investigators by interpreting the facts in different ways. Loun-

bury concludes that Chaucer wrote the entire *Romaunt* as we have it; Kaluza claims for him only Fragments A and C; Skeat will not admit the Chaucerian authorship of any but Fragment A, and Koch denies that Chaucer wrote any part of the extant *Romaunt*. Their treatment of the matter was necessarily arbitrary, and in some cases unnecessarily inconsistent.

Anyone who proposes to make such a comparison must decide at the outset how rigorously he is going to apply his tests; how much latitude he is going to assume that Chaucer may have allowed himself in translating the *Rommanz* in regard to departures from the usage of his other undisputed works. And when this is done the question is practically decided in advance. Lounsbury assumes that Chaucer might take many liberties with his otherwise well-known usage, because he was making a literal translation in verse, and his desire to make a good translation caused him to be negligent in some small matters of rime, metre, and dialect, about which he would otherwise have been more careful. Lounsbury is therefore very indulgent toward the faults of the *Romaunt*, and eagerly accepts nearly everything in it as Chaucerian. Kaluza is also willing to grant Chaucer some liberties; he is glad of the chance to excuse in this way the departures from Chaucer's usage in rimes, metre, and dialect, as far as Fragments A and C are concerned, but somehow it does not occur to him to excuse the more numerous faults of the same nature in Fragment B in the same way. Skeat similarly is indulgently disposed toward the few departures from Chaucer's usage which we find in Fragment A, but he thinks Chaucer could never have allowed himself to make so many such blunders as we find in Fragment B, or even in Fragment C. Koch sees no need of assuming that Chaucer deviated from his customary practices at all when making a literal translation in verse, and he accordingly insists on a rigorous application of the rime test: if the *Romaunt* contains non-Chaucerian rimes (and it does in all three fragments, though very few in A), then it is decidedly not Chaucer's. Luick¹ is even so zealous in insisting on the purity and rigidity of Chaucer's usage that he claims that the single Northern rime "love : behove" in

¹ *Untersuchungen zur englischen Lautgeschichte*, pp. 268 f.

ll. 1091 and 1092 is enough to make Chaucer's authorship of Fragment A doubtful. This is going pretty far, but it has the merit of being consistent, at any rate.

We may ask ourselves what means these investigators have of knowing how much or how little Chaucer may have deviated from his usual habits in making this translation. That is a matter which no one can decide to the general satisfaction of others. Koch and Lounsbury, though arbitrary in their decision as to whether Chaucer's usage might vary or not, are at least consistent in their application of the tests.

Those who, like Skeat and Kaluza, attempt to "save part of the *Romaunt* for Chaucer," while denying his authorship for the rest of it, are more inconsistent. They both assume that Chaucer deviated from his usual habits in translating the *Romaunt*, but as to the extent of such deviations they cannot agree even with each other. Furthermore, they eagerly seize on every scrap of evidence of a difference between the bad part of the *Romaunt* and Chaucer's undisputed writings to prove non-Chaucerian authorship; but the points in which the bad parts of the *Romaunt* agree with Chaucer's writings are cheerfully dismissed with the explanation that they are the work of an imitator of Chaucer.

Nevertheless, the more consistent argumentation of Lounsbury and Koch has found but little support among others interested in the question. This is perhaps due to a disinclination to accept extreme views. The views of Skeat and Kaluza, who take middle ground between the Lounsbury extreme and the Koch extreme, have, however, met with almost general approval. Skeat's decision as to how much Chaucer's usage might vary when making a metrical translation seems to coincide with what most persons who are interested in the matter would consider likely, and so they agree with him (or, if they would allow Chaucer more latitude, they agree with Kaluza).

But such a way of deciding the matter is too subjective. It may be that the result obtained by such reasoning is the correct one. Skeat's or Kaluza's hypothesis, in spite of the inconsistencies, may represent the facts. Still, nothing has been positively proved. The question is yet an open one, in spite of the

pretensions of those who claim to have finally disposed of it. Perhaps no entirely satisfactory solution of the difficulty will ever be reached, unless another manuscript of the *Romaunt* should be found with some indication of the author's identity.

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THE LOST LEAF OF "PIERS THE PLOWMAN"

Summer before last, in the enforced leisure of a long convalescence, I reread *Piers the Plowman*, or perhaps I had better say, read it for the first time; for, although I had more than once read the first seven passus of the B-Text and various other parts of the poem, I had never before read the whole of all three texts in such a way as to get any real sense of the relations of the versions to one another. Fortunately, I did not at that time possess a copy of Professor Skeat's two-volume edition, and consequently was obliged to use the edition which he published for the Early English Text Society. Thus I read each version separately and obtained a definite sense of its style and characteristics. Before the reading was completed, I found myself obliged to question very seriously the current view in regard to the relations of the three versions. The problems became so interesting that I devoted myself to a serious and careful study of them, with the aid of all the available apparatus, and have made them the subject of two courses with my students, who have given me useful suggestions and much help.

Every sort of investigation to which the versions have been subjected has resulted in confirming my original suspicions, and, indeed, in changing them from suspicions into certainties. I am now prepared, I think, to prove that the three versions are not the work of one and the same man, but each is the work of a separate and distinct author; that of the A-Text only the first eight passus are the work of the first author, the principal part of the vision of Dowel, Dobet, and Dobest having been added by another author; and that not only lines 101–112 of Passus XII in MS Rawl. Poet. 137 are the work of Johan But, but that he is responsible for a considerable portion of that passus, probably for at least one-half of it. These conclusions, if accepted, of course entirely destroy the personality built up for the author, mainly from details given only in the C-Text, on the theory that all parts of all three versions are by the same hand; and, indeed, make it doubtful, as I

shall try to show, whether the autobiographical details were intended, even by the author of C, to be taken as genuine traits of the author himself instead of attributes of the dreamer—that is to say, whether the dreamer is not as much a fictional character as any of the other figures which participate in the dream. I shall try to support these conclusions by differences in language, differences in versification, differences in the use and in the kind of figurative language, and above all by such striking differences in the mental powers and qualities of the authors as make it highly improbable that they can be one and the same person; and I shall point out such misunderstandings on the part of each of the later authors of passages expanded by him as seem to me to change the probabilities derived from the other kinds of evidence into certainties. It will appear further, I think, that the merits of the A-Text have been seriously underestimated, and that it is in reality not merely artistically the best of the three, but is in unity of structure, vividness of conception, and skill of versification, on a level with the best work of the fourteenth century, including Chaucer's.

The materials supporting these conclusions are now well in hand, but I shall not be able to put them into form for publication until the advent of my vacation, which will occur in the coming spring. I feel confident that I can then fill out this outline and justify the promises herein made. I make this announcement now in order that other scholars may investigate the problems and be ready to pass a critical judgment upon my results when they appear. I am aware that this will prevent the book from creating any sensation when it appears, but it is of less consequence that the book should make a sensation than that the problems should be subjected to a long and critical investigation by more than one person. Meanwhile, I offer for consideration the investigation of a small problem which easily detaches itself from the general argument, although, as will be seen, it contributes something to it.

In the A-Text, the whole of Passus V is devoted to the effects of the preaching of Conscience upon the "field full of folk." Repentance comes to them, and they confess their sins and

promise amendment. The chief penitents are the personifications of the Seven Deadly Sins. The last of these personifications is Sloth. The passage concerning him begins with l. 222, and it is this passage, with the lines immediately following, to which I invite your attention.

¶ Sleupe for serwe · fel doun I-swowene
 Til *vigilate* þe veil · fette water at his eiȝen,
 And flatte on his face · and faste on him criȝede, 224
 And seide, "war þe for wonhope · þat Wol þe bi-traye.
 ¶ 'Icham sori for my sunnes' · sei to þi-seluen,
 And bet þi-self on þe Breste · and bidde god of grace,
 For nis no gult her so gret · his Merci nis wel more."
 ¶ Penne sat sleupe vp · and sikede sore,
 And made a-vou bi-fore god · for his foule sleupe;
 "Schal no sonenday þis seuen ȝer · (bote seknesse hit make),
 Pat I ne schal do me ar day · to þe deore churche, 232
 And here Matins and Masse · as I a Monk were.
 ¶ Schal non ale after mete · holde me þennes,
 Til ichaue Euensong herd · I beo-hote to þe Rode.
 And zit I-chulle ȝelden aȝeyn · ȝif I so muche haue,
 Al þat I wikkedliche won · seþþe I wit hade. 237
 ¶ And þauh my lyfplode lakke · letten I nulle
 Pat vche mon schal habben his · er ich henne wende:
 And with þe Residue and þe remenaunt · (bi þe Rode of Chester!)
 I schal seche seynt Treue · er I seo Rome!" 241
 ¶ Robert þe Robbour · on *Reddite* he lokede,
 And for þer nas not Wher-with · he wepte ful sore.
 And zit þe sunfol schrewe · seide to him-seluen:
 "Crist, þat vpon Caluarie · on þe Cros diȝedest,
 þo Dismas my broþer · bi-souȝte þe of grace,
 And heddest Merci of þat mon · for *Memento* sake,
 þi wille worþ vpon me · as Ich haue wel deseruet
 To haue helle for euere · ȝif þat hope neore. 249
 So rewe on me, Robert · þat no Red haue,
 Ne neuere weene to wynne · for Craft þat I knowe.
 Bote for þi muchel Merci · mitigacion I be-seche;
 Dampne me not on domes day · for I dude so ille." 252
 ¶ Ak what fel of þis Feloun · I con not feire schewe,
 But wel Ich wot he wepte faste · watur with his eiȝen,
 And knouhlechede his gult · to Crist zit eft-sones,
 þat *Penitencia* his pike he schulde polissche newe, 256
 And lepe with him ouerlond · al his lyf tyme,
 For he haþ leijen bi *latro* · lucifers brother.

It will be observed at once, that while ll. 222–35 are thoroughly appropriate to Sloth, ll. 236–41 are entirely out of harmony with his character, and could never have been assigned to him by so careful an artist as A, who in no single instance assigns to any character either words or actions not clearly and strictly appropriate. Careful consideration of the passage and comparison of it and ll. 242–59 with ll. 222–35, will convince everyone, I believe, that ll. 236–41 really belong to Robert the Robber, and are a part either of his confession, or of a confession suggested to him by someone else (cf. ll. 226–28). Robert the Robber, it will be seen, decides to make restitution of his ill-gotten wealth, or is urged to make such a decision, but, on looking for the goods with which to make repayment, is unable to find any, and is obliged to cast himself wholly and entirely upon the mercy of God. Is it not clear, then, that there is really a lacuna between l. 235 and l. 236; and evidently not a gap of one or two lines, such as might occur in consequence of the eye of the scribe catching up the wrong word and skipping a few lines? The query naturally suggested is: "May not a whole leaf of the MS have been lost?" This would make a gap of many lines, sufficient for the development of the confession of Robert the Robber upon some such scale as those of Envy, ll. 59–106, Covetousness, ll. 107–45, Gluttony, ll. 146–221; for a transition, if any be necessary, from these personified abstractions to the concrete figure of the Robber; and also for a less abrupt ending of the confession of Sloth. Many of the MSS measure $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ inches, or thereabouts (see Skeat's descriptions in the prefaces to the EETS ed.); MS L has c. 40 lines to a page, R has c. 31, W measures $11\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, but is "in a large hand," Y has c. 37, O has c. 40, C₂ has c. 37, I has c. 31, F has c. 37, S ranges from 33 to 44, K has c. 34, Douce 104 has 34 or 35, Hl. 2376 has c. 37, Roy. B. xvii has c. 38; of the MSS of the A-Text, U has c. 33 (or, according to another statement, c. 28), D has c. 31, Trin. Dub. 4. 12 has c. 30. Of course there were also MSS much larger than these,¹ but it seems not improbable that the page of the original may have

¹ MS V has a very large page, containing two columns of 80 lines each; the Lincoln's Inn MS, written about 1450, has 52, 53 lines to a page; MS T runs from 42 to 46; H and Hl. 3954 have 40 each.

contained between 30 and 40, and consequently that the lost leaf may have contained between 60 and 80 lines.

But if the leaf was lost, it must have been missing in the original of all the extant MSS of the A-Text, for all of them contain the passage under discussion in precisely the same form, except for insignificant variations in spelling, etc. It is easy enough to understand how the copyists were undisturbed by the sense (or nonsense) of the passage, but it is not easy to see how the torn remnant of this half-sheet could have entirely escaped attention, if there were any such remnant; and if there was none, the other half of the sheet also would pretty certainly have disappeared very soon. This is precisely what I think occurred.

It has long been pointed out as a curious feature of the vision of the Seven Deadly Sins in this *passus* that the sin of Wrath is entirely overlooked and omitted. It is incredible that any mediaeval author writing specifically on such a topic and dealing with it at such length¹ could have forgotten or overlooked any of these well-known categories; and it is especially impossible to ascribe such an omission to an author whose work shows the firmness and mastery of structure exhibited in A. Let us, then, inquire whether the same accident that caused the confusion in regard to the confession of Sloth may not have caused the total loss of the confession of Wrath.

Comparison of the order of the Sins in A II, 60 ff. (and the corresponding passages in B and C) with A V, 45–235, B V, 63 ff.; C VII, 14 ff. will indicate that the proper place for Wrath in this passage is immediately after Envy. This is indeed the usual order, and Chaucer, following Peraldus,² says: "After Envye wol I discryven the sinne of Ire. For soothly, whoso hath envy

¹ Wrath is also omitted in the feoffment in A II, 60–74, where the intention is clearly to give to False and Meed all the territories of the Seven Deadly Sins; but the loss involved is one of one line only, which may easily have been omitted in the original of all the extant MSS. In Skeat's text, l. 64, Lechery is also omitted; but the readings of four of the MSS show that MS V has merely omitted the words "of leccherie"—the only other MS recorded in the textual note has the correct reading, but it is inserted in a later hand, this line as well as the preceding having been inadvertently omitted. It may be remarked that the author of the B-Text failed to observe the simple and systematic nature of this feoffment (perhaps because of the omission of Wrath), and consequently, in expanding it, entirely obliterated the original intention. This is only one of many instances to be cited in favor of my main thesis.

² K. O. Petersen, *The Sources of the Parson's Tale*, p. 49.

upon his neighebor, anon he wole comunly finde him a matere of wratthe."¹ The place for Wrath in Passus V is therefore between l. 106 and l. 107. Between this point and ll. 235, 236, where the confusion in regard to Sloth occurs, there are 129 lines. Now it is clear that, if the two leaves of a sheet are gone, as we suppose, the gaps will be separated by four pages, or a multiple of four.² In the present instance the distance between the gaps makes about four pages of the size discussed above, and the lost double leaf was, therefore, the next to the innermost of a section or gathering. We might leave the matter here, but a little further inquiry will determine the precise number of lines to the page in the MS, and incidentally confirm our reasoning. The number of lines between the gaps is in Skeat's edition 129, as I have said; but l. 182 is in H only, and as Skeats suspects, is spurious, "being partly imitated from l. 177;" furthermore, ll. 202–7 are found in U only, and the first word of l. 208 shows that they are spurious, and that l. 208 should immediately follow l. 201. Seven lines must therefore be deducted from 129 to ascertain the number lying between the two gaps in the original. This will give us 122 lines, or two less than four pages of 31 each. As the number of lines to a page is never absolutely constant (Skeat finds it necessary to attach a *circa* to every statement of this kind), this would seem entirely satisfactory; but if space of one line was left between Covetousness and Gluttony, and between Gluttony and Sloth, the whole 124 would be exactly accounted for.³

Confirmation of this argument may perhaps be found in a circumstance pointed out to me by Mr. T. A. Knott, one of my students. He calls attention to the abruptness of the close of the confession of Envy, which has, of course, been noted by everyone; he thinks it not only abrupt, but unsatisfactory, and suggests that the leaf lost at this point contained, not only the whole of the confession of Wrath, but also a few concluding lines belonging to Envy.

¹ P. T., § 32, v. 533.

² Of course the two gaps would make only one if the lost double leaf were the middle one of a section or gathering.

³ Clearly there were no headings, as in some MSS of B and C, for none of the MSS descended from A have them, but there may have been an interval of a line between the confessions. This supposition is, however, of little moment to the argument.

Still further confirmation, slight though it be, may be found, it occurs to me, in the fact that, while not only every new section, but every new paragraph, in some of the MSS collated by Professor Skeat, is indicated by a paragraph mark, none stands at the beginning of l. 236. And whatever may be thought of my contention that ll. 236–41 do not belong to Sloth, it is at least certain that they constitute a new paragraph. If they belong to Sloth, the mark was omitted by error; if to Robert the Robber, no mark stands there because the paragraph does not begin there but earlier, as the conjunction "And" indeed indicates.

We have found, then, that the hypothesis of a lost leaf between l. 235 and l. 236 not only explains all the difficulties of the text at that point—such as the inappropriateness of ll. 236–41 to Sloth, their true relation to ll. 242–59, the abrupt ending of the confession of Sloth and the absence of a paragraph mark at l. 236—but also accounts for the unaccountable omission of the confession of Wrath and for the abruptness of the end of the confession of Envy.

The omission of Wrath and the confusion as to Sloth were noticed by B, and he treated them rather ingeniously. He introduced into the earlier part of Sloth's confession a declaration that he had often been so slothful as to withhold the wages of his servants and to forget to return things he had borrowed. To supply the omission of Wrath, he himself wrote a *Confessio Irae*, totally different in style from the work of A, and, indeed, more appropriate for Envy than for Wrath, containing as it does no very distinctive traits of Wrath. The additions both here and in the confession of Sloth are confused, vague, and entirely lacking in the finer qualities of imagination, organization, and diction shown in all A's work. He did not attempt to deal with the other difficulties we have found.

It is possible, I suppose, to accept my argument up to the beginning of the preceding paragraph, and still maintain that B was after all the author of A also and merely rectified in his second version errors that had crept into his first. To do this, however, one must resolutely shut one's eyes to the manifest and manifold differences in mental qualities, in constructive ability, in

vividness of diction, in versification, and in many other matters, that exist between A I-VIII and B. These will form a part of the volume in which I hope to define the portions of this great poem to be allotted to each of the principal writers engaged upon it, to set forth clearly their differences, and to vindicate for the first author the rank he clearly deserves. The work will not be, I think, entirely one of destructive criticism. The poem, as a whole, will gain in interest and significance; and the intellectual life of the second half of the fourteenth century will seem even more vigorous than it has seemed.

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CHAUCER AND DANTE

Dante is well known to have directly influenced some scores of lines of Chaucer's poetry, but several other passages, not without interest, seem to have been generally overlooked. In one of them Chaucer may almost as justly be charged with bringing the heavenly Venus down into the service of the earthly as in Troilus' hymn to Love (III, 1261-67), for which he pillages St. Bernard's hymn to Mary at the end of the "Paradiso." The former passage also is to be found in the "Troilus and Criseyde," where the heroine is reproaching herself for having left Troy and Troilus (V, 743-49):

To late is now to speke of this matere;
Prudence, alas! oon of thyn eyen three
Me lakked alwey, er that I cam here;
On tyme y-passed wel remembred me;
And present tyme eek coude I wel y-see.
But futur tyme, er I was in the snare,
Coude I not seen; that causeth now my care.

In the mystic Triumph of the Church, at the end of the "Purgatorio," on the left of the chariot dance the four cardinal virtues, led by Prudence (XXIX, 130-32):

Dalla sinistra quattro facean festa,
In porpora vestite, dietro al modo
D'una di lor, ch' avea tre occhi in testa.

This symbolism is accounted for by a passage in the Convito.¹ Dante follows the pseudo-Seneca² in making Prudence relate to past, present, and future, but he alone, so far as has been found,

¹ "Conviensi adunque essere *Prudente*, cioè *Savio*: e a ciò essere si richiede buona memoria delle vedute cose, e buona conoscenza delle presenti, e buona provvedenza delle future."—"Convito," IV, 27, 42-46 (E. Moore, *Tutte le opere di Dante*, Oxford, 1894).

² Two passages are quoted and attributed to Seneca by Dante's son to illustrate the "Purgatorio" passage; see *Petri Allegherii super Dantis ipsius genitoris comoediam commentarium*, edited by Lord Vernon (Florence, 1845), p. 507; or see the notes on the passage by Scartazzini or Niccolò Tommasèo. The second of these quotations I have been unable to trace, but the first will be found in the *De formula honestae vitae, vel de quatuor virtutibus cardinalibus*, successively and erroneously attributed to Seneca (in the Middle Ages) and to Martin of Braga (Martinus Dumiensis), and usually published with their works; see the editions of Seneca by Friedrich Haase (Teubner, 1872), Vol. III, p. 470, and by M. N. Bouillet (Paris, 1829), Vol. IV, p. 450. On the authorship, see *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la*

gives her three eyes. Whether Chaucer is indebted to the "Convito" or to Dante's source,¹ or is giving an independent interpretation of Dante's sufficiently obvious symbolism, does not appear, but he certainly alludes to the passage in the "Purgatorio."

In the *balade* in both versions of the prologue to the "Legend of Good Women" (A, 206, 207; B, 252, 253), "Marcia Catoun" appears among exemplary wives:

Penalopee, and Marcia Catoun,
Mak of your wyfhod no comparisoun.

Mr. Lounsbury and Mr. Skeat believe² the reference to be derived from St. Jerome's mention, in his work against Jovinian, of "Marcia Catonis filia minor" among good wives in ancient history;³ a supposition the more natural since they believe the so-called version A of the prologue, later in which (281-304) this work of St. Jerome's is expressly named and described (as it is not in B), to be the earlier version. I wish to point out the probability that Chaucer did not derive his information from this work. The question is somewhat connected with that as to the priority of version A or B of the prologue. If A is the earlier, St. Jerome seems less unlikely to be the source than if B is the earlier; on the other hand, if the reference in the *balade* has a different source, all Chaucer's use of this work, so far as we

Bibliothèque nationale (Paris, 1890), Vol. XXXIII, Part 1, pp. 213-16, and cf. Part 2, p. 174; these references I owe to the kindness of Dr. G. L. Hamilton. The passage is quoted in a slightly wrong form by Albertano of Brescia, *Liber consolationis et consilii* (ed. by T. Sundby for the Chaucer Society, 1873), pp. 57, 58: "Si prudens es, animus tuus tribus temporibus dispensetur: praesentia ordina, futura provide, praeterita recordare," etc. It does not occur in the "Tale of Melibeus" (ultimately, of course, derived from this), which is greatly condensed where it would have come (B, 2390-2405). It is therefore probably not in Chaucer's French original (inaccessible to me), which is merely an adaptation of the Latin of Albertano. But the *De formula* and other works by the pseudo-Seneca are frequently quoted in Melibeus.

¹ Chaucer was certainly not very familiar with the "Convito," but Dr. Emil Koeppel (*Anglia*, Vol. XIII, p. 185) makes out a pretty good case for his having read this same part of it when he wrote the "Wife of Bath's Tale;" cf. *WBT*, D 1109-18, and "Gentillesse," 15, with "Convito," IV, 3, 43-55. When Chaucer wrote "Melibeus," there is no evidence that he made any use of Albertano's Latin (Emil Koeppel in *Herrig's Archiv*, Vol. LXXXVI, pp. 29-30); but when he wrote the "Merchant's Tale" he certainly used it (*ibid.*, pp. 38, 39). The tales of the Wife of Bath and the Merchant, however, were probably written some fifteen years after the "Troilus."

² *Studies in Chaucer*, Vol. II, p. 294; *Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. III, p. 299. A little later in the chapter of St. Jerome's work from which they cite might be found a better ground for their opinion than the one they give.

³ "Adversus Jovinianum," I, 46 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. XXIII, col. 275).

know, will fall into the period of the *Canterbury Tales*, which will slightly strengthen the argument for a late date for Prologue A. Since this question of priority has of late been vigorously reopened,¹ a discussion of the source of the reference seems timely.

A reading of the chapter in which St. Jerome refers to Marcia will show that there is far from being anything immediately convincing in Lounsbury's attribution. Her name occurs, it is true, among those of several of the heroines whom Chaucer mentions, and she is praised for lamenting her husband and refusing to marry again; but the reason she gave is that she could find no man who desired her more than her property. Several other "Mulieres Romanae Insignes" in this and the preceding chapters would have been, as Skeat himself admits in one case, much more suitable to figure in the *balade*—including Bilia, and especially Porcia, wife of Brutus. It is striking that in the only passage where Chaucer certainly uses this part of St. Jerome's work ("Franklin's Tale," F 1367–1456), from which he adduces a large number of virtuous women, including the two just mentioned, no Marcia appears. It is also noteworthy that St. Jerome immediately mentions the other Marcia, Cato's wife, with disapproval for her deficiencies in chastity and constancy. It might be supposed that Chaucer would avoid the possibility of such confusion, if he knew of the two; the curious addition which he makes of the father's and husband's name could hardly distinguish the daughter from the wife.²

¹ See John L. Lowes, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XIX, pp. 593–683; and a recent Johns Hopkins dissertation, *The Problem of the Two Prologues to Chaucer's Legend of Good Women*, by John C. French (Baltimore: J. H. Furst Co., 1905).

² It is natural to inquire why Chaucer attaches Cato's name to Marcia's. Did he regard it as a patronymic or as an ordinary surname? After considerable search in Middle English and Old French I can find no parallel to "Marcia Catoun" as meaning "Marcia daughter of Cato," except that four times in "Melibeus" Chaucer mentions "Iesus Syrak;" in each case the words are the same in Albertano's Latin, as against "Iesus filius Syrak" in the more original "Merchant's Tale," E 2250, and "Jesu filii Sirach" twice in the Vulgate. That some of the scribes did not understand Chaucer's phrase as a patronymic is clear, for several of the manuscripts read "Penelope, Marcia and Catoun." Chaucer probably used the last word like a modern surname to distinguish this Marcia, not from her daughter, but from the other Marcia whom he mentions ("House of Fame," 1229–32), "Marcia that lost her skin," the satyr Marsyas, of course, whose name he had misunderstood (Dante, "Paradiso," I, 20). He was also, doubtless, not sorry to have another rhyme-word in -oun, in a poem where he required nine such rhymes. Lucan, "Pharsalia," II, 326–49 (Paris, 1830), tells the story of the elder Marcia, in terms which would hardly have recommended her for Chaucer's purpose, and speaks of her desire for the epitaph CATONIS MARCIA. But there

In the Divine Comedy, with which we know that Chaucer was perfectly familiar when he wrote the Legend of Good Women, Dante represents himself as meeting Marcia, the wife of Cato, in Limbo;¹ nothing is said, of course, as to the eccentric passages in her married life of which the saint speaks, but she has an honorable place among heroes and heroines of antiquity, virgins and chaste matrons, of whom two others, Lucretia and Lavinia, appear in Chaucer's *balade*. On the shores of Purgatory Virgil appeals to Cato in the name of his chaste and constant wife:

Ma son del cerchio ove son gli occhi casti
Di Marzia tua, che in vista ancor ti prega,
O santo petto, che per tua la tegni:
Per lo suo amore adunque a noi ti piega;—²

an appeal which Cato rejects only because earthly love can no longer affect him. Is not this a more probable source of Chaucer's reference than the other?

It even seems possible to point out a matter where Dante made some contribution to Chaucer's intellectual life. The only philosophical subject in which Chaucer shows any constant interest is the question as to the relation between fate and chance, divine foreordination and foreknowledge and human free-will; this subject he speaks of now indirectly, now lightly, now seriously, but he constantly speaks of it.³ He seems never to have quite made up his mind on the subject, but (especially early in his literary life) to have had a leaning to a kind of determinism. His attitude in the matter is thoroughly characteristic in its strong feeling, and

is little evidence that Chaucer knew that work. Skeat is certainly right in rejecting Bell's explanation of Chaucer's praise as due to her "complaisance" in being lent to Hortensius. "Marcia Catoun" is twice mentioned, along with Alcestis, by Lydgate, who is simply following Chaucer (Oxford *Chaucer*, Vol. VII, pp. 272, 289). Marcia the younger and her first remark appear in Deschamps' "Miroir de Mariage," 5434-48 (Paris, 1894; Vol. IX, p. 178), which follows St. Jerome, but they are used simply to show how mercenary people are.

¹ "Inferno," IV, 128.

² "Purgatorio," I, 78-81. Dante, quoting Lucan, allegorizes and tells more of her story in the Convito, IV, 28, 97-163.

³ For two long discussions, see "Troilus and Criseyde," IV, 958-1078 (largely from Boethius; greatly out of place where it occurs, and therefore indicative of Chaucer's personal interest), and "Nun's Priest's Tale," B 4424-40. Cf. also "Complaint of Mars," 218-26; "T. and C," II, 621-23; V, 1550, 1551 (besides one or two passages derived from Boccaccio); "Legend of Good Women," 952, 2580-82; "Knight's Tale," 1086-91 (modified by astrology), 1108, 1109, 1303-6 (none of them in Boccaccio; 2987 ff. is); "Man of Law's Tale," 190-96, 295-315 (both astrological); "Nun's Priest's Tale," 4407, 4528; and see below.

yet its skepticism; Gower, for example, at times makes remarks somewhat like Chaucer's, but is, as usual, perfunctory, contradictory, and vague. The chief literary source of Chaucer's views is the latter part of Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae*, but it is clear that he read with deep interest what Dante has to say on the question why things happen. The striking passage in the "Inferno" in which Dante makes Fortune a sort of semi-divine intermediary between God and mundane affairs, and from which I quote the most significant lines, has directly and unmistakably influenced three or four places in Chaucer's poetry.

Questa Fortuna . . . , che è . . . ?
 Colui lo cui saper tutto trascende
 Similemente agli splendor mondani
 Ordind general ministra e duce,
 Che permutasse a tempo li ben vani,
 Di gente in gente e d'uno in altro sangue,
 Oltre la difension de' senni umani:
 Perchè una gente impera, e l'altra langue. . . .
 Le sue permutazion non hanno triegue.¹

Fortune, whiche that permutacioun
 Of thinges hath, as it is hir committed
 Through purveyaunce and disposicioun
 Of heighe Jove, as regnes shal ben flitted
 Fro folk in folk.²

But O, Fortune, executrice of wierdes,
 O influences of thise hevenes hye!
 Soth is, that, under god, ye ben our hierdes.³
 The destinee, ministre general,

¹ "Inferno," VII, 68, 69, 73, 77-82, 88. Clearly under the influence of Boethius, IV, prose 6 (see Oxford *Chaucer*, Vol. II, pp. 115, 116, ll. 60-71). The influences of Boethius and Dante on Chaucer here are hard to disentangle.

² Troilus and Criseyde," V, 1541-45. Noted by W. M. Rossetti, *Parallel Text Edition of the Troilus and the Filostrato* (Chaucer Society), p. 289, but ignored by Cary, Skeat, and Lounsbury. The last-named scholar professes to give (*Studies in Chaucer*, Vol. II, pp. 240, 241) a complete list of borrowings from Dante in the "Troilus," but omits also III, 1261-67 (noted by Cary and Skeat); I will add that he seems greatly to underestimate Dante's influence on Chaucer. It may not be impertinent to call attention once more to the fact that Cary, in the notes to his translation of the *Divine Comedy*, pointed out a large number of borrowings by Chaucer, as well as by other poets. Another clear case which he notes (*The Vision* [London, 1831], Vol. I, p. 201) is ignored by Skeat and Lounsbury.

"His lustes were al lawe in his decree" (of Nero, "Monk's Tale," B 3667);

"Che libito fe' licito in sua legge" (of Semiramis, "Inferno," V, 56).

On Chaucer and Dante cf. also Emil Koeppel, *Anglia*, Vol. XIII, pp. 184-86.

³ *Ibid.*, III, 617-19.

That executeth in the world over-al
 The purveyaunce that God hath seyn biforn,
 So strong it is, that, though the world had sworn
 The contrarie of a thing, by ye or nay,
 Yet somtyme it shal fallen on a day
 That falleth not eft with-inne a thousand yere.¹

As was his aventure, or his fortune,
 That us governeth alle as in commune.²

This interest of Chaucer's in fortune and the like appears also in a less important but more curious way. Such phrases as "by aventure" or "per cas" occur often enough anywhere, as well as in Chaucer's works, but such more deliberative expressions as the following are less obvious, and are decidedly characteristic of him and of his late style:

Were it by aventure, or sort, or cas,³
 And so bifel, by aventure or cas,⁴
 Were it by aventure or destinee,
 (As, whan a thing is shapen, it shal be)
 Were it by destinee or aventure,
 Were it by influence or by nature,
 Or constellacion,⁵
 But thus they mette, of aventure or grace;⁶

With these again belongs the passage above from the "Nun's Priest's Tale," 4189, 4190. Anything similar I find only in Dante:

Ei comincidò: "Qual fortuna o destino
 Anzi l'ultimo di quaggiù ti mena?"⁷
 Se voler fu, o destino, o fortuna,
 Non so: ma passeggiando tra le teste,
 Forte percossi il piè nel viso ad una.⁷

Different as the two poets were, such was the power of the one and the receptiveness of the other that the greater affected both the other's view of the universe and his style.

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¹ "Knight's Tale," A 1663-69. The last two lines are directly from "Teseide," V, 77, 1-2. The earlier part of the passage is somewhat similar to "Teseide," VI, 1, 1-4. But Chaucer's verses are more like Dante's, to which Boccaccio's are also indebted, and it may also be noted that the passage in the "Teseide" stands nearly 250 lines later than the part of that poem which Chaucer is here using.

² "Nun's Priest's Tale," B 4189, 4190.

⁵ "Merchant's Tale," E 1967-69.

³ "Prologue," 844.

⁶ "Franklin's Tale," F 1508.

⁴ "Knight's Tale," A 1074, 1465, 1466.

⁷ "Inferno," XV, 46, 47; XXXII, 76-78.

SPENSER'S "TWELVE PRIVATE MORALL VERTUES AS ARISTOTLE HATH DEVISED"

"Knowing how doubtfully all allegories may be construed" Spenser, "being so comanded" by Raleigh, wrote his famous letter, "expounding his whole intention in the course of [his] worke," the *Faerie Queene*. Raleigh had apparently had some difficulty in understanding the purport of this "darke conceit," to use Spenser's own words, and had desired explanations "for [his] better light in reading thereof." The letter was printed at the end of the volume published in 1590 which contained the first three books of the poem.

Spenser reveals in it the complicated mechanism of his work, as well as the high moral motive he had in writing it: "The generall end . . . of all the booke is to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline." In this view, he had chosen for his hero, and for the pattern of such gentlemen or noble persons, King Arthur. Deriving his inspiration from the more or less real precedents offered by Homer, Virgil, Ariosto, and Tasso, he labored "to pourtraict in Arthure, before he was king, the image of a brave knight, perfected in the twelve private morall vertues as Aristotle hath devised."

Coming to this important passage, so positive and precise, every student expects a note. Did Aristotle really supply the groundwork of the *Faerie Queene*? Where is this list of "the twelve private morall vertues" to be found? From such a high authority as Spenser such a peremptory statement is of the sort which one scarcely dares to contest, and about which one is even less tempted to confess ignorance. Who does not know what the twelve private moral virtues are—those virtues, a list of which Aristotle has devised?

Critics seem to have felt like the humblest students; unwilling to contest or confess, they said little or nothing; so that in many minds the twelve virtues of Aristotle continue to hold their ground.

They should not. Spenser showed, as a rule, no minute accuracy in his indications of sources and models, and he did not display more than usual in this particular case. Three treatises on morals have come down to us under the name of Aristotle; one alone, the *Nicomachean Ethics*, being, as it seems, truly his; the others appear to be a make-up, drawn from his teachings by some disciples; they are incoherent and incomplete, and of little avail for our purpose.

In the *Nicomachean Ethics*, on the other hand, Aristotle devotes considerable space to a technical study of moral virtues, showing, or trying to show, that they consist in a mean or middle state between two faulty extremes. With the persistency of the theoretician, he forces each and every virtue within the same mold, though he has to confess sometimes that there is no name for a particular virtue, which is bound, however, to exist, as its two faulty extremes are known; at other times, that one or the other of these extremes has no name, and indeed scarcely any real existence.

What most strikes a reader of Spenser is that Aristotle draws nowhere any dogmatic list of virtues; he does not totalize their number; and such totalization would indeed be difficult, as, according to his own declarations, some of his virtues are only a branch or development of another virtue (as Liberality and Magnificence); some, admitted into the class at one part of the work, are described elsewhere as doubtfully belonging to it; others, finally, are treated of quite apart, at great length; but it is not clear whether, if one wanted to do what Aristotle neglected to perform—that is, to tabulate his moral virtues—these should, or should not, be admitted in the list. Such is the case with Justice, declared by Aristotle not to be, properly speaking, a separate virtue, but a combination and condensation of all the others; as without justice there would be no courage, no self-control, no mansuetude, etc. (Book V, chap. 2). Such is the case also with Friendship, whose admission into the treatise is justified, not to say excused, on the plea that it is either a virtue, or related to virtue, and that it is most necessary in life. If it had been considered a moral virtue proper, it would have come at its place,

with all the others, and there would have been no need for such justifications.

No wonder, given this, that commentators have not agreed, and that some have considered that Aristotle's virtues are nine, others ten or eleven, in number. As a matter of fact, in his Book II, chap. 7, and further when he studies separately each virtue, Book III, chaps. 9 ff., and Book IV, he mentions ten, one of which, however, has no name, and another (Magnificence) is only the same as the next, but practiced by the very rich, instead of by the moderately rich, man. These virtues are: Courage; Self-control or Temperance; Liberality; Magnificence (that is, the liberality of the very rich); Magnanimity; a nameless virtue midway between ambition and total indifference to ambition; Mansuetude; Truthfulness; Jocularity; Friendliness¹ (which is not friendship). There is also a chapter on Shame (*aiδώς*, Lat. *verecundia*), though "it is not correct to call it a virtue." But "neither is Self-control," adds Aristotle in the same chapter. So that, if we include both, we have a total of eleven; if we exclude both, a total of nine; if we admit Self-control alone, a total of ten. Adding arbitrarily Justice and Friendship, or only one of them—which we cannot do save by forgetting that Aristotle has treated them apart, and shown that *he* did not include them in his regular count—we should have a total varying from ten to thirteen; a total of twelve being perhaps the most arbitrary of all and the most difficult to reach.

The nature of the virtues considered by Spenser matches the Aristotelian selection scarcely better than their number. We know of only six, corresponding to the only six books he wrote, namely: Holiness, Temperance, Chastity, Friendship, Justice, Courtesy.²

¹ Aristotle calls it *φιλία* at one place, and at another declares that it has really no name of its own.

² We leave unnoticed the "two cantos of Mutabilitie which . . . appeare to be parcell of some following Booke of the Faerie Queene under the Legend of Constancie," first printed in 1609. The fact that they truly belong to the great poem is doubtful, and their being part of a book which would have dealt with Constancy is a mere guess of the printer—one which may very well be wide of the mark. In the fragment we possess the poet seems to oppose the general unstability of things, not at all to any "private morall vertue," but to the changeless happy state when, in God, "all shall rest eternally." Fairy Land is mentioned, but not one of the heroes of the great poem appears in this fragment.

Holiness is certainly not borrowed from Aristotle's series of moral virtues; Chastity may be held to have been, if we give the word the sense of "shame" (*verecundia*), and neglect the fact that Aristotle, while studying it, declares that this "shame" is *not* a virtue. The reader knows what the case is with Friendship and Justice. Courtesy may be held to correspond, if to anything, to Aristotle's *φιλία* ("friendliness"), but not without a considerable extension and modernization of the word. Identification is the more doubtful as such a contemporary of Spenser's as Piccolomini (see below, pp. 5 ff.) calls *urbanita* the virtue named by Aristotle Jocularity or Easy Pleasantry; and Piccolomini's translator, Pierre de Larivey (1581), translates *urbanita o piacevolezza* by *courtoisie ou gayeté*. Aristotle's description of friendliness best suits, however, without matching it exactly, the modern notion of courtesy.

Temperance remains, and is the only one of Spenser's six virtues truly and plainly corresponding to one of Aristotle's.

At this point we are, I think, entitled to conclude that Spenser's statement that he intends "to pourtraict in Arthur, before he was king, the image of a brave knight, perfected in the twelve private morall vertues as Aristotle hath devised," is misleading, every word of it. There is no such definite list; Aristotle's number is not twelve, and the virtues he studies are far from being the same as those forming the subject of the *Faerie Queene*.

But why, then, this choice by Spenser, and why this number twelve? It must be remembered that, at the time of the Renaissance (and the Renaissance, progressing slowly northward, reached its full *épanouissement* in England only under Elizabeth), the problem of the rearing of the ideal gentleman and perfect citizen was one of those most ardently studied. The ancients, whose cult had now so many adherents, had left important treatises on similar questions; these works were passionately discussed and interpreted; they were translated and adapted; many tried to turn the principles in them into use again, modifying them just enough to fit the necessities of modern life. For this cause Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, Plato's *Republic*, and Cicero's *De Officiis* enjoyed an immense popularity.

Spenser has informed us, in his letter to Raleigh, that "the generall end of all [his] booke [was] to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline." That is to say, he assigned to himself the very task above mentioned, and which had been attempted before him by numerous writers in Italy, in France, and even in England. In the latter country, to mention only the most striking example, Sir Thomas Elyot had published in 1531 his *Boke named the Governour*, in which he sketches "the education or fourme of bryngynge up the chylde of a gentleman which is to have auctorite in the publike weale." A large part of this education consists in the knowledge of moral virtues, as indicated by the ancients:

By the time that the childe do com to xvii yeres of age, to the intent his courage be bridled with reason, hit were nedefull to rede unto hym some warkes of philosophie . . . [Especially], there wolde be radde to hym for an introduction, two the fyrist bokes of the worke of Aristotell called Ethicæ, wherin is contained the definitions and propre significations of every vertue.¹

And the study of "moral virtues" became in fact so popular that we find traces of it in the most unexpected places: in W. Bullein's *Dialogue against the fever Pestilence*, for example, where the sick man Antonius talks reason with his physician, in order apparently to go to sleep. The learned doctor informs his patient that there are intellectual and moral virtues (a distinction derived from Aristotle). The moral sort "is the mother of many good thynges, as chastitie, liberalitie, humanitie and good manners."² Here, it may be remarked, one of Spenser's virtues, Chastity, appears with the exact name he gives it.

In Italy, among numerous treatises, one of the most notable and famous was the one originally published at Venice in 1542, by Alessandro Piccolomini, who became later archbishop of

¹ *The Boke named the Governour* (1531), Book I, chap. xi (ed. Croft, 1883, Vol. I, p. 91). Elyot deals in it with a considerable number of virtues or qualities, beginning with Majestie and Nobilitie, to continue with Affabilitie, Placabilitie, Mercy, Humanytie, Benevolence, Liberalitie, Amitie, Justice, Faith (in the sense of loyalty), Fortitude, Patience, Magnanimitie, Abstinence, Constaunce, Temperaunce, Sobrietie, Sapience. In the *Day-book of John Dorne, bookseller in Oxford, A.D. 1520*, Aristotle appears several times, and among the works of his sold by Dorne we find his *Ethics*, translated by J. Argyropoulo, several copies of which are disposed of in that year. (*Collectanea*, ed. Fowler, Oxford Historical Society, 1885.)

² First edition, 1564; reprinted by M. W. Bullen and A. H. Bullen (Early English Text Society, 1888).

Patras and coadjutor archbishop of Sienna. Its very title shows that the author had assigned to himself, in almost the same words, the same moral task as Spenser: *Della Istitutione morale di tutta la vita dell'uomo nato nobile e in citta libera*. Piccolomini pays, of course, special attention to moral virtues; he takes Aristotle for his guide, and concludes that, according to this master, there are eleven of them: "l'undeci virtù morali che pone Aristotele;"¹ or, in English: "the eleven morall vertues as Aristotle hath devised"—the very words of Spenser, except that there are eleven virtues, not twelve.

But twelve was a kind of sacred number (the twelve months of the year, tribes of Israel, apostles, Cæsars, books of Virgil, etc.), and was sure to come in. In his revised edition of 1560, Piccolomini inserted a phrase in which he states that one more virtue, Prudence, might reasonably be added to the others. I have, it is true, says he, placed prudence among intellectual habits, "quantounque ancor' ella in un certo modo si possa dir morale."² This was enough in any case: the fatidical number twelve was within reach; to be eventually accepted the more willingly by a poet like Spenser, as it allowed him to give his epic the same number of books as the *Aeneis*.

Piccolomini's work had a considerable success; it had Italian editions in 1543, 1545, 1552, 1560, etc.; it was translated into French: *L'Institution morale du Seigneur Alexandre Piccolomini, mise en françois par Pierre de Larivey, Champenois* (Paris, 1581, 8vo). Larivey follows the edition of 1560, which allows him to state that there are "unze virtus morales," plus Prudence, total twelve; but no more than his original does he mention expressly this number.

That this same *Istitutione Morale* was known to Spenser we have positive testimony. The poet's life in Ireland had begun in August, 1580. Whether or not he had met before, he certainly knew there, and had for one of his chief literary friends

¹ Book IV, chap. 2 (fol. 74): "Del numero de le virtu morali e del suggetto di quello."

² Book V, chap. 3, ed. of Venice, 1560, p. 185 (corresponding to Book IV, chap. 2, of the ed. of 1542). The addition was borrowed, however, not from Aristotle, but from Plato, whose four main virtues, adopted and popularized by Cicero (*De Officiis*, Book I, chap. 5), were Prudence, Justice, Courage (or Strength of Mind), and Temperance. Two of these four are on Spenser's list.

Lodowick Bryskett, of Italian origin as it seems, a companion of Sir Philip Sidney in his travels, who had in 1577 been appointed clerk of the chancery in Ireland. Promoted afterward to higher functions, he had Spenser for his successor.

Many years later, long after the poet's death, Bryskett published a book, apparently composed during the earliest period of Spenser's stay in Ireland, and entitled *A Discourse of civill Life: containing the Ethike part of morall Philosophie* (London, 1606). The author dedicated to Robert, earl of Salisbury, "this booke treating of the morall vertues," and stated further that the work had been originally "written to the Rt. Hon. Arthur, late lord Grey of Wilton," Spenser's first chief and patron in Ireland. It was a dialogue, having the same object as Piccolomini's prose and Spenser's verse, namely, "to frame a gentleman fit for civill conversation and to set him in the direct way that leadeth him to his civill felicitie." The occasion, a less poetical one than the "annuall feaste" of the *Faerie Queene*, was that Bryskett had, as he tells us, taken medicine; his friends came to see how he did, visiting him in his "little cottage which [he] had newly built neare unto Dublin." These friends were the primate of Armagh, the queen's solicitor, several captains, Spenser himself; last, not least, "Th. Smith, Apothecary," the prime cause and true "begetter" of the dialogue.

What follows immediately is well known; no one fails to remember how, after some talk on medicines and their effect, the interlocutors begin to discuss the principles of moral philosophy. Bryskett, as a man who had had previous conversations on the subject with Spenser, appeals point blank to him: "Shew your selfe courteous now unto us all," and let us listen to what you have to say on moral virtues. Spenser declines; he has already "undertaken a work tending to the same effect which is . . . under the title of a *Faerie Queene*, to represent all the morall vertues." Better wait for that work, and rather let Bryskett himself speak, as he had translated what "Giraldi" wrote on the subject. All agree, not without expressing "an extreme longing after [Spenser's] worke of the *Faerie Queene*, whereof some parcels had bin by some of them seene."

Bryskett consents, therefore, to be the orator of the day, and, having before his eyes the manuscript of his translation of Giraldi Cinthio's three dialogues, *Dell' allevare et ammaestrare i figluoli nella vita civile*,¹ gives an account of the best way to rear children so that they become virtuous and model citizens. Reaching, however, the question of the moral virtues, Bryskett declares that Cinthio has treated them "somewhat too briefly and confusedly. I have therefore, to helpe mine owne understanding, had recourse to Piccolomini." Following these two Italians, and borrowing through them ideas from Plato as well as from Aristotle, he draws up a formal list of twelve virtues, the number being then expressly mentioned, the first four and chief ones being, as a matter of fact, the four Platonistic ones:

There are then by the generall consent of men foure principall vertues appertaining to civil life, which are Fortitude, Temperance, Justice and Prudence; from which four are also derived (as branches from their trees) sundry others to make up the number of twelve, and they are these ensuing, Liberalitie, Magnificence, Magnanimitie, Mansuetude, Desire of Honor, Veritie, Affability and Urbanitie.

From such books and such conversations, from other less solemn talks which he and Bryskett, interested in the same problems, could not fail to have, Spenser derived his list of virtues and his ideas regarding a list of twelve. These ideas apparently matured little by little. His poem, as we know by his letter to Harvey of April, 1580, was then already begun; but most probably the general and dogmatical plan of it, as it appeared later in the letter to Raleigh, was not yet settled in his mind. He mentions, in any case, in his epistle to Harvey, his *Epithalamion Thameſis* as a separate poem, unwritten yet, and which will be in quantitative verse: "whyche Booke I dare undertake wil be very profitable for the knowledge and rare for the invention and manner of handling." But this *Epithalamion*, only projected in 1580, was to be written in Spenser's own stanza and to form part of his great poem, filling the eleventh canto of Book IV.

The letter to Raleigh, explaining the then completely elaborated plan of the author, was written only ten years later, some

¹ Originally published at the beginning of the second volume of the *Hecatommithi* (Monte Regale, 1565).

six years after the meeting described by Bryskett. That it does not cover exactly the facts is no wonder. That Spenser knew something of Aristotle, and that some of the maxims and ideas of the great philosopher remained in his mind, cannot be doubted. Either through direct or indirect borrowings, he took from him his notion of the middle or virtuous state, standing between two faulty extremes (though he did not try, as Aristotle did, to apply this theory to every virtue¹). From him, too, he derived the opinion that the political and the moral virtues can be united sometimes in a single man; and he intended to show it in composing later another poem, in which Arthur would have been represented as possessing all "the politicke vertues . . . after that hee came to be king." Who, says Aristotle, will be able to unite in himself this double series of virtues, the private and the public ones? "I have already said it: the magistrate (*τὸν ἀρχοντα*) worthy of his functions."²

But with these ideas, many others from various sources, of less dignified origin, were associated. A dignified origin ever was in the wishes and tastes of Spenser. Writing under his eyes, E. K. had annotated the *Shepheardes Calender*, and, pointing out the poet's originals, quoted, we know, much more willingly Theocritus than Mantuan, and Mantuan than Marot. To Marot, Spenser owes most, and he is the one spoken of least. Is he even "worthy of the name of a poete?" asks supercilious E. K., who, when he comes to the twelfth Eclogue, adapted, and in part closely translated, from the French, does not even mention the name of Marot. In the same way, owing to this same disposition, Spenser, wanting to expound the purport of his great work, clung with particular pleasure to the arch-philosopher Aristotle, and referred the reader to his "twelve private morall vertues"—a mere afterthought, probably, imagined after part of the poem had been written; for Spenser begins with the virtue of Holiness, conspicuously absent, as we saw, from Aristotle's enumeration, but praised in many other ancient or modern treatises, in La Primaudaye, for example,

¹ It is only incidentally dwelt upon, forming the episode of Guyon's visit to Medina (Book II, c. 2).

² *Politics*, Book III, chap. 2.

well known in England, and who himself derived his inspiration from Plato:

La sapience éternelle, par l'opération de son esprit, conduit et eslève la contemplative à sa propre fin, qui est l'heureuse science immuable concernant le service deu à la majesté divine, et que Socrate appelloit Religion et très grande vertu, disant . . . que nul ne se devoit persuader de pouvoir trouver parmi le genre humain une plus grande vertu que la religion et piété envers Dieu.¹

It should be noted, moreover, that, express though Spenser's statement be concerning the twelve virtues, signs are not lacking that his remembrance of Aristotle was somewhat vague. He must have felt it himself, for it occurs to him once to refer, in rather loose fashion, to "Aristotle and the rest," saying: "In the person of Arthur, I sette forth magnificence in particular, which vertue for that (according to Aristotle and the rest) it is the perfection of all the rest, and containeth in it them all." He follows here, as a matter of fact, neither Aristotle nor the rest; he seems to have confounded Magnificence (*μεγαλοπρέπεια*) with Magnanimity (*μεγαλοψυχία*), and Magnanimity with Justice; for of Magnanimity Aristotle says that it is a kind of ornament applicable to all the other virtues; while in his chapter on Justice he recalls the saying, proverbial in his day: "All virtue is contained in Justice."

To sum up: Spenser owes something to Aristotle, but far less than he led us to believe. Here, as elsewhere, to the exalted models whom he quotes, different ones, of lesser stature, must be added. He borrowed as much from such moderns as Piccolomini and Bryskett as from Aristotle. We must be careful, to be sure, not to pass too severe a judgment on him for that; the notions then prevalent about borrowing, imitating, and referring to sources were very different from ours. But the fact just pointed out is a fact, and must be kept in remembrance. Taking Spenser at his word, more than one commentator has connected too exclusively the poet with the grandest models. But much is to be sought for

¹ *Académie Françoise, en laquelle est traité de l'institution des mœurs et de ce qui concerne le bien et heureusement vivre en tous les estats et conditions*, 1st ed., 1577: a dialogue, which the author affirms to have really taken place between "quelques jeunes gentilshommes angevins mes compagnons." The third volume, published separately later, was dedicated to Elizabeth. I quote from the edition of 1598, Vol. I, fol. 25.

outside of them; much remains to be done, much more than I have attempted in this preliminary essay; much to show, for example, the quantity of notions derived neither from Tasso nor from Ariosto, in the course of Spenser's great work, but from the very same romances of chivalry which troubled Don Quixote's brain and later enchanted Edmund Burke's mind: the *Espejo de Principes*, for example, that same *Mirror of Knighthood* in which shone the "dear Lindabrides" derided—and made famous —by Ben Jonson.

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INDO-EUROPEAN *I* AND *E* IN GERMANIC

During the first half of the nineteenth century comparative philology was dominated, as is well known, by the belief in the primitive character of the Sanskrit, and especially of the Sanskrit vowels. As this language exhibited only the simple vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, these were assumed to be original, and the *e* and *o* of the European languages to be derived from them. Since now the Gothic vowel system agreed remarkably with the Sanskrit, it was but natural to assume that it also represented the original state of affairs. In fact, Grimm saw in this agreement of the Gothic with the Sanskrit the strongest possible proof of the original character of the latter.¹ Under such a belief, it is clear that the only way to account for *e* and *o* of the West and North Germanic was to explain them, as Grimm did as breakings of *i* and *u*.

Gradually, however, doubts as to the secondary character of *e* and *o* began to multiply. Curtius struck the first blow at this theory in his famous article *Über die Spaltung des A-Lautes im Griechischen und Lateinischen* and finally, under the repeated assaults of Amelung, Collitz, and Joh. Schmidt, the whole structure of comparative philology, based as it was upon Sanskrit, fell with a crash, and philologists were forced to erect on new foundations a new structure from the ruins of the old. As Collitz clearly showed,² the original Indo-European vowels must be considered identical with those of the Greco-European, as he put it, and not with the Sanskrit. With the old structure there fell also the belief in the primitive character of the Gothic. Germanic philology had likewise to be revised; and when the smoke of battle had cleared away, it was seen that W. Germ. had forged to the front, while Gothic had been relegated to second place. It was now only natural to assume, for example, that the *e* of Lat. *edere* had

¹ In his *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, p. 274, Grimm says: "Es ist ein gewaltiger Satz, den uns Sanskrit und gotische Sprache zur Schau tragen, dass es ursprünglich nur drei kurze Vokale gibt, *a*, *i*, *u*."

² *Bezz. Beiträge*, Vol. II, p. 303, and Vol. III, pp. 177 ff.

been retained in ON *eta*, OE, OS *etan*, OHG *ezzan*, and that the *i* of Goth. *itan* was a secondary development.

The only disturbing element was the fact that the parallelism between *i* and *u* had been broken up. Under the old theory both were considered original, as we have seen, and both were similarly broken, the one to *e*, the other to *o*. According to the new view, however, *u* still retained its old position, because, Indo-Eur. *o* having become *a* in Germanic, Prim. Germ. could not have had a short *o*. *U* was therefore still considered original, while W. Germ. *o* had still to be explained as a breaking of *u*. With *e* it was different, for it was shown in the majority of cases to be a survival of Indo-Eur. *e*, and not a breaking. There were, to be sure, some few instances where Indo-Eur. *i* had clearly been broken to *e* in W. Germ., but the old parallelism between *i* and *u* was evidently a thing of the past.

Now, it is possible that some of the older philologists may have had at times the desire to restore this parallelism, and to reinstate Gothic once more in its old supremacy; but the matter seemed impossible of accomplishment. Suddenly, however, Professor Collitz appeared at the Philological Congress held at St. Louis during the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, and, in Vol. XX, pp. 65 ff., of the *Modern Language Notes*, with a theory which aims at just this restoration. In his article he takes the ground that Indo-Eur. accented *e* becomes *i* in Prim. Germ., irrespective of the vowels which follow, and that then this *i* is later broken to *e* before *a*, *o*, *e* in N. and W. Germ., but remains unaltered in Gothic.¹ This is virtually a return to the position of Jacob Grimm, as far as Gothic is concerned, and is all the stranger when one remembers that Professor Collitz was one of the first to abandon Grimm's position.² The matter is now, however, no longer as simple as at the time of Grimm, who, under the belief in the originality of the Sanskrit vowels, merely had to assume the retention

¹ Except, of course, when broken before *r*, *h*, *hv*.

² In his article, *Bezz. Beiträge*, Vol. III, p. 177, he clearly sides with Müllehoff against Grimm, stating that one of the supports of Grimm's theory had been withdrawn, since Müllehoff had recognized that the three-vowel system of the Gothic goes back to a general Germanic five-vowel system, as Gothic *i* and *u* do not represent the earlier stages of the *e* and *o* of the other Germanic dialects.

of original *i* in Gothic. Under the present views, Professor Collitz is forced to assume a two-fold change. For the sake of clearness, let us state the case concretely. To explain the difference between OHG *ezzan* and *izzit*, or between OHG *wint* (Lat. *ventus*) and *zehan* (Lat. *decem*), we must assume either one of two things. Either Indo-Eur. *e* has remained *e* in Germanic in accented syllables except before nasal + cons., or when followed by *i* or *j*, or we must assume, with Professor Collitz, that Indo-Eur. *e* became *i* in all cases in Prim. Germ., and was then broken to *e* before guttural vowels.

Now, it is a generally accepted rule of science that of two possible theories one should accept the simpler, other things of course being equal. Applying this principle to the case in hand, it would seem more natural, providing we knew nothing of the merits of the case, to suppose that Indo-Eur. *e* remained in Germanic except in certain specific cases, than to assume that it first changed to *i* and then in a vast majority of instances back again to *e*.¹ But let us admit, for the sake of argument, that the change which Professor Collitz assumes did really take place. Then the question naturally arises: When did it occur? At the time of Tacitus the original *e* is still retained, as such names as *Segimērus*, *Segimundus*, *Hermiones*, *Fenni*, and *Venedī*, over against OHG *Sigimar*, *Sigimund*, *Irmin-sūl*, *Winida*, go to prove.² This is the only possible interpretation; for, as the words have *i* in the second syllable, they could not be considered cases of breaking. Professor Collitz' twofold change must therefore have taken place later than the first century, A. D.

Now, by the side of these words with *e* there are to be found others with *i* before a nasal + cons.; *e. g.*, *Ingvaeones* and *Ingviomērus*. How would Professor Collitz explain the existence of the two vowels side by side, if Indo-Eur. *e* becomes *i* in all cases? The only natural explanation is that the change of *e* to *i* had already taken place before nasal + cons. in the first

¹ For example, in the verbs of the third ablaut class whose stems end in a liquid + cons. there are but four forms where *i* appears, namely in the three persons of the present sing. ind. and the sing. imp., whereas in all other present forms of the verb, the infinitive, the plural ind., and the whole of the subj. *e* is found.

² Cf. Bremer, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, Vol. XXII, p. 251.

century, but not before double nasals or other consonants. All the evidence gathered goes to show that the change from Indo-Eur. *e* to *i* did not take place in Prim. Germ., as his theory would require, but that it was a separate dialectical development, and a late one at that. In continental German it seems to have taken place by the second century before double nasals, if stress can be laid on the spelling *Φίννοι* in Ptolemy, and by the fourth century before other consonants when followed by an *i*, as the form *Sigismundus* of Ammianus Marcellinus would indicate. In N. Ger. the change appears to be much later, as the Finnish loan word *rengas* ("ring"), borrowed from the Norse and the Icelandic genitive *Venþa*,¹ would go to prove. Before other consonants the change does not seem to have occurred in ON before 600, as the Runic form *erilaR* ("earl") found in the inscriptions of Kragehul, Lindholm, and Varnum, etc., would seem to indicate.² In fact, Kock goes so far as to consider that the change had not taken place in some parts before the ninth century, basing his belief on the Celtic loan-word *erell*, which appears in the Irish annals of 847, and which is the borrowing of the above-mentioned *erilaR*.

The change of *e* to *i* in the combination *eu* was also very late. That it was unchanged in Prim. Germ. is shown by such words as *Teutomerus* and the Finnish *keula* (ON *kiöll*). In Runic inscriptions we still have *eu* in *leubaR* ("dear"), *leub-wini*, etc. Further, in OE *treu-lēsnis* "perfidia," of the *Epinal Glossary*, and in OS *treulos* and *treuhäft*.³ How could Professor Collitz account, according to his theory, for the existence of *e* at so late a date? It is certainly not a breaking of *i* to *e*, for *u* never produces that result. It can only be explained as a retention of original *e*, which is, however, directly opposed to Professor Collitz' theory. Similarly, how shall we explain the occurrence of *e* before *u* of the following syllable in many words? In OE and ON we have in all such cases a breaking, which, however, goes back to an *e*.⁴ In OS the cases with *e* far outnumber those with *i*.⁵ Only in

¹Cf. Kock, *Beiträge*, Vol. XXVII, p. 169.

²Cf. Bugge, *Arkiv for norsk Filologi*, N. F., Vol. IV, p. 9.

³Other examples, Streitberg, *op. cit.* § 62.

⁴E. g., OE *feolu*, *teoru*, *felu*, *heoru*, etc.; ON *fiol*, *hiprr*, *miolk*, etc.

⁵Cf. Holthausen, *Altsächsisches Elementarbuch*, § 82.

OHG does *i* appear to any great extent before *u*, and even here the cases are very evenly divided.¹ What possible explanation could Professor Collitz offer here? He could not assume that *u* had caused the breaking, for the numerous preterite plurals of the first ablaut class disprove this,² and we are accustomed to believe that *u* causes the retention of an original *i*. To my mind, we have here a clear tendency of continental German (i. e., OHG and OS) to change *e* to *i* before following *u*—a tendency, however, which was not consistently carried out, and which did not exist at all in OE and ON.³

Professor Collitz is forced to the assumption that Indo-Eur. *e* became *i* in Germanic in all positions, because he accepts Holtzmann's law that *i* and *u* are broken to *u* and *o* before *a*, *e* and *o*. This law still finds general acceptance for *u*, because it is so consistently carried out in the ablaut verbs in the second and third classes. But even here ON exhibits a few exceptions in the second class, e. g., the perfect participles *budinn* and *hlutenn* by the side of the regular *bodenn* and *hlotenn*.⁴ In the case of nouns the usage in the different Germanic dialects is very much divided with the exception of OHG.⁵ For OE Sievers⁶ points out the fact that when *u* is found a labial of some sort is present, and the same would apply to most of the OS examples. Might not the instances with *u* be considered as a survival of the original vowel, which the labials by their related character helped to retain, as is still the case in English *pull, bush* etc?

If, now, the breaking of *u* to *o* admits of numerous exceptions, that of *i* to *e* exhibits so many instances of nonconformity that one may reasonably doubt whether it really exists at all. Heinzel⁷

¹ Cf. Braune, *Althochdeutsche Grammatik*, § 80c.

² E. g., ON *bitom*, OE *biton*, OS *bitum*, OHG *bizzum*, where *i* appears without exception.

³ The cases in the 1st sing. pres. ind. of the strong verbs in ON are explained by Noreen as due to analogy.

⁴ Noreen, *Altisländische Grammatik* § 412, an. 2.

⁵ Cf. OE *fugol*, OS *fugol*, and even OHG *fugal*, by the side of the more usual form *fogal*, or OE *bucca*, ON *bukkr*, by the side of OHG *bac*, ON *bokkr*. In OE the exceptions are especially frequent. In addition to those already mentioned we find: *full, wulf, wulle, fugol, bucca, cnucian, uflan, ufor, ufera, lufu, tufian, spura* (beside *spora*) *spurnan*, (beside *spornan*) *murnan, murcnian, furdor, furðum*. Similarly in OS: *ful, wulf, smultrō* (OE *smolt*), *turf, hurst* (NHG *Horst*), *spurnan, fugal, juk, klustök* (NHG *Knoblauch*), *uppa* (Holthausen, loc. cit., § 88).

⁶ *Altenglische Grammatik*, § 55.

⁷ *Geschichte der neufränkischen Geschäftssprache*, p. 46.

believed that original *i* remained in OHG in accented syllables, while acknowledging the existence of a number of exceptions, a list of which he gives. Paul¹ was of the opinion that *i* remained in Prim. Germ., but was changed in OHG at times to *e* before *a*, *e*, *o*. Braune² denies the existence of the breaking as a law, stating that Germ. *i* remains as a rule in OHG even before following *a*, *e*, *o*. Wilmanns³ likewise is inclined to doubt whether the law exists at all. Of late, however, there has been a tendency to refer the breaking back to an earlier period. Streitberg⁴ states that before *ā*, *ō*, *āē* of the following syllable *i* is broken to *e* in Prim. Germ., if *j* or nasal + cons. do not intervene, and thinks that the original state of affairs was disturbed by numerous cases of analogy. Brugmann, who in the first edition of his *Grundriss* had denied its existence for Prim. Germ., now follows Streitberg, but is less positive, stating that if it is a mechanical sound-change, it probably belongs to Prim. Germ.⁵ The reason of this change of view is due to the few cases in which general Germ. *e* undoubtedly corresponds to Indo-Eur. *i*; e. g.: OE, OS, OHG *wer*, OA *verr*, over against Lat. *vir*; OE, OHG, MLG *nest*, but Lat. *nīdus* < * *nizdos*; ON *hegre*, MLG *heger*, OHG *hehera* (NHG *Häher*), but Skr. *kikiś*, Grk. *κίσσα*.⁶ These instances appearing in every dialect, the conclusion was natural that the change of *i* to *e* was general Germanic. This is undoubtedly true for the words in question, but are we justified in connecting this breaking with the one observed in OHG? Kluge is the only one, as far as I know, to attempt to formulate any more detailed theory for this change, which he acknowledges to be rare.⁷ The truth of the matter is that we do not know the conditions under which the change takes place, as Kluge himself confesses. The

¹ *Beiträge*, Vol. VI, p. 82.

² *Althochdeutsche Grammatik*, § 31.

³ *Deutsche Grammatik*, § 181.

⁴ *Urgermanische Grammatik*, § 68.

⁵ Cf. *Grundriss*, Vol. I¹, § 35, and Vol. I², § 86.

⁶ A full list is given by Noreen, *Abriss der urgermanischen Lautlehre*, p. 20.

⁷ In Paul's *Grundriss*, Vol. I², p. 410, he considers it to be the rule before *r*, as in OE, OS, OHG, *wer*, ON *verr*, Lat. *vir*; before *h*, as in OE *tweho*, OHG *zweho*; and before *s*, as in OE, OHG *nest*. Before other consonants the dialects differ; thus, OE *higora* by the side of ON *hegre*, etc., given above, and ON *stege*, OHG *stega*, *steg*, but ON *stige* and *stigr*.

instances before *r* and *h* would seem to indicate that it is not dependent on the following vowel, but on the consonant, and might be considered parallel to the Gothic breakings. The other cases are too few in number, and the evidence too contrary, to make it safe to state the rule for Prim. Germ. as positively as Streitberg does. As to analogy, it is just as reasonable to suppose that it caused the change of *i* to *e* in other cases than before *h* and *r*, as to believe, with Brugmann, that later analogies interfered with the working of the law.

The exceptions to the law are very numerous and of great weight. Especially is this true of the many verbs of the first ablaut class. Phonetic laws, if they work at all, are found to be carried out most consistently in the case of the strong verbs. The strongest proof for the breaking of *u* to *o* is drawn from the perfect participles of the second and third classes. In the case of *i*, however, this is just where the rule breaks down. Over against the great number of participles of the first class in all dialects with *i* before the *a* of the ending, we have but one solitary instance of conformity to the law, namely ON *bedðenn*, ppl. of *biða*. In my opinion, the older views were correct, and the breaking of *i* to *e* before *a*, *e*, and *o* exists as a tendency in the main only in OHG. Most of the examples generally adduced in support of the law are taken from this dialect. Here, indeed, we find many doublets, such as *scif*—*scef*; *scirm*—*scerm*; *ledic*—*lidic*, and many cases of *e* where other languages have *i*.¹ In loan-words the usage is divided in OHG, as Wilmanns points out.² Furthermore, if the breaking of *i* to *e* is so general a rule as many would have us believe, and as Professor Collitz evidently assumes, how can we explain the persistence of Indo-Eur. *i* in such words as OE, OHG *fisk*, ON *fiskr*, OS *fisc* (stem *fisko*)— or in OHG *wisa*, *snita*, *wizzod*, and *hlinen*? Since the stems of all these words end in one of the above mentioned vowels, we should expect the *i* to be broken to *e*, as no hindering consonant intervenes. Is it reasonable to believe in a rule where the testimony is so divided, and

¹ E. g., *queck*, but OE *cwic*: *zebar*, but OE *tifer*: *lebara*, but OE *lifer*. See list in Braune, *op. cit.*, § 31, an. 1, and Wilmanns, *op. cit.*, § 181.

² E. g. *tihton* (Lat. *dictare*), *tisc.* (Lat. *discus*), *phistor* (Lat. *pistor*), with *i*, but *bech* (Lat. *pix*), *pfeifar* (Lat. *piper*), with *e*, and *messa* by the side of *missa* (Lat. *missa*).

the exceptions more numerous than the instances adduced in its support?

If, however, we write our *non liquet* above it and discard the rule, we shall have no difficulty in explaining the vowels of the past participles of the ablaut verbs. In the case of the verbs of the first class,¹ we simply have to assume that the original *i* has been retained even before the *a* of the ending, and we meet with no difficulty. All the evidence is of the same kind and without exception, apart from the isolated Norse form *bedenn* mentioned above. Similarly, in the fifth class² we need merely to suppose that the Indo-Eur. *e* has remained, and again the matter is simple, the evidence all in harmony, and we are obliged to resort to no complicated system to explain the *e* of the root.

Let us see, however, what difficulties Professor Collitz has created for himself by considering the Gothic vowels to be original, and by accepting Holtzmann's rule of breaking. In order to explain the vowel of OHG *gigeban*, he has to assume a double change, first of *e* to *i* in accordance with Gothic *gibans*, and then a subsequent breaking in W. and N. Germ. back to the original *e*. But this rule, which works well for verbs of the fifth class, does not hold good for those of the first; for here we find, e. g., OHG *gibazzan* instead of *gibezzan*, which the rule would lead us to expect. To meet this difficulty, Professor Collitz creates a new law, and states that the breaking in the past participles is dependent upon that of the present stem. The verbs of the first class having an *i* in the present, which is not subject to breaking, therefore the vowel of the past participle likewise remains unbroken. This rule seems at first sight to be very satisfactory, for it accounts not only for the verbs of the first class, but also for those of the second and third classes, as Professor Collitz' examples show. In OHG it also accounts for those of the fourth class, but does not explain the forms of *neman* in the other dialects. In OE, to be sure, where *i* and *u* appear regularly before simple nasals, we have correctly enough inf. *niman*, participle *numen*. In OS, however, where the most usual form for

¹ E. g., OHG *gizigan* and *gibazzan*.

² E. g., OHG *gigeban*, *gibetan*.

the present is *niman*,¹ the past participle exhibits most frequently the vowel *o*, rarely *u*,² which is directly opposed to Professor Collitz' rule of the dependence of the participle on the present stem. Similarly, in ON, although we have the infinitive *nema*, we find the form *numenn* to be more frequent in the participle than *nomenn*, which the rule of breaking would lead us to expect.³

There is, however, a much more serious class of exceptions to Professor Collitz' rule, and one which suggested itself to his mind; namely, the so-called *j*-presents of the fifth class,⁴ whose past participles exhibit the vowel *e*, and not that of the present stem, contrary to his rule of dependence. Professor Collitz very cleverly met and avoided this difficulty by changing his rule to read, that when the preterit plural and the past participle had one and the same breakable vowel in Prim. Germ., the breaking only occurs in the past participle when the vowel of the present stem is broken; otherwise it remains unbroken through the influence of the vowel of the preterit plural. This surely is certainly ingenious, but is so complicated that it is not even suspicion. Moreover, it is wholly empirical. We are not told why the influence should be so strong in certain cases and not in others. If, as Professor Collitz assumes, the *e* of the present stem exercises such an influence over the vowel of the past participle in the first, second, and third classes, in spite of the vowel of the preterit plural, which by its resemblance would naturally tend to keep the vowel unchanged, then why should not the umlauted vowel *i* of the *j*-presents exert a still more powerful influence over the vowel of the past participle, when the form of the preterit plural is so different as not to be a disturbing factor? In other words, if *u* is broken to *o* in OHG *giworfān*, in dependence upon the *e* of *werfan*, in spite of the *u* of the preterit

¹ *Neman* occurs sporadically in the MSS M, C, P of the *Heliand*, and in the *Essen Glosses*; see Holthausen, *op. cit.* § 83.

² Holthausen, *op. cit.*, § 438 an.

³ Also in the Norse verbs *suimma*, where *i* appears regularly before the double nasal, Noreen considers the original form of the past participle to have been **somenn*, and only later to have changed by analogy to *sumenn* (*Altisländische Grammatik*, § 423, an. 2). Here the form of the vowel is evidently controlled by the double or single nasal, and not by the breaking or non-breaking of the vowel of the present stem.

⁴ Such as OHG *bitten*, *sitzen*, etc.

wurfum, why should not the *i* of *bitten* cause the past participle to appear as *gibitan*, notwithstanding the *a* of the ending, when the preterit *batum* is so different in form that it cannot possibly be a disturbing factor? These complicated rules, however, are not necessary, as we have seen, if we are willing to assume the secondary character of the Gothic vowels.

In conclusion, I fail to see that we have to resort to complicated theories to explain the vocalism of Gothic under the generally accepted view, as Professor Collitz charges. Gothic has a strong predilection for close, or narrow, vowels. All the changes it makes are in this direction. Not only in the case of *i* and *u* does it show such preference, but also in the change of Germ. *â* to *e*, the close character of which is abundantly proved by the frequent substitution of *ei* for *e*. Similarly, we find *û* often written for *ð*.¹ This tendency is characteristic, not only of Bible Gothic, but of all the Gothic dialects, as the instances collected by Wrede for East Gothic and Vandalian² and the Crimean Gothic forms *mina* (= Bible Goth. *mêna*, OHG *mâno*) and *schlipan* (= Bible Goth. *sleþan*, OS *slâpan*) all go to show. The only exceptions to this tendency are the well known breakings before *h*, *hv*, and *r*, which are confessedly secondary. In my opinion, the attempt of Professor Collitz to derive the West and North Germanic vowels from the Gothic requires the assistance of a much more ingenious and complicated rule than any now in use to explain the secondary character of the Gothic.

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¹ Cf. Braune, *Gotische Grammatik*, § 7a, an. 2; § 12, an. 1; Wrede, *Gotische Grammatik*, § 12; Hirt, *Beiträge*, Vol. XXI, p. 122.

² *Quellen und Forschungen*, Vol. LIX, p. 91, and Vol. LXVIII, pp. 58 and 161.

Modern Philology

VOL. III

April, 1906

No. 4

EDWARD GRIMESTON, TRANSLATOR AND
SERGEANT-AT-ARMS

The twenty-third volume of the *Dictionary of National Biography* contains six "lives" of persons bearing the surname Grimston, or its variants, Grymeston and Grimeston. Among these is an Edward Grim(e)ston, who was the father of the subject of the present sketch. This Edward Grimeston *père* was born about 1528, and had a sufficiently eventful career. He was appointed comptroller of Calais in 1552, was taken prisoner at the capture of the town in 1558, and lodged in the Bastille, from which he escaped in the following year. Later in life he revisited France under pleasanter conditions, and in 1587 acted as secretary to the English ambassador in Paris. In 1557 he had bought from the crown the manor of Rishangles in Suffolk, and on his death in 1599 was buried in the parish church of that place.

He had two surviving sons, both called Edward.¹ The elder of these became member of Parliament for Eye in 1588, married Joan, daughter of Thomas Risby, and died in 1610. He was the father of the first Sir Harbottle Grimston, and grandfather of the second Sir Harbottle, the well-known parliamentary orator, who became speaker and master of the rolls.

But it is with the younger of the two brothers that this article deals. It is remarkable that he is not thought worthy of being

¹Cf. Davy's *Suffolk Collections*, Vol. LVII, p. 204; *MS. Add.* 19, 133; and *Harleian Society's Publications*, Vol. XIII, p. 207.

mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, even among his father's descendants, for he was one of the most active and versatile of translators, when translation was in its golden age, and he was sergeant-at-arms during one of the most stirring periods of English parliamentary history. He has been, in fact, so completely forgotten that it was quite indirectly that my attention was drawn to him. In investigating the historical sources of Chapman's *Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois* and his two Byron plays I found that the dramatist had taken as his authority Grimeston's *General Inventorie of the Historie of France*, published in 1607, which is mainly an English version of Jean de Serres's *Inventaire Général de l' Histoire de France*, but which also contains passages from other writers, especially Pierre Matthieu and P. V. Cayet. Of this volume I gave some account in the *Athenaeum* for January 10, 1903, and I propose to deal here with Grimeston's career and work on a wider scale.

The entries under his name in the British Museum *Catalogue* fall little short of twenty, including later augmented editions of some of his publications. These all contain more or less elaborate dedicatory letters to patrons, and some have in addition addresses to the reader. They thus furnish some internal evidence from which, in combination with meager external data, Edward Grimeston's career can be partly reconstructed.

I have not hitherto been able to ascertain the exact date of his birth, or any details about his early life. Perhaps some scholar, whose bent lies toward genealogical research, may be stimulated to investigate the matter more fully. There is no record, as far as I have been able to ascertain, of his having been a member of either of the universities, and it is not till he had reached manhood that his own utterances throw light upon his occupations and aims. We know, however, that at some period he married a daughter of "Strettly, Armiger."¹

As a member of a distinguished family, he naturally aspired to an important official career, and in the closing decade of the sixteenth century he was sent, like his father, to France, probably in some diplomatic capacity. This is evident from two of his own

¹ Cf. *The Visitation of Essex in 1612* (Harl. Soc. Publications, Vol. XIII, p. 207).

statements. In the dedication of the *General Inventorie* (1607) to the Earls of Suffolk and Salisbury he speaks of having retired to "private and domesticke cares" after "some years expence in France for the publike service of the State," and in his "Epistle to the Earl of Suffolk" prefixed to *The Estates, Empires and Principalities of the World* (1615) he enters into further detail:

After eight yeares spent for the publique service of this Estate in France, seeing my Starre without light in our Horizon, and the hopes of my service, or of further imployments dead, I retired my selfe to this fruitlesse course of life [i.e., translation] to the end I might deceive the houres of my idle time, and leauue some testimonie to the world of my liues imployment.

It was probably not long after Elizabeth's death that Grimeston's "idle time" began, for in 1604 his first translations were published, and in one of them, *The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies*, he speaks of "the advantage I have gleaned from idle houres, in exchanging this Indian History from Spanish to English." The original is from the pen of the Spanish Jesuit, Joseph de Acosta, born in 1540, who spent upward of seventeen years in Peru and Mexico, and embodied the results of observations in his *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, published at Seville in 1590. The earlier part of the work deals mainly with questions of physical geography and ethnology, mingled with curious speculations by the author; the latter and more valuable books are a first-hand record of Peruvian and Mexican customs and beliefs, which is of enduring interest and importance. Grimeston showed a happy instinct in choosing the work for translation, and his version has had the honor of republication (in 1880) by the Hakluyt Society. Sir Clement Markham, who edits the reprint, bears witness that, though "there are some omissions and occasional blunders, the translation is on the whole creditable and trustworthy." Unfortunately, however, he confuses the translator with Edward Grimeston, the comptroller of Calais, who had been dead for five years in 1604. A less important production of Grimeston's pen in the same year was *A true historie of the Memorable Siege of Ostend* (the siege which began in July, 1601, and ended in September, 1604), translated from

the French, and dedicated to the able lord lieutenant of Ireland, Charles Mountioie, whose name is turned into the complimentary anagram "One: A most Rich Iuel." The work which was published by Edward Blount,¹ contains two curious plates illustrating episodes in the siege.

Grimeston's next two translations belong to 1607, and were both printed by George Eld. One of them was a version, with some slight omissions, of Simon Goulart's² *Histoires admirables et memorables de nostre temps*. Goulart, who was a prominent French Protestant ecclesiastic, was as indefatigable a translator and compiler as Grimeston himself, and it was apparently at his suggestion that the collection of "Histories" was put into English. For in his dedication to Sir Walter Cope, Grimeston states that "at the request of my friend I undertooke the translation of this worke³ the title wherof shewes the subiect to be extraordinarie." The volume is in effect, a farrago of sensational episodes drawn from very varied sources, and it is somewhat surprising that an age so greedy of marvels was apparently satisfied with one edition of the work in its English dress.

Far more solid and memorable was the other product of Grimeston's pen in the same year.⁴ It was the translation, spoken of above, of Jean de Serres's *Inventaire Général de l'Histoire de France*, with additions from other sources. The work was published by Eld in a sumptuous folio of 1052 pages, followed by "a table of the most memorable things contained in this Historie," and adorned by woodcut portraits of the sixty-three kings of France, from Pharamond I to Henry IV. In the

¹ In the *Stationers' Registers* under date of September 20, there is the following entry: "Master Blounte Entred for his Copie vnder th[e h]andes of the Bishop of London and the wardens *A remarkable and true historie of the siege of Ostend on eyther partie vntill this present* Provided that there be nothinge in yt offensive to the church and state here . . . Vjd."—Arber's *Transcript*, Vol. III, p. 271.

² On the title-page of Grimeston's translation he is wrongly called I. Goulart.

³ It was evidently doubtful whether the publication of the work in English could be sanctioned, for in the *Stationers' Registers*, under date of February 5, 1606-7, there is entered to Eld "a booke called *Histoires Admirables et memorables de nostre Temps* to be translated into Englishe, Provided that when it is translated he get further anuthoritie before yt be printed."

⁴ The work must, however, have been begun early in 1606, for under date of March 3, 1605-6, there is the entry in the *Stationers' Registers*: "George Eld entred for copie vnder th[e h]andes of my lordes Grace of Canterbury and the Wardens. A book called *The French Inventory* . . . Vjd."—Arber's *Transcript*, Vol. III, p. 315.

Dedication Grimeston states that he has chosen to translate de Serres as

an Author, whom (aboue mine own particular knowledge of this subiect) I have heard universally esteemed, for the most faithful, and free from affection, that euer toucht at that Argument; able to teach the vnlearned, to delight the learned, and draw to him as many Commenders, as Readers. The Maiesty, Graces, and Strength of whose worke, if I in my traduction haue in any way vnsinewed or deformed, I confesse a sinne against his graue.

In his "Address to the Reader" he again emphasizes de Serres's impartiality, declaring him to be "as free from affection and passion as any one that ever treated of this subiect," and gives in fuller detail his motives for translating him: first, to free himself from "the imputation of Idlenessse," which seems to have been with him an ever-present anxiety; secondly, "to give some content vnto such as either by their trauell abroad, or by their industrie at home, haue not attained vnto the knowledge of the Tongue, to read it in the originall;" thirdly, to encourage a patriotic spirit among his countrymen, who, seeing "the sundry Battailes woon by our kings of England against the French, and the worthie exploits of the English during their warres with France may bee incited to the like resolutions upon the like occasions." It is in his "Address to the Reader" also that Grimeston indicates that he is something more than a translator, that "to make the History perfect and to continue it unto these times," he has added extracts from "Peter Mathew" and other writers, but not to such an extent as to mar the balance and proportion of the work.

Thus Grimeston here displays something of the selective quality of the true literary artist; his materials are cleverly dovetailed together with an eye to dramatic effect, and his style, though not specially distinguished or individual, is lucid and well sustained. The volume had a well-deserved success. Among those who read it were Henry, Prince of Wales, whose copy is now in the British Museum, and Chapman, who, as has been already said, drew from it materials for three of his plays. By 1611 the edition, as Grimeston expressly states, was all sold out, and the printer asked him to prepare a new one, "and to

continew the History vnto these Times; whereunto I was the more willingly drawne, for that I would not have any other to put his sickle into my harvest, or to finish that which I had begunne." In its new form, which has the altered title of *A Generall Historie of France*, the work was brought down to 1610, ending with the coronation of the youthful Lewis XIII, whose portrait is added to those of his predecessors. Grimeston also, as he says in his "Advertisement to the Reader," laid himself open to the charge of having "exceeded the Lawes of Translation," by using "two partes of Arithmetike, that is Addition and Substraction." On the one hand he has added to de Serres's succinct narrative of events

the reasons and circumstances of many things, which hee did but onely touch at, chiefly,—in matters of State, as Treaties, Compositions and Capitulations; wherevnto I haue added the Articles that the Reader may not onelie see what things were done, but may also know the reasons, and vpon what grounds they were concluded.

Here speaks the voice of the philosophical historian, as contrasted with the mere annalist; and equally characteristic of a sound historical method is Grimeston's wise economy in omitting "all things that doe not concerne France, or the French, referring the Reader to the History of those countries where they were acted." To this rule he makes one characteristic exception:

True it is that in the reignes of Charles the eight, Lewis the twelfth, and Francis the second, you shalle finde much written of the warres of Italy, the which although they were acted vpon another theater yet were the French chiefe actors in those Tragedies. Neither could I well omit them without leaving an imputation of idlenessse vpon those generous Princes, who imploied a great part of their reignes in making warre there, for their pretentions to the Kingdome of Naples and the Dutchy of Milan.

Idleness was evidently Grimeston's *bête noire*, and he regarded it as a greater slur upon "generous princes" than bloodthirsty wars of ambition!

The work in its new form extended to 1419 pages, followed by an "Alphabetical Table containing the principall matters mentioned in this Historie," and was again "given a good applause." The second edition did not sell out as rapidly as the first, but by

1624 the "book-sellers shops" were "unfurnished." Then, as Grimeston relates in a new "Advertisement to the Reader,"

the Printer desiring to bring this History the third time to the Presse, importuned me to continue it to these later times, whervnto I did the more willingly yeeld, being loath that any one should undertake my taske whilst God giueth me health and ability.

The addition takes the form of a supplement of 335 pages, continuing the narrative till the peace of Montpellier in 1622. Neither de Serres nor Pierre Matthieu was any longer available as an authority, but Grimeston states that he has collected his material

out of the best Authors I could get there is nothing of mine owne: I haue related euerything plainly and truly without any passion, for the which my Authors shall be my warrant.

We have the same zeal for the truth as before, and the same aversion to diffuseness, which has led to the curtailment of "Some Articles in Treaties and Edicts," though without injury to "the full sense," and the omission of points more proper to divinity than to history; "else the Volume would have been immence, chargeable to the Buyer, and no great benefit to the Reader." Grimeston concludes his advertisement by speaking of himself as "almost out-worne with age and continual toyle for the publicke," and though his later life proves the phrase somewhat exaggerated, the seventeen years since his translation of de Serres had first been published, had indeed been full of many-sided activities.

The favorable reception of *The Inventorie* had led him, on its completion, to undertake another equally burdensome labor. This was a translation of J. F. Le Petit's *La grande Chronique ancienne et moderne de Hollande*. It was entered in the *Stationers' Register* on August 6, 1607 (Arber's *Transcript*, Vol. III, p. 357), but it was not published till 1608. Eld and Adam Islip were the joint printers of the folio, which was illustrated by woodcut portraits of the successive "earls" of Holland and other prominent personages. In his dedication of the work to Lords Salisbury and Suffolk, who had already stood sponsors for *The Inventorie*, he states that J. F. Petit, whom he has chiefly followed,

is "an Author yet liuing and residing in our London." In an epistle "to the Reader" he lays further stress upon this by asserting that, if Petit's preface fails to convince anyone of "the truth of the historie," "he himselfe is yet liuing here in London, and ready to satisfie any doubt that may arise." But Grimeston, *more suo*, "in order to make this historie more perfect, and to continue it" from 1600, where Petit's narrative ends, till 1608, had used "some other helpes." Chief among these he mentions Emanuel Demetrius, better known as Emanuel van Muerten, a Flemish refugee, who had spent most of his life in London, and who had written a work upon the later history of his country, which appeared in Dutch, German, and Latin versions. Grimeston also acknowledges his obligations to "Monsieur Holtoman," a French gentleman who furnished him "with sundrie excellent discourses," and to Sir Peter Manwood, who had put at his service "some observations in written hand . . . gathered by Sir Roger Williams, when he first bore arms under Julian Romero, a Spaniard, in the great Commanders time." He has inserted these, he declares, "Knowing they will be a grace and beautie to the storie, and a benefit to the reader," and has thus "borrowed a little of the laws of translation." But in the bulk of the work he had been faithful to Petit, and this involved, in his opinion, an unfavorable contrast with the *Inventorie* of the previous year. He warns his readers not to expect

the succinct stile of Iohn de Serres, nor the fluent discourses of Peter Mathew, but (being written by a soldier, and, as he himself confesseth, in harsh vnpolished Wallon French) you will accept thereof in this course English habit, beeing bare, and without ornaments of Rhetorick, my chiefest care and studie hauing alwayes beene to inrich it with good matter, for their better instruction which are desirous to learne. I must confess my stile is harsh and plaine, for so is my authors.

It is doubtful whether variations in Grimeston's style in translations from different originals are as obvious as he thought, but evidently he was not without feeling for the rhythm of good narrative prose, and was anxious to reproduce it on fit occasion.

Almost twenty years afterward, in 1627, a second edition of the *Historie of the Netherlands* was called for. Grimeston sup-

plied "sundrie necessarie obseruations omitted in the first Impression," especially relating to the exploits of the English troops in Flanders, though he could not give all the details that he wished.

I could neuer bee so happie, notwithstanding I had conference with some of the great Commanders and Captaines, and craued the assistance of their Writings and Observations in those warres, that I might doe them the honour due vnto their valour; but they had not obserued Cæsars rule, who fought by day, and writ in the night, as may well appeare by his memorable Commentaries.

Grimeston would also have liked, after his usual fashion, to continue the narrative up to the date of the reissue of the work, but, "the Printers hast preuenting" his desire, he had to leave this task to the hands of William Crosse, Master of Arts.

As "an Appendix to the History," to use his own words in the dedicatory letter to Sir Peter Manwood, Grimeston also published, in 1609, *The Low Country Commonwealth, Contayninge, An exact description of the Eight United Provinces Now Made free*. This was a version of a sort of guide-book to the Netherlands by J. F. Le Petit, of which, however, the original has disappeared, and which is known to us only through the English translation. The introductory letter to Manwood is dated from Orleans, April 10, 1609, and as Grimeston speaks of having produced the work in "such houres, as I could well spare, from my more necessarie imployments, since my coming into France," he had probably been sent across the Channel in some temporary diplomatic capacity. But he was soon to be permanently delivered from the idleness which was so repugnant to him. In the *Journal of the House of Commons*, Vol. I, p. 412, under date March 18, 1609–10, there is the entry: "Mr. Serjeant Wood died the last Night. This Morning Mr. Ed. Grimston sworn Serjeant to the King, and to attend in Parliament." Thus on the eve of the most exciting period in our parliamentary history the important office of sergeant-at-arms was bestowed on the worthy translator, and though on March 5, 1618, the reversion of the post was bestowed on John Hunt,¹ it will be seen that Grimeston continued in enjoyment of it up to the period of the Long Parliament.

¹ *State Papers Domestic, 1611–18*, p. 525.

Nearly all his publications after the date of his appointment bear his new dignity on the title-page, but it is absent in *The Generall Historie of Spaine*, translated from the French of L. de Mayerne Turquet, which was printed in folio by Islip and Eld in 1612. It was dedicated, like its predecessors, to the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, whose "favorable reception of my French and Netherland Histories hath added courage to my will to passe the Pyreneo Mountaines, and to take a survey of this Historie of Spaine." In the address "to the Reader" Grimeston, as usual, adds interesting details. Having omitted in the second edition of de Serres's *History* "all matters acted by the Spaniards," he had promised within the yeare to publish this Historie of Spaine: wherein (notwithstanding my publique seruice and many other difficulties) I haue forced my selfe to keepe my word, and to giue you satisfaction, though it be with some preijudice to my health.

Mayerne Turquet's work, which traced the history of the Peninsula from legendary times till 1583, was a compilation from writings in various tonges. From 1530 onward Grimeston, as he tells us, did not follow him, for "I haue both inserted diuers things out of other Authors, whereof he makes no mention and haue related some more at large then he hath done." Moreover, he has added a continuation covering the events from 1583 till the summer of 1605, when the Earl of Nottingham, the lord high admiral, returned from an embassy to the Spanish coast. For this period Turquet was of no assistance, as what he had written on it remained in manuscript:

he hath finished the rest [i. e., after 1583] vnto these times. I my selfe haue seene it in his studie at Paris, but he hath not yet put it to the Presse, so as I haue been constrained to helpe my selfe out of the best that haue written of these later times, wherein I haue been assisted by some worthie gentlemen in the relation of some great actions.

Here again, as in the preface to the second edition of the *History of the Netherlands*, we see Grimeston's praiseworthy anxiety to get hold, where possible, of first-hand evidence from actors in the events of which he speaks.

The same desire for "actuality" is illustrated in a minor publication of 1612, a translation of Pierre Matthieu's *Histoire de la*

Mort deplorable de Henri IIII, Roi de France. In the dedicatory letter to "Viscont Cranborn," heir to the Earl of Salisbury, he says that, though many "Pamphlets and petty discourses" have already appeared concerning the French king's tragic fate, yet he has

thought it well to make accessible to the English nation this account by Henry's owne Historiographer, who attended on him daily to record both his words and Actions, and who both could and hath written many particularities vpon this Accident, which were vnknowne to others.

It is noticeable that a panegyrical poem included in the original, "Les Trophees De La vertu et De La Fortune De Henry Le Grand," is Englished, not by Grimeston, but by Jos[hua] Syl[vester], the translator of du Bartas. The sergeant-at-arms evidently thought verse outside his sphere, though most of his dedications are in the floweriest vein of rhetoric.

Two years later appeared *The History of Lewis the Eleventh*, a rendering of another of P. Matthieu's works, which presents no feature of special interest. It was followed in 1615 by a work with the exceedingly comprehensive title of *The Estates, Empires & Principallities of the World*. This folio of 1234 pages was a translation of a French work published for the first time in 1614 at S. Omer, and ascribed on its title-page to *le Sieur D. V. T. Y. Gentilhomme ordinaire de la Chambre du Roy*. The four capital letters were a transparent covering for d'Avity, the name of a courtier who produced a number of works in prose and verse. Grimeston, however, was probably ignorant of his identity, for on the title-page of the English version it is merely said to be "translated out of French," and in the address "to the Reader" the author is not mentioned by name. However this may be, Grimeston and the printer, Adam Islip, must have gone to work extremely expeditiously, for the translation is entered on the *Stationers' Registers* as early as December 2, 1614. The work ranges in leisurely descriptive fashion over the world from "China to Peru," including the "estates" of such remarkable sovereigns as "the King of Brama or Pegu," "the great Mogor," and "the King of Monomotapa." Grimeston, as usual, was not content with the rôle of a simple translator:

I . . . have added . . . in diuers places, wheras by my owne search and studie I have found somethings (happily not seene by him) which might beautifie the worke . . . I have also in other places omitted some things wherein my Author had been abused by the relations of others.

Among the things omitted are the bulk of d'Avity's statements about the Reformation in Great Britain and Ireland, and the condition of the Roman Catholics under the first English Stuart king. On the other hand, the topographical description of Ireland is greatly enlarged, and in the account of the Spanish monarchy a curiously detailed list is added of the household expenses of the sovereign.

In the dedication of his work to Lord Suffolk Grimeston speaks of it as "the last labour of an old man," accomplished with difficulty "beyond the faculties of his weake bodie." As he lived at least twenty-five years later, his words must not be taken too literally; but, whether from failing health or pressure of public duties, Grimeston gave his busy pen a rest till 1621, when he published a translation of a moral handbook, *Tableau des Passions Humaines*, by the French Bishop Coeffeteau. More important, from our present point of view, than its contents is the fact that it contains a dedicatory letter to Buckingham, and a poem addressed to the translator by George Chapman. Grimeston approaches the favorite with the customary incense of adulation to "the most worthy to be most honored Lord," but he shows shrewd insight in offering to him, as one already furnished with "all outward honors," ample means "in this little Volume . . . to all outward addition and illustration." In the light of Buckingham's future career the following words have a ring of tragic irony:

All men floting on the high-going seas of Fortune if destitute of Pylots, Cables, and Anchors; and moued only with tumultuous and vnbounded errors, in vncertaine and dangerous courses; may for a time perhaps in safety and pleasure enjoy, and extend them: But at length (as t'were suddainly rauisht by the neckes) they are driuen helplessly headlong on the more horrible ship-wrackes. Since then your Lordships disposition to all goodnesse is in nature most sweete, most flexible, vouchsafe eare a little to artificiall and experimenc't advices, that may rectifie, accomplish and establishe you in all the heights of your honors.

Why Chapman should have chosen to prefix an encomium to this modest undertaking of Grimeston's, rather than to one of his great historical folios, is hard to say. It would seem from the tone of the verses "to his long-lou'd and worthy friend of his unwearied and honored labors" that both the translators had recently suffered from detractors of their work, and the poet urges his fellow-worker, to whom as dramatist he owed so much, not to weary in well-doing:

In short, All men that least deseruings haue,
 Men of most merit euer most deprae.
 How ever (friend) tis in us must assure
 Our outward Acts; and signe their passe secure.
 Nor feare to find your Noble paines impeacht,
 But write as long as *Foxe* or *Nowell* preach;
 For when all wizards haue their bolts let fly
 There's no such prooefe of worth, as *Industry*.

Chapman's exhortation was apparently not without effect, for two years later Grimeston put forth another folio of 867 pages, *The Imperiall History. From the first foundation of the Roman Mōarchy to this present tyme.* This work, however, as Grimeston frankly states in his dedicatory letter to Cranfield, the lord treasurer, was mainly the continuation of another man's labors. The history of the emperors, written in Spanish by Pedro Mexia, and published at Seville in 1546, and continued afterward in Italian by L. Dulce and G. Bardi, had been Englished in 1604 by W. Traheron, and printed by Matthew Lowndes. Probably at the request of Lowndes, who published the new volume, Grimeston now revised and enlarged Traheron's work. In the biographies from Julius Cæsar to Maximilian I he made only slight changes, but those of Charles V, Ferdinand I, and Maximilian II he "cast into new Mouldes," while those of Rudolph II (after 1602), Matthias, and Ferdinand II are from his own pen. Thus the narrative was brought down to 1622, the new matter being based, according to Grimeston, on "the most Authenticall and Impartial-reputed Authours now extant, together with the confident relations of such as have been eye-witnesses of some of the late Accidents."

Except for the additions, already spoken of, to the histories of France and the Netherlands, Grimeston produced nothing further till 1632, when he translated *L'Honnête Homme, ou l'art de plaire à la cour*, by Nicholas Furet. This manual of the whole duty of a courtier was published in duodecimo by G. Blount, and was appropriately dedicated by the translator to Richard Hubert, groom porter to the king. It was followed in 1634 by *The Counsellor of Estate*, a version of a handbook of political philosophy from the pen of Pierre de Bethune, a younger brother of the great Duc de Sully. In the same year appeared a more notable work, *The History of Polybius the Megalopolitan. The five first Bookes entire: with all the parcels of the Subsequent Bookes vnto the eighteenth according to the Greeke originall.* The "Greeke Originall" was not, however, the direct source of Grimeston's volume, which was a version of a French translation of Polybius by L. Maigret. The first edition of Maigret's work was published at Paris in 1552, but had contained only the first five books and the fragments of four others. Grimeston's rendering is of the second enlarged edition, which appeared at Lyons in 1558. And if his work cannot claim immediate classical inspiration, it has at least the distinction of being virtually the earliest version of Polybius in the English tongue. For though in 1568 Christopher Watson had issued a black-letter quarto purporting to contain *The Hystories of the most famous and worthy Cronographer Polybius*, he had only translated the first book, and had filled up the rest of the volume with "an Abstract of the life & worthy acts perpetrate by oure puissant Prince King Henry the fift"! In Grimeston's translation of Maigret's version the first five books, and the fragments of books VI-XVII, with some omissions, were made accessible to English readers. It was no small labor to be undertaken by a man of advanced years, but it was stimulated, like so much of his work, by the desire to spread the knowledge of authentic records, whether of the present or of the past. Polybius appealed to his sympathies as

one who in the opinion of most men of iudgment hath been held to be very sincere, and free from malice, affection or passion. And to iustifie

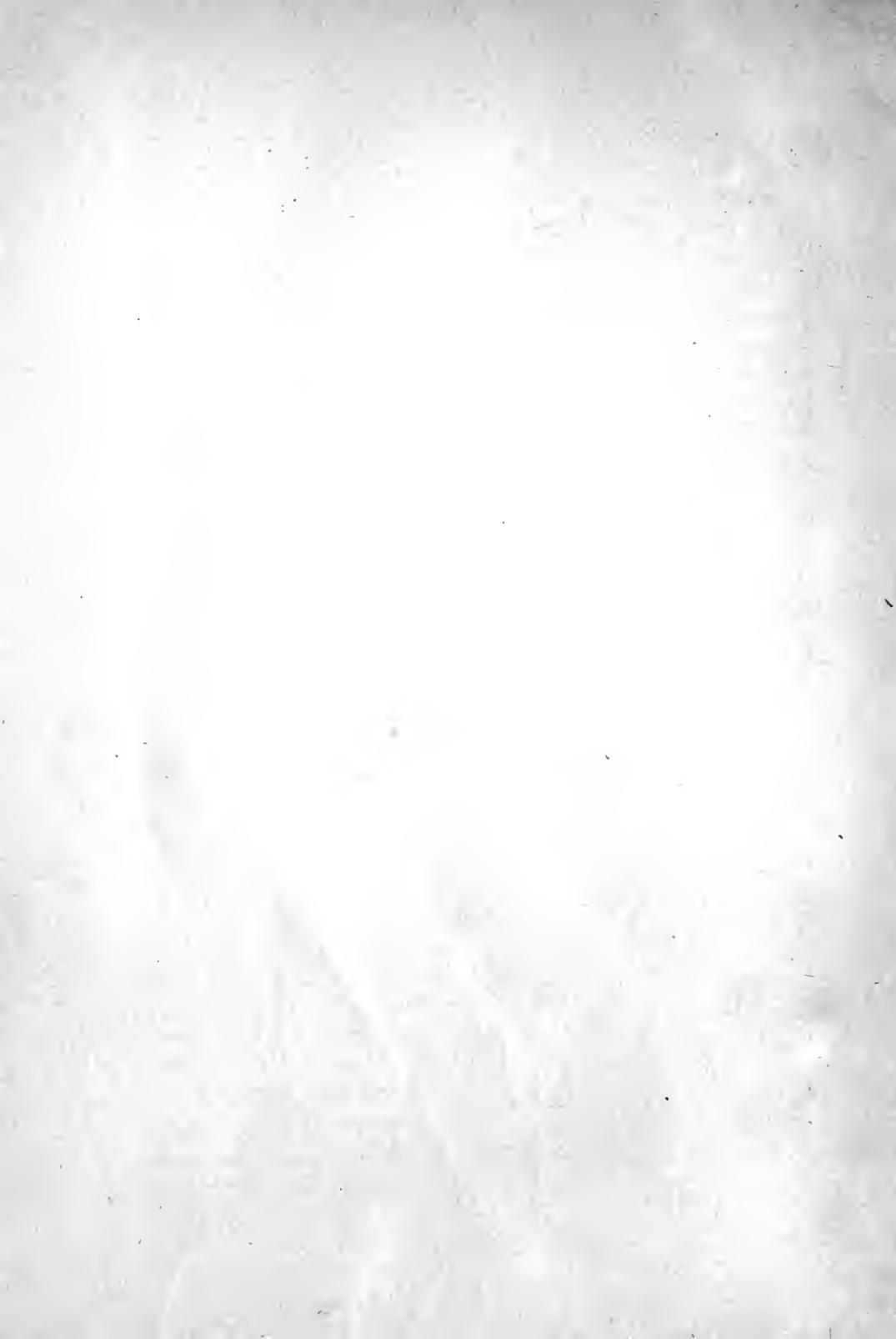
the Truth thereof he protests that he was present at many of the actions and received the rest from confident persons who were eye-witnesses.

In 1635, the year following the publication of *The Counsellor of Estate* and *The History of Polybius*, Grimeston brought his long labors as a translator to an end by issuing *The History of the Imperiall Estate of the Grand Seigneurs*, a version of a French work which had appeared in 1626. It contains a dedicatory epistle to the first Sir Harbottle Grimeston, in which the sergeant-at-arms speaks of himself as creeping into his grave, and bequeaths the work as a "Verball Legacie" to his nephew. To the cares of advancing age may have been added financial anxieties, for in an account of all fees granted by James I and Charles I, with the arrears due thereon, drawn up on November 3, 1635, Grimeston's salary is entered as £18. 5, and half a year's payment is stated to be in arrear.¹ Nevertheless, Grimeston survived to attend in his official capacity the ill-fated Short Parliament, and at least the opening sessions in November, 1640, of the Long Parliament. It would seem that John Hunt, though apparently appointed as an additional sergeant, had become indignant at waiting in vain for the particular office of which the reversion had been promised him in 1618, and some serious altercation must have taken place between him and Grimeston, for in the *Journal of the House of Commons*, Vol. II, p. 26, under date of November 11, 1640, there is the entry: "Referred to Mr. Speaker to end the Difference between Serjeant Grimston and Serjeant Hunt." This tantalizingly brief entry is the last allusion to Grimeston that I have been able to trace. But it well may be diligent research would fill up the meager outlines of his biography as at present known to us. The object of this paper will, however, have been attained if it goes some way to show that Edward Grimeston's services to his generation in the sphere of historical literature have not hitherto received the recognition that they deserve, and that, while Lord Berners and Sir Thomas North are held in grateful remembrance, his name should not be forgotten.

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¹ *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)* for 1635, p. 461.



THE ORIGINS OF GERMAN MINNESANG

Thomas Carlyle was no believer in the Theory of Continuity as applied to literary expression. He did not believe that the mediæval lyric grew by a series of pendulum swings from a lower stage of verse, less native and less lyric. He denounced the Cabanis doctrine that poetry was a product of the smaller intestines "to be medically cultivated by the exhibition of castor-oil." Flat-footed he stood for the Theory of Inspiration and, after characterizing the Swabian period in a paragraph of singular beauty, he surprises us with the climactic phrase: "Suddenly, as at sunrise, the whole earth had grown vocal."¹

Now, perhaps it were wise to accept Carlyle's dictum—and so to bed. But unhappily the choice does not rest with us, for we have been beset round about with theories of extraneous origin for the Swabian efflorescence—the waste places of the earth have been searched that none might suspect minnesang to be a German matter. Jakob Grimm asked all but one hundred years ago: "Why must German poetry be made to sprout from a foreign seed, when it is so robust that it can have been fathered only by an indigenous unit?" And to this apparently rhetorical question much answer has been made.

For there is a mind so single to assuming an early Germanic home in the table-lands of Thibet, or in the arctic confines of upper Scandinavia, that it will never assent to the fertile plain of central Europe as the birthplace of the Teuton. The same mind is likewise so intent on seeking the source of any desirable thing in the forgotten corners of the world that it prefers to posit the Isle of Atlantis or Ultima Thule as the brooding-spot of early German love-song, rather than acknowledge it to be possibly rooted in south German soil. Thus the minnesinger has been made to steal his provision from many sources—he was ever influenced, it seems, from without rather than from within. We have theories of oriental influence through the convenient medium of the early

¹ Cf. *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* (1900), Vol. II, p. 275.

crusaders and of the haughty Saracen. The ingenuous German minstrel has also been thought to be much shaken by the Byzantine ceremonial and etiquette introduced by Theophania. Much impulse was given him, we are told, by the renaissance of classical antiquity which came in the tenth century. There are theories of Celtic influence, first through an early mingling of Celt and Teuton, later through French mediation. There are, as we should expect, theories of Provençal and French influence¹—and I have even heard of Slavic traces which darkly shade the writings of Kūrenberg and Hausen. But this last thesis slumbers in an unpublished doctor's dissertation.

Let us follow for the moment the development of a typical attempt to prove extraneous motifs the prototypes of the themes of early German minnesang. Only thus can we know how captivating this sort of play is. Gaston Paris says that minnesang had its form and spirit from the French lyric,² and Jeanroy in his famous but misleading book would prove the dogma.³ To begin with, Jeanroy cites the interesting but unimportant fact⁴ that manuscripts of French lyrics precede by a few years those of their German congeners. This condition of affairs is made much of, and the main argument then proceeded to: The earliest German

¹ We may not stop at this time to dwell on the development of these hypotheses. The bibliography of the subject, which is a large one, is conveniently presented in Schönbach, *Die Anfänge des deutschen Minnesangs*, Graz, 1898.

² *La poésie du moyen âge*² (1903), Vol. II, p. 41: "La magnifique littérature poétique de l'Allemagne, à la fin du xii^e et au commencement du xiii^e siècle, n'est que le reflet de la nôtre. Les Minnesinger ont transporté dans leur langue les formes et l'esprit de la poésie lyrique française."

³ *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge*² (1904), chap. iv, part 2, pp. 274 ff. Jeanroy is ignorant of the latest literature on his subject, "La poésie française en Allemagne." He writes of a recent statement of Scherer's, although it was made in 1884.

⁴ Is such a fact not unimportant? Or shall we make the *bibliography* of the lyric the *biography* of it? Here is a pretty case in point: Prior to the year 1896 the view maintained that a certain sort of popular German ballad arose during the fifteenth century. This view of course was based on manuscript tradition. In 1896 Schröder published in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (Vol. XVII, "Die Tänzer von Kölbgk") a stanza in Latin translation of just such a sort of popular German ballad from about the year 1013:

Equitabat Bovo per silvam frondosam,
Ducebat sibi Merswinden formosam.
Quid stamus? Cur non imus?

As it were, *Es reitet Bovo durch blättrigen Wald/—Begegnet ihm Merswind wohlgestalt*, etc. From 1896 on criticism may now establish the popular ballad (sung to the accompaniment of the dance) as one of the main roots of the lyric—the other two ascertainable roots, according to Kögel (*Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgänge des Mittelalters*, Vol. I, part 2, 1897, p. 650), being the strophic epic and the Latin vagantenlyrik.

lyrics center about three motifs: (*a*) *separation*; (*b*) *absence*; (*c*) *reunion*. Now, these very themes Jeanroy discovers to be those of French lyrics which exist in slightly earlier texts. Therefore the *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, the *quod erat demonstrandum*: French lyrics are the source of German lyrics.

How futile such "proof"! What other motifs than the three of Jeanroy are found in simple, popular love-lyrics anywhere, let the initiated ask. Erotic popular verse which excludes reflection must needs content itself with (*a*) the presence of the loved one and the pertinent bodily charms; (*b*) sighs for the absent one's return and a sketching in of attendant loneliness, fear of unfaith, or fear of death; (*c*) the loved one's return, and the joys of surrender and possession. Particularly does naïve erotic song lend itself amiably to such treble classification, if one be as adaptable in applying captions as is Jeanroy. Let us take up our *Minnesangs Frühling* (edd. Lachmann-Haupt¹, 1888) and turn to the anonymous pieces. *Du bist min, ich bin din* goes into pigeonhole (*c*), *reunion*. *Waer diu werlt alliu min* falls gracefully into compartment (*b*), *absence*, etc. Not simple poetry alone, but all the facts of life and death as well, will yield to such quacksalvery.

Gawk-handed, however, as Jeanroy's attempt to find the source for German lyric outside of Germany may be—awkward and funny as other similar attempts have been—it is still to be preferred to the procedure of those scientists who have tried to build up a lyric from something other than a lyric. Lachmann used to teach that prior to the twelfth century Germans expressed their erotic impulses in narrative form, and today we are told that the lyric developed very slowly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in part under the influence of the Latin goliard poetry, in part as an offshoot of the epic and the ballad.² We even learn of an undifferentiated poetry—whatever that may be.

Mr. Gummere, for example, presumes that poetry had to pass through ages of preparation, in order to create its communal elements. Circling in the common dance, moving and singing in the consent of common labor, the makers of earliest poetry, he

¹ Kögel and Bruckner, "Althoch- und Altniederdeutsche Literatur," *Pauls Grundriss*² (1901), Vol. II, p. 33.

says, put into it the elements without which it could not thrive. Afterward—we are not told when—communal poetry brought forth individual poetry by a sort of fissiparous birth, and an asexual poet, who was every member of the throng in turn, detached himself. Later—the approximate date of this occurrence is not hinted at—this solitary artist came at last to independence by means of short improvisations; the communal fashion of poetry became a lost cause, the poet took the place of the choral throng, and his triumph was complete. *Das volk dichtete nicht mehr.*

For Mr. Gummere as a theorist on the origins of poetry there can be no censure. Such a picture of the coming-to-be of rhythmic utterance as he paints for us is as acceptable perhaps as any which the imagination can construct. It is at least conservative. Compared with the theorist on the origins of language who endows proethnic man with the power to achieve different words for things clearly and distinctively; compared with the syntactician who gives primitive human beings a feeling for the accusative case as typifying the direction toward which, or as typifying contact, there is an indwelling reasonableness in Mr. Gummere's premises. But there may be censure for those who believe that Mr. Gummere's artist had not detached himself from the throng so late as the first century of the Christian era; for those who read in the *Germania* of Tacitus that the poetry of Germans still consists of choral and communal song, and then maintain that lyric was not yet born; for those who read of this poetry of masses of men, of warriors moving into battle, of the tribe dancing at religious rites, and then assert with Lachmann that another thousand years would be required to bring forth the lyric.

Poor Tacitus! He told us only what he would, not what we wish he might have told. Conscious literature in the Roman provinces, he would have us know, consisted of choral song of epic-mythical content. And so it did. One does not tell history today in doggerel verses, nor did the German peoples spoken of by this tourist from the south; that sort of thing, if it be done in verse, requires the oratorio and the orotund. When Tacitus further says that these songs are the one way in which the Ger-

mans chronicle their history, he is thinking of the history of the clan, of the tribe, of its deeds and the deeds of its heroes. He is not dealing with that larger concept of history which a late age has read into it: the whole unvarnished story of the religion and customs of a people, their employment of the arts of peace, their relations with other peoples, their struggles for freedom of conscience and of intellect—*kulturgeschichte*. For the purpose of chronicling these matters no song of epic-mythical content, delivered to the great audience of the moot, sufficed.

But grant that the *Germania* is not an idyl after the manner of Voss's *Luise*; grant that it is neither a romance nor a political pamphlet, that its author had really left the walls of Rome before writing his book, and that the West Teutons along the Rhine were as he pictured them: a race *κατ' ἔξοκην*; drunken, but with a regard for the chastity of women which measured out death for the ravished vestal; primitive, but with a Chesterfieldian sense of honor. How does this affect that other part of the whole about which we should so gladly be enlightened? Was there no thud and beat of soldier song for weary German warriors? Did the drooping slaves toil on with never a plaint uplifted in drudgery? Was there no doggerel stanza for harvest festival, no boisterous pasquinade for nuptial rites, no dance couplet for flying feet, no swelling shout of lyric hymn in the mead-hall after victory was had? No low cadence to accompany the turn of millstone, no crooning chant for the restless child—no soul emptied forth in aught but the epic song of the clan? No lyric stanzas indissolubly connected with gesticulation, with the flourish of arms, with the swing and swaying of the body, with the stamping of feet? No lyric song rushed with blood, rising and falling with the color-pulse of emotional expression—a blurred cry the sole hiatus of it, an indrawn breath to mete its quantities? Tacitus said nothing of all this. Why should he?

As to the lyric in Germany, that is another story than Tacitus thought to tell his auditors. But suppose that the choral epic was the only form of song that came to conscious literary expression; suppose that all visible traces of popular lyric verse in later centuries were obliterated by the gathering despotism of the

church which antagonized the traditional blasphemies and obscenities of the people. The thing itself was surely not eliminated. For, as ever in our observation of the history of popular lyrical verse, under whatever climate or among whatever races, the moment that conditions unite to make possible the emergence of this people's poetry into public view and favor, that moment it appears full-born. In what nook or cranny of national consciousness it has lain hidden may not be determined, but it never fails to awake from its long winter sleep when the first breath of a new life is blown across it.

What then, it is pertinent to ask, may have been the nature of this submerged lyric, the popular forms of which continued in Germany throughout the obscure centuries prior to the budding and blossoming of minnesang? We shall come to this later, but first it is good to pause and take a view of the centuries with which we are to deal, to gain greater clarity for the coming discussion.¹

Once upon a time there was a period conveniently known to criticism as the Long Gothic Night. Man during these weary months and years was waiting, it seems, for Trissino's *Sofonisba*. Surely did Prometheus long for the coming of Hercules no more eagerly than did man for Trissino. Finally, however, it was determined that man need not wait for the birth of the adventi-

¹ It seems to me at least that this is necessary. Long before I had read the opening pages of Maitland's *The Dark Ages*⁵ (1890), or seen Ker's Introduction (*The Dark Ages*, 1904), a new vista had been opened to my astonished gaze with each new book which treated of early mediæval Europe. The theater was the same perhaps, but scenery and action shifted marvelously. Books which tossed me about like straw before a gusty wind were Ampère, *Histoire littéraire de la France avant Charlemagne*², 2 vols. (1867); Boissier, *La fin du paganism*, 2 vols. (1891); Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 2 vols. (1895-1901); Glover, *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century* (1901); Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*³ (1899); Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought* (1884); Mullinger, *The Schools of Charlemagne* (1877); Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (1903); Saintsbury, *A History of Criticism*, Vol. I (1900); Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo*⁴, 2 vols. (1896); Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*² (1900); Reich, *Der Mimus*, Vol. I (1903); Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, 2 vols. (1903); and a dozen others scarcely less important. Even such encyclopædic collections as Ebert, *Geschichte der Litteratur des Mittelalters*, 3 vols. (1880-1889); Teuffel-Schwabe, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*⁵ (1890); or Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*¹, Vol. I (1904), were powerless to aid except in details; and the scores of monographs devoted to single authors or single periods had each a new viewpoint. Clear as some of these books are, powerful as a few of them may be, interesting as they seem almost without exception, they leave the reader who would gain insight into the times with which they deal in sad confusion of mind. He feels that he has endeavored to witness one well-constructed drama, and has been given a fortnight of vaudeville instead.

tious Italian, and his sentence was so shortened that he was considered free as early as 1100 A. D. The critic who had adjudged that "the years from 440 to 1440 were a Dark Period of Time" was thus put clearly in the wrong and told that William of Poitou was to serve as redeemer from darkness instead of Trissino. Thus the beginning of the twelfth century is made the dividing line between Dark Ages and Middle Ages.

If we were to reduce to words the mental picture which many of us have of the past, I imagine the following vision, or something like it, would be the result: Two great mountain-ranges confront one another, on the summits of either of which loom "far-shining cities and stately porticoes." One of these cloud-capped peaks is the Græco-Roman world, the other is the modern world. Half-way down the side of the former of these ranges are the dwellers of the Silver Age; half-way up the side of the latter range are the dwellers of the age of Renaissance. But uncounted fathoms beneath in the dank valley is the night of the Dark Ages, and there in the grim hollow of ignorance and superstition dwells pre-mediæval man.¹

Well, what's in a name? Sunday is no better a day, I presume, for being Sunday—certain old retainers to the contrary notwithstanding. A rose by another name would smell as sweet. A man's a man for a' that—and if you call him Jew or call him Cagot. So no objection should be raised maybe to classifying six hundred odd years as the Dark Ages, and four hundred more as Middle Ages, were it not for a single element of danger which clings to such nomenclature. This danger is that many people—among them some who are old enough to know better—think these years so called because they are dark, or because they are middle. And then the joke ceases. *Dark* are they in so far as our straining sight cannot effectually pierce them. *Middle* are they only because of the self-sufficiency which will insist that we are the end. Final we are to none but ourselves; assuredly not to such as come after us. And the world will emerge from any slight deluge which follows our passing more easily than it rose when the water subsided from under the Ark.

¹ Such a picture is presented in Morison, *The Service of Man* (1887), p. 177; quoted from Ker, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

The German child felt sure that the pig was called *schwein* because of its unclean habits; adults who pursue a similar untoward reasoning demand that the Dark Ages be dark. Freytag and Seeck, to name but two of the scores who have drawn for us vivid pictures of barbaric Germany, present telling scenes of leanness and famine, brute force and brutish instinct, in these times. Who doubts the particularistic accuracy of their knowledge of the sources? It is only in their final assembling of facts, in their grouping of figures, that they fail to impress us utterly. Our gaze, dissatisfied with the meager story of the picture, is ever hunting beyond and behind for trace of the fulness, of the ruddy color, which we feel to belong in some measure to any age.

Let us dwell for a moment on the cause of this dissatisfaction which we rightly feel. Seeck, for example, like any other student of times which are dead, gets his information from a treble source: (1) from MSS contemporary with the events they chronicle; (2) from MSS of later ages which rely partly on hearsay and rumor; (3) from books which interpret MSS and other books not accessible to him. Now from these sources he derives a certain sum total which he interprets in terms of his own preconceived judgment—and this judgment is necessarily largely affected for good or ill by the conventional attitude of his immediate environment. Add to this the fact that but a vanishingly small portion of the manuscripts of remote times is left us—escaped from fire and sword, neglect and jesuitry, mildew and the worm—and one must agree that the life and spirit—the very nature—of an age is hidden from us. Certain of the conventions which gripped man's life in the past we may clearly read in manuscripts; several of the outward semblances which masked his under-life show bright from chronicles and memoirs long gone. Ceremonial and clothes, the external trappings of soul and body, the furniture of existence, are ours perhaps for the asking. But life can be distilled from these by no known alchemy. For what of the spoken word and the pitch of it, the careless laugh and the cause of it, the dying melody and the infection of it, the sigh and the meaning of it? We do not know barbaric Germany; we shall not hear and see it in any revelation which this world will bring. The essence of it, the aroma

and surface-touch of it, are gone past recall; nothing is left of it but recorded facts which bear it the ratio that an incomplete and stumbling lexicon bears the speech of the present day.

In one way these are warmed-over commonplaces, and may be lightly dealt with. In another way they must be recited like a credo by many of us before we go to our business of studying olden times. Otherwise we fall into the error of those who hold ages deftly in their grasp while they sum these ages in a sentence. How neatly turned is the following paragraph—one of the sort to be met with so nearly anywhere:

Throughout the Middle Ages life was so hard to live that ornament was impossible. You cannot imagine a primitive Briton embellished with the manners of the macaronis. Even the savage who decorates his canoe or polishes his kava-bowl approaches nearer to delicacy than did our woaded, touzle-headed ancestor; etc., etc.¹

For just how many hundred years will Mr. Whibley have us believe our ancestor was "Then the monster, then the man | Tattoo'd or woaded, winter-clad in skins"? And how can this author assert that ornament was impossible when our ancestor took such pains with his woad? He may even have had a lyric or two, although he possessed not the throat of a troubadour or the manner of a macaroni—for Botocudo and Mincopy have lyrics as surely as they have kava-bowls.

Suppose the Dark Ages were dark. How dark were they? There is nothing whimsical about this query which Maitland² discusses with so much point. Let us adapt his figure: We who live in the twentieth century are within a room in which a rush-light is burning; contrasted with the brightness of this room, the outer world shows black, although it is filled with serviceable twilight. On the road without are the figures of past centuries; let us say the figures of the time of Tribal Migration. Do we open our casement and cry out to them, "Have a care, or you will break your shins!"? Yes, we are tempted to do this; for we of little light believe less light to be pitch-darkness. *Pechkohlrabenschwarz* is the background of thunder-cloud given five centuries of German life, that the epic giants of the *völkerwanderungen* may

¹Charles Whibley, *The Pageantry of Life* (1900), p. 8.

²*The Dark Ages*, pp. 23 ff.

be properly foreshortened in the middle-distance; that the recrudescence of gray and gloomy ecclesiastical literature may be explained. There is nothing essentially dark about the life of these centuries, unless it be that we have read their story from a fairly large body of tedious churchly literature, and have imagined that existence under the conditions therein described must have been tolerably boresome. Should a certain sort of present-day missionary tract happen to be that one kind of reading-matter handed down to our epigonists, and should they interpret our life in terms of it, they might well consider themselves fortunate in not having fallen athwart an earlier age.

The sentimental figures which dominate the later popular German epics likewise aid in creating belief in darkened times. Mr. Francke draws us a grim picture of the migration period, and engenders within us a decided aversion to this time of gray and red: Alboin forcing upon his queen her father's skull as a drinking-cup; Rosamunde poisoning her paramour Helmichis, to satisfy her wanton desire for another; Sigibert murdered by the emissaries of his son Cloderic, who in turn is brained from behind with an ax by order of Clovis; the aged Brunhilde convicted of the murder of ten of her house, tortured for three days and torn asunder by wild horses. We seem to be listening to muffled tales of the House of Atreus when our ears are met by notes like these. And yet how changed is crime by advancing civilization? With the memory of fresh atrocities gleaned with each new day from the public prints, can dwellers in American cities assert honestly that much betterment has been had? A difference in method of the performance of crime between the seventh and the twentieth centuries may be noted—we scarcely use wild horses today, for example—but no difference in quality. And as to quantity, who can surely say that fewer crimes exist today? Ah, but the newspapers exaggerate! is the despairing protest. Yes, but then so did the minstrels who sang of the giants and the horrors of their day. And these minstrels were the newspapers of their time.¹

The antidote to Mr. Francke's picture, however, we have in

¹ Cf. Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen im Mittelalter*,² Vol. II, pp. 131 ff; Vogt, *Leben u. Dichten der deutschen Spielmänner* (1876), *passim*.

recorded literature of higher authority than attaches to any minstrel's roster. Cassiodorus tells us of Theoderic, the Italian prince, as he counsels with his chamberlain regarding measures to be taken with the harlots who ply their trade at the crowded entrance to circus and theater. Here are the half-mythical proportions of Theoderic shrunk; his beard, it is safe to say, is no longer touzled like that of Whibley's ancient Briton, but trained by a supple Roman barber; he turns maybe in leisure moments to Petronius Arbiter, as Napoleon did to the *Sorrows of Werther*—and there is no absurdity in the picture. We have merely had, like Mr. Francke, preconceived notions as to the Theoderic of conscious literature, and woe to him if he fall out of his rôle as an epic figure! His stance is with Sigfrid the Nibelung, with Etzel the Hun, and with that melancholy Hamlet of a Hagen von Tronje—with gloomy Wate and with Hildebrand.

And oh, for the season's myth, with its creaking apparatus of spring-god and waberlohe, valkyrie and Walhalla! And oh, for every attempt to lead things mediæval and things new back to that reaction of man upon nature in the ultimate days of man's childhood! Mythological concepts have been so gaining ground of recent years that Haupt once prophesied no cock would crow, no goat send forth its natural odor, but that some follower of Jakob Grimm would convert them straightway into symbols of Teutonic deity—thirteenth-century redactions of animal fable and popular epic which revert directly to the beginning of things! What are these but no uncertain indications that we regard the Dark Ages as a dimly lighted nursery in which man spent his infancy, babbling and prattling naïvely as children will.

Who has not heard of the mediæval renaissance which Scherer erected of the dry bones of Notker, the *Waltharilied*, and Roswitha? This period of "bloom" Scherer gave two culminating points—800 A. D. and 1000 A. D. Let us regard such exercise of the imaginative faculty kindly; for did one cease attempting to rend the veil which shrouds the life of these centuries, all would remain in darkness. Let us patiently consider a theory of efflorescence built of such slender materials as these, even if it is amusing to witness the few known literary values shift rapidly

from one base to another, to form new combinations before each new theory of appreciation. Turn off the illumining light of fancy from the conscious literature of this time which has reached down to us, and the year 800 still belongs to the Dark Ages. Thumb the electric switch of this same illumining light, and 800 suddenly becomes Mediæval Renaissance Culminating Point Number One.

And yet I prefer Scherer's "restoration" to the proems of Ampère¹ and Bähr,² Ebert,³ Gröber,⁴ and Manitius,⁵ who would have us believe that lyric poetry was dead in the tenth century in Europe. Scherer reads between the lines and behind them; the others but strip the surface-peelings of meter and verbiage from the poets of five centuries, and say in their haste: Originality is dead. Scherer would reconstruct a Parthenon from a broken column and a bit of frieze; Traube the while suggests taking away from Alcuin a poem because *hiems* occurs within it as a dissyllable.⁶ Scholars are busy in forgetting that it is unsafe to reason from literature to life, except as one may choose the former for the simple sake of analogy. They suppose literature in some vague unexplained way to be an index to the social life of a time; this life is therefore read in terms of it; and then the literature in turn is interpreted in terms of the life which has thus curiously been discovered. Such a method of progression but describes a circle which brings us back to the original point of departure. After a few such peripheral tours all sense of direction and all direction of sense are lost.

Traube's exact historical method of narrow deduction from known facts is no safer than the inductive process by which Scherer builds up a forgotten age. Traube cannot see a lyric, unless he be shown one; Scherer knows that the requisite of lyric impulse and achievement exists in every environment—that it is as fixed as the stars. Like the stars, its glory may pale if the attention of man has been caught and held by a stronger light, but the impulse is ever there.

¹ *Op. cit.*

² *Die christlichen Dichter und Geschichtsschreiber Roms*² (1872).

³ *Op. cit.*

⁴ "Übersicht über die lateinische Literatur (550-1350)," *Gröbers Grundriss* (1902), Vol. II.

⁵ *Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie* (1891).

⁶ *Karolingische Dichtungen* (1888), p. 76.

Let us apply the Scherer method to something. Let us see if we can make a fair case for the presence of profane lyric during a time which has handed down to us in lyric form only the church hymns. We are not to prove a point, remember. We are merely to try to make it as reasonable to believe there was a Latin profane lyric at a certain time, as to believe there was not one. Scholars have rummaged this certain time through, found no actual profane lyrics, and therefore said—*perhaps* rightly—that there were none. And now for the method:

We may read the presence of profane lyric from the church hymn, which would seem to furnish an analogy too undeniable to gainsay. From the fifth century on the fervor of man's love for his Maker shone forth in unquestioned beauty from the religious lyric. Would you deny that aspirations of sense less idealized in tone paralleled these? It was a real world that was abjured in poems which variously prayed for the advent of the Holy Spirit and the Day of Wrath—or a world of straw. If a real world, then it held fast in its grip the wit and beauty of passing generations, for it was hardly escaped by prayer and fasting; it was filled with allurements to the flesh, for even to the ascetic eye the devil appeared in very pleasing guise. Are these things historically documented? Yes. Where? In lyric hymnology. A rainy afternoon spent with a collection of early hymns will prove the statement. Did some literature record this profane poetry, even if such literature was transitory and fed everywhere to the flames by some ultimate Louis the Pious? Yes. For if profane lyric song was not feared by many a Notker, then verily was the snare of the fowler not set—then Christian hymnology is an anomaly. For it counseled perpetual flight from nothing when none pursued. Why deal with the world and the lusts thereof, as if expression of these had changed considerably within the last few hundred years? Why judge all the world in the fifth or in the tenth century by a literature which fled the world and looked upward instead of outward? A most apt illustration crowds to utterance:

I doubt if a sharper contrast exists anywhere along the road of man's mental progress from religious vegetation to absolute egoism than is met with in two records of the tenth century. The

first of these deals with the entries of a monk during a period of twenty-four years. They are four in number and follow:

- A. D. 914. The Saracens were driven from all Italy.
- 926. Radechis the lord-abbot died.
- 931. The altar of St. Benedict was refurnished.
- 938. The sun was hid from the third hour to the fifth almost. We saw the sun, but it had no strength either of splendor or of heat. We saw the sky, but its color was changed—it was all livid.

These are, so far as we know, the sole notations in the span of one man's whole youth and adolescence. How glazed the eye, how inert the spirit, which opened with slow stare to the upholstering of a shabby frontal piece, to the passing of a petty prelate, to a partial eclipse of the sun, and to emancipation from the pagan—as if these were the four terms in an arithmetical proportion which spelled all of life! Led by just such evidence of poverty of wit as this leaf from a monk's diary, the literary critic has spoken pityingly of the Dark Ages unpierced by other gleams than those reflected from the past evening of paganism, unlighted by even the faintest dawn of modern times.

But there are marsh lights playing fitfully across this supposed gloom of spirit and intellect; for another record of the same period is a beautiful and tender love-song. A lover in his rooms awaits the coming of a tardy mistress. He has prepared for her a spread of spices and wines like unto Porphyro's. A choir boy and a singing-girl are chanting sweet melodies to the music of lute and lyre, slaves are bearing brimming goblets of colored wine; the lover bursts forth with the impassioned prayer:

Then come now, sister of my heart,
That dearer than all others art,
Unto mine eyes thou shining sun,
Soul of my soul, thou only one!
I dwelt alone in the wild woods,
And loved all secret solitudes;
Oft would I fly from tumults far,
And shunned where crowds of people are.

O dearest, do not longer stay!
Seek we to live and love today!¹

Now, who shall say whether the voice of the perfervid lover or that of the dullard monk utters the note of the tenth century? They are each of them but one note of it; the monkish voice the stronger perhaps, but the lover's voice by far less weak than is currently imagined. For there is every reason why monkish MSS have come down to us, and reasons just as near why tender lovesongs, born of a moment's passion, past with the satiety which follows hard upon possession, spoken to an audience of one, should have been lost. What of the voices which have not penetrated to us from the tenth century, or of those which we have heard, but not as yet understood? Some one of the voices which swayed hearts as the wind sways the sea may never have reached us—and this may have been the living note of the century.

Poetry vanishes when the mood which gave it birth has fled; its form remains for the after-born to study and muse on, but its spirit is gone. Liquid fire it may be at utterance, cold marble it becomes under the petrefaction of time. The sunlight dwells within only as it dwells in the coal that is dug from the pit. We know that for some short centuries certain men trembled before the world to come; we do not know what other shudderings ran through their frame shaped like our own. How can we say that this was cold and corpse-like because our breath cannot infuse it with life? We know that window-glass was not to be had in the tenth century, that gunpowder was not in use; but we do not know that the same epoch was lacking in sensuous yearning for those essential beauties which so satisfy us.

Whatever our tenth-century love-song may be as regards structure, rhythm, and authorship, one thing it must be: it must be

¹ Cf. Haupt, *Exempla poesis medii aevi* (1834), p. 29; Du Méril, *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge* (1847), p. 196; Symonds, *Wine, Women and Song* (1884), p. 14.

Jam nunc veni, soror electa
Et prae cunctis mihi dilecta,
Lux meae clara pupillae,
Parusque major animae meae.
Ego fui solus in silva
Et dilexi loca secreta;
Frequenter effugi tumultum
Et vitavi populum multum.
Carissima, noli tardare;
Studeamus nos nunc amare.

part of the very spirit of the time in which it was written, so far as the poet lived it out. Did he reflect the past? Not consciously at least, for he bolstered up his verse with no classical reminiscence or allusion. Did he reflect the future? Only in so far as he was made prophetic by the springtime of youth and love. Think of a literary criticism which feels that it must relegate poetry as impassioned as this to the past, or refer it to a later time than that in which it made its appearance. The critic does this, however, in order that the facts in the case may correspond with his previously conceived theory of the matter, whatever this may chance to be. Thus with *Lydia bella*, "which must have been writ later than the thirteenth century, because of its classical intensity of voluptuous passion":

Lydia bright, thou girl more white
Than the milk of morning new,
Or young lilies in the light!
Matched with thy rose-whiteness, hue
Of red rose or white rose pales,
And the polished ivory fails,
Ivory fails.¹

Thus again with the *Saevit aurae spiritus*, which on account of the glowing warmth of its coloring is thought unmediæval:

Flora with her brows of laughter,
Gazing on me, breathing bliss,
Draws my yearning spirit after,
Sucks my soul forth in a kiss.²

Thus with that pœan to victorious love *Quid plus? Collo virginis* which is thought "unmediæval in its phrasing, because it reminds on the one hand of Catullus, on the other of Poliziano":³

¹ Omitted from Du Méril, *Poésies populaines latines antérieures au douzième siècle* (1843), "parce que rien n'indique qu'elle appartienne à la période dont nous publions les poésies." Reprinted from *Gaudeamus*² (1879), p. 96:

Lydia bella, puella candida,
Quae bene superas lac et lilium
Albamque, simul rosam rubidam
Aut expositum ebur indicum.

² *Carmina Burana* (ed. Schmeller 1847), p. 148; Wright, *Early Mysteries* (1844), p. 114:

Dum salutat me loquaci
Flora supercilios
Mente satis jam capaci
Gaudia concipio.

³ The sentence is quoted from Bartoli, *I Precursori del Rinascimento* (1877).

What more? Around the maiden's neck
 My arms I flung with yearning;
 Upon her lips I gave and took
 A thousand kisses burning.¹

Thus with the *Ludo cum Caecilia*, because it is difficult for the critic to believe that the “refinement, the subtlety, almost the perversity of feeling expressed in it” could be proper to a student of the twelfth century:

Sweet above all sweets that are
 'Tis to play with Phyllis;
 For her thoughts are white as snow,
 In her heart no ill is;
 And the kisses that she gives
 Sweeter are than lilies.²

These and many other songs criticism is determined to assign to as late a period as possible, because they are not compounded of the simples which it has for the recipe of mediæval literature. We are told that we may never more refer to the hymn in praise of Rome as a seventh-century production—it has already been brought by an industrious paleographer three centuries nearer to our own time. There remains but to declare it a forgery by Conrad Celtes or Macpherson.

O Rome illustrious, of the world empress!
 Over all cities thou queen in thy goodliness!
 Red with the roseate blood of the martyrs, and
 White with the lilies of virgins at God's right hand!
 Welcome we sing to thee; ever we bring to thee
 Blessings, and pay to thee praise for eternity.³

¹ *Carm. Bur.*, p. 145:

Quid plus? Collo virginis
 Brachia jactavi.
 Mille dedi basia,
 Mille reportavi.

² *Carm. Bur.*, p. 151:

Ludo cum Caecilia,
 Nihil timeatis;
 Sum quasi custodia
 Fragilis aetatis,
 Ne marcescant lilia
 Suae castitatis.

³ First printed by Niebuhr in the *Rheinisches Museum*, Vol. III (1829), p. 7. This hymn was st thought anterior to the seventh century (Du Méril, 1843, p. 239), but has recently been declared a much later production; cf. Traube, *O Roma Nobilis* (1891):

O Roma Nobilis, orbis et domina,
 Cunctarum urbium excellentissima,
 Roseo martyrum sanguine rubea,
 Albis et virginum lilia candida!
 Salutem dicimus tibi per omnia,
 Te benedicimus, salve per saecula.

Another thing than the foregoing poem which has been moved three centuries nearer us is that first known synodical decree against the *familia Goliae* which Père Labbé says is of the year 923,¹ but which Du Méril and others state half-heartedly must belong to the thirteenth century. If Labbé be right, the tenth century becomes in a flash a time, not only of sadly twisted and tortuous Latin prose, but a time when Latin popular lyrics, *cantica diabolica amatoria et turpia*, are in full sweep across Europe; a time when more than one poet might boast *perstreput modulis Gallia tota meis*. And why not? Because, as said above, the life of the tenth century has been read from a certain sort of literature, and all literature then interpreted in terms of the life thus deduced.

Small wonder, therefore, that we feel the Dark Ages dark! For so set are we in our view of twilight in northern Europe from fifth century to tenth that we can never agree to the existence of a whimsical Falstaff, an abbot of misrule, a bishop of Philistia, before the time of Walter Mapes and Philippe de Grève, Serlo of Wilton and Gautier de Châtillon. The idea that Goliath could have entered Europe in the ninth or tenth century, thus antedating Arnold's "philistine" by eight or nine hundred years, affects us unpleasantly. "But it is the bohemian and not the philistine who is Golias!" we cry. "And that is the point of the story!" retorts the initiated. For the minstrel was quick to catch the slur pronounced upon him by the church and adopt it for his clan and ilk. If scriptural authority for this be necessary, said he, turn to the Gospel of Nicodemus where it may all be found. Others than the minstrel and since his day have gloried in an opprobrious epithet—*sans culotte* and Yankee among them; why not he? If the minstrel could quote scriptural authority for his *missa de potatoribus* and his *evangelium decium et lusorum*, if he had the pattern of hymns to the Virgin for his *Ave! color vini clari*, why must modern pedantry insist upon the derivation of *goliardus* from *gula*? Why must it contend with Giesebrecht²

¹ *Sacrosancta concilia*, Vol. IX (1671), col. 1677; Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova collectio* (1769-92), Vol. XVIII, p. 324, evidently ascribes the decree to Gautier of Sens, who died in 913. Cf. Chambers, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 61.

² "Die Vaganten oder Goliarden und ihre Lieder," two articles in the *Allgemeine Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft und Literatur* (1853), pp. 10-43, 344-82.

and Hubatsch¹ that the goliards were clerks and formed into a close guild? Why not frankly admit that they were none other than the buffoons and merry-andrews; that their poetry was in accord with the spirit of its time; that it was composed by clerks and monks, janglers and spielleute of every description—sung in the streets by the people as well as in the schools, the churches, and the courts? However far we go in our journeying, one thing seems sure: the early centuries before the Middle Ages bore within them many, if not all, of the germs of what in literature we call modernity of spirit.

For it is just in these centuries that we come upon a veritable *joie de vivre* which demands unnumbered mimes, *joculatores*, *saltatores*, *spielmänner* to satisfy its manifold craving for pomp and show and entertainment. The memory of the Roman theater (vaudeville and pantomime) was alive throughout the western cities of the world; the highroad swarmed at times with singers and performers on their way to festival, wedding, and fair. Song and dance, canvas and tinsel, puppet-show and horse-play, local gag and market-place obscenity—when did these lack? So far as we may judge from unavailing capitulary and synodical fulmination, they were rife enough in every century from the fifth to the tenth. There may have been no languid northern ladies to emulate the *précieuses ridicules* of Rome, to adopt the drawling and doddering speech which Jerome characterizes, to write lyric verses for the play-actors as the Roman ladies did. But, *mutatis mutandis*, there was folly afoot in the north as in the south; and not every German matron was content to be that ideal combination of *hausfrau* and prophetess of which history speaks so warmly. Nor is the matinee-girl a creation of modern conditions; for much of the danger of the mime, we are told in chronicles, lay in the seeds of lechery he sowed in immature minds during his travels.

It is true that in the last two paragraphs we have been speaking of lyrics and literature written largely in the Latin language. But let us beware of neglecting as distinctly German productions songs which were sung in Germany, even if their dress be Latin.²

¹ *Die lateinischen Vagantenlieder des Mittelalters* (1870).

² In another study, soon to be published, I shall show that Scherer's assertion that the Latin dress of a song obscures all traces of its origin is not true.

Why should they be less German than were the thirteenth-century *Carmina Burana*? The language of these is not the speech of Flaccus made boorish and degenerate by mangling and decay of time and culture; it is the breath of the poet's quivering nostrils. And the poet is German, as like as not. The Latin is his thief's cant, his beggar's whine, his provision against starving. He uses it for gain, as others of his clan—the janglers and the harlots—do their merchandise. But it is more than jargon—it is more than the vehicle of his longing for meat and drink and lust. His spirit moves in it to unutterable invective and satire; he feels in it. This German has made Latin his very own, has adapted it to his condition, to the measure of his time and its thought. *Linden* may be *tilia* and *nachtigall* be *philomela*; but these are not of Ovid, these are of the landscape about him. And Cecilia and Phyllis and Juliana—these are the buxom wenches of his travels; they are no lay figures from antique pastorals; and their homeliness shines through the drab and purple of their borrowed plumage as an Iphigenie of Weimar does through the gloss of her Greek costume borrowed and worn for but a night. *Verteufelt human* despite their momentary pose in art! And the nature-introductions? These are not the personification of the *vis naturae* which the Latin school poets used—confess them frankly German as they are.¹

¹ It is the insistence upon the Latin form of the *Carmina Burana* which causes the vexatious words of Saintsbury (*The Flourishing of Romance*, 1897, p. 6). They are, he thinks, inimitable stylistic exercises which owe their comedy to play upon words; to subtle adjustment of phrase and cadence; to graceless catachresis of solemn phrase and traditionally serious literature; to the innuendo, the nuance which they impart to dog-Latin. Now, who shall find in such words as these a fit describing of the satire, of the love for springtide and women which he remembers in early mediæval Latin lyrics? Who will be so blinded by the study of form as to regard as jocund “the concentrated scandal against a venerated sex of the *De congue non ducenda*”? A more patient insight will recognize the moral aim and the religious significance of this philippic. And yet such dubitable characterization of Latin lyrics would not be vexatious in that it voices the mistaken impression of a single essayist, but rather because it is met with so nearly everywhere. The goliard songs are clearly written for melodies, it is said, and some of them are very complicated in structure, suggesting part-songs and madrigals with curious interlacing of long and short lines, double and single rhymes, recurrent ritornelles, and so forth.

The impression left by such words is one of stilted complexity, whereas the opposite is more often true. Many of these texts have been maimed to fit them properly to music, but many more are of such simple tenor and directness that they charm by reason of their very ingenuousness. And music, other than mere droning *volksweise* or strophic *récitatif*, was ordinarily added after the text had been made. Sure proof of this we have in the case of many a mediæval Latin lyric; for we know that the amorous odes of Horace were fitted to hymn tunes, and that goliards composed erotic songs in the convenient mold of churchly

If the form of a poem be the main element from which to read the spirit which dominates the theme, what should we have done if the *Nibelungen* story existed for us only in the Latin dress that Pilgrim of Passau ordered made for it by some court tailor? Should we have discovered in this lost Latin epic all the Germanic life and soul which we conceive to animate the thirteenth-century German redaction? Scarcely. For does not Trench¹ at the very moment of naming the *Waltharius*, the *Reinhardus Vulpes*, and Fulbert's song of the nightingale speak of "that dreariest tenth century, that wastest place, of European literature and of the human mind"? Might we not rather draw the opposite conclusion? Might we not say that German epic and ballad, village-yarn and lyric, were set particularly fast in the minds of people when they shimmer everywhere through a literature written down in Latin and within the walls of a monastery? Do not the tales of the monk of St. Gall and *Ruodlieb*, the *Waltharilied* and the *Ecbasis Captivi*, Schröder's Latin dance-measure and Werner's spring-songs,² tell of German tale and lyric in these "wastest" times? Does the delectable pots-and-pans scene in Roswitha's *Dulcitius* remind the reader of Terence or of a *schwank*? And no stretch of the imagination is required to conceive such a theme as that of her twice-told harlot and hermit story existent in German minstrel repertory³ long before it entered the gates of Gandersheim.

Let us use *Ruodlieb* as a paradigm for study. We learn from it that Latin was the vehicle for any serious attempt at authorship in this wastest time; that a language modeled on Vergil and Prudentius had become flexible enough to describe the environing world of men and nature. It also makes manifest how deeply monastic philosophy penetrated literature and how people relied for truth upon maxim, the unnatural history of the *Physiologus*, and sheer rumor. These and other things this novel evidences trope and motet. Thus, though music was often made a procrustean bed to which the text must fit, changing and twisting to suit the needs of the melody, the very same text in other versions which have not been re-edited for the sake of some pre-existent melody show clearly enough how simple the original structure of the poem was.

¹ *Sacred Latin Poetry*³ (1874), p. 47.

² *Germania*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 230.

³ In some such form as the story of the snow-child, or the tale of the Swabian who outwitted the king. For a sympathetic study of Roswitha's effort and environment cf. Winterfeld, "Hrotsvit's literarische Stellung," *Archiv f. d. Studium d. neueren Sprachen*, Vol. CXIV (1905), pp. 26 ff.

to the literary historian, and they have come to be part of the stock knowledge of every passing student. Measures and values to determine the condition of designedly artistic literature in tenth- and eleventh-century Germany have therefore been got from this source and other like springs of information, and consequent dicta have been formulated. These dicta quite unfailingly compare the sad condition of mediæval German literature in the tenth and eleventh centuries with the happy upswing of the two following centuries which culminated in Vogelweide, Eschenbach, Gottfried, Hartmann, and the rejuvenated *Eddatorso*. This process of evaluation is succinct, exact, and based upon warrantable fact.

It is a process, however, which eliminates, or at best subordinates, the popular background of *Ruodlieb*. And just this monkish novel, despite its unwieldy hexameters, despite the fine feathers of its contemporary erudition, bears no uncertain testimony that the gist of it, one might almost say all that is good of it, is derived from popular literature. The characterization of the actors in this mosaic romance may have been due, as so often stated, to the genius of its author; but is more likely to have existed in precedent generations of *märchen* and *schwäne*. And, what is more important, the spirit and color of some of it must have found expression in lyric form before it was made narrative.¹ This antecedent body of tales and lyrics finds better proof from *Ruodlieb* than does the first "classical period of heroic song and story" which Scherer assumes to be back of the *Hildebrandslied*. Now, neither of these two "periods" should be over-readily accepted even as working hypotheses perhaps, but they do both answer well to the truth that the germs of every renaissance² are found, not

¹ Some statement of this is made below.

² Why will we so persist in posing "periods" and "times of new birth" in our histories of literature? For is not the final test of any "renaissance" a numerical one after all? The great revival which took hold of Europe from the fifteenth century on is of supreme importance as a movement, I take it, not because it carried in its bosom all the treasures of the past and all the glories of the future, but rather because it was heard and shared so nearly by all men. The so-called Abortive Renaissance in the reign of Charles the Great was still-born in that it penetrated the hearts of so few men, rather than because it made literature the handmaid of theology. The merely numerical question as to how many men in Charles's realm participated in this "renaissance" is as instructive in its suggestiveness as the similar query concerning the number of children affected by the Slaughter of the Innocents. A vanishingly small group in either case—despite Scherer and Gustave Doré.

in the traditional elements of antiquity which conscious artists conventionally copy, but in the vernacular body of popular tradition which precedes such florescence, in the "humbler" literature which is part of the very spirit of the time itself. Thus when, as with *Ruodlieb* and with earlier Latin literature in Germany, criticism looks singly to the form and denies content and theme, the spirit of a time is sure to be misunderstood, in so far as it is reflected in story and lyric. There were, that is, in mediæval Latin literature no single elements calculated to produce so great a novel as *Ruodlieb*, such limpid lyrics as the *Carmina Burana*. The impulse which was life-giving came from the German spirit of the age that gave them birth. There was in Latin literature everywhere the frame, the form, the pliant meter, the ready rime; but for the cosmopolitan breath of them the awakening spirit of the tenth and twelfth centuries had no other model, no other point of departure, than in the natural, national basis beneath them.

Now, who would say that there was in the tenth century so perfect a body of lyric verse as there was in nineteenth-century Germany? None, I imagine. For Goethe and Uhland and Heine may be accounted masters of literary technique and artistic expression beyond any presumable tenth-century lyrist, just so surely as they surpass in these respects Reinmar, Walther, and Hausen. But, except for this matter of form, is there added excellence of treatment? Is there, as Ker asks, any sudden shock of transition in turning from Goethe, Hugo, or Tennyson to the twelfth-century rimes of Provence? Except purely as a matter of form, is the development of erotic passion arrested at certain stages in a nation's history, to overflow at other stages the edge of the brimming cup? Is the difference in art-expression, that is, a variation in underlying emotional capacity, or is it a variation in the use of terms?

If one might in a single graphic sentence describe the attitude which our minds ordinarily assume toward early German poetry, I imagine it would read much as follows: Rome had a great body of literature of much beauty; corruption from within and the barbarian from without destroyed it; for some centuries the primitive German hordes cared not for poetry other than for an epic song

of certain native attractiveness; gradually, however, cosmopolitanism set in, and all the forces of the new culture and of broadening life brought about the tardy bloom of lyric and drama.

Well, as a study of literary form apart from literary theme this sentence might stand perhaps, although I doubt if anything but the final polish of artificial poetry is brought by one people to another of a different clime and period. But as a study of theme such a sentence is vastly misleading. For we may classify the lyrics of Heine under Jeanroy's three captions as easily as we can those of any forgotten twelfth-century lyrst. Heine undoubtedly had at his disposal a conventional symbolism which his unknown predecessor lacked; he was heir to a thousand whimsicalities of expression unused by the earlier epoch, but the basic ingredients of the lyric of both artists were at hand. The sun which colors flowers colored youth more years ago than a thousand. Fragrance of flower and of youth found expression of some kind to stir contemporary sense. Uses of flower and youth are much the same in any age, except as under differing conventions they come to various art-expression.

In the human rutting-season, when Darwin's male called rhythmically to proethnic female, the form of the lyric was simpler than when æons later, under the formulæ of etiquette, of caste, and of religious strife, the sexes were segregated. But in the former time there was hindrance to natural selection, though not in the shape of a castle wall; there was coquetry, though not carried on with guitar and fan; there were lyric impulse and incoherence, though they did not find expression in the artificial senility of *minnedienst*.¹ And who shall say that this rutting-

¹Jespersen will not wait for Lyric until Language came. He assures us that men sang out their feelings before they were able to express their thoughts. He thinks of the first utterance of humankind as "something between the nightly love-lyrics of puss upon the tiles and the melodious love-songs of the nightingale." These words are unreasonable, contends many a critic of Jespersen's—at least they are undignified. Dignity! How art thou confounded with starchy stiffness of mien. Must we forever follow Whitney and Madvig, and picture primitive man as majestically poised, ponderous in manner like the modern scholar whose shoulders bend beneath their Atlas-load: the burden of the accumulated wisdom of the centuries? Instead of portraying to us before language an all-enveloping silence—a void of sound like unto the formless earth and the darkened deep of Genesis; instead of contending that man achieved language by hypodermically injecting thought-content into the phonetic result of muscular effort, Jespersen believes that language, like love, was born in the courting-days of mankind. Lad and lass vie with one another to attract the other sex; the source of speech lies, not in seriousness, but in merry play and in

season did not disappear uncounted thousands of years ago? Certainly not the anthropologist. To the best of our recorded knowledge, the Germans of the first century after Christ had a reverence for women which no modern time has exceeded. There was sufficient incentive for the poetical expression of sighing ardor in a law which regarded sin against chastity as unflinchingly as did the Mosaic code.

What form this expression took we do not know. It was not exposed by Tacitus. Perhaps it was not thought fit for serial publication in the *Germania* or the *Annales*. But because we do not find from this time conscious treatment of sighing ardor as literature, we need not necessarily suppose there was stint of it in the social life of the period. If the philologist may place an asterisk before a word which the eye of man has not seen, and denominate this word *urform, nicht belegt*, we may star a lyric or two now and then which the ear of man has not heard. Except for matters of pure externality, he who would deny the German of the "dark" ages a lyric must be prepared to carry the burden of proving his contention.

What may have been the nature of the submerged lyric, the popular forms of which continued in Germany throughout the obscure centuries prior to the final budding and blossoming of minnesang?

Early Latin, we know, possessed at least five distinguishable sorts of popular song: (1) rustic dance-measures sung and trodden after the labor of a day in the fields; (2) sailors' chanteys; (3) soldiers' marching-songs; (4) mendicant stanzas of the beggar soliciting alms; (5) fescennine verses for nuptial rites. Documentary evidence for all of these exists and—to be quite at peace with the literary critic—we shall rest content to pretend that no other kind of popular song whatsoever was ever sung in early Latin times than just those which have happened to come down to us in the above enumeration. The question of accent versus quantity

youthful hilarity. Everyone is singing his best and dancing his bravest to lure a pair of eyes. On the rim of the world life is green and gay. And if we are to believe certain theorists, and agree that several hundred thousand years later European life was all grim epic and nowise soft-lyric—why, then the world was dying of old age and rigor mortis was upon it. But tenth-century Germany was not primitive.

(rhythm versus meter) will be no bone of contention; the critic may continue undisturbed in his belief that it took several Christian centuries to effect the miracle of accentual utterance in singing Latin verses. It is enough for us to know that while Cicero was declaiming to partially interested benches in the senate, while Vergil was toiling at the funeral pyre of Dido with never a misplaced quantity, nightingales were singing in the Italian woods.

Now, the fescennine verses which pre-Christian Latin knew appear in European literature certainly as early as the eighth century; grossly obscene, doubtless, so that one may not deny the proud claim of their authors—*non es poeta, Priape, fascinosior nostro*; caustic rhymes, as different from the calm purity of narrative popular poetry as the sting of a bee is different from the song of a lark; but so clutching in their ribaldry that in later ages all the fulmination of church and state availed as nothing against them.

Every race possesses a popular literature whose spirit is a scurrilous wit;¹ the people's songs and tales are as racy as they are racial before they have been pruned by convention and prepared for parlor presentation. Such rank verbiage betokens a virility beyond that enjoyed by any form of polite or conscious literature. The one element in the age-long history of literature which has remained immutable amid all the eddying and shifting currents of change is this same scurrilous wit; this stinging, plaguing, tormenting, coarse-fibered wit; *facetiae, fabliaux, schwänke, schnurren, dorfgeschichten, jeux partis*—coherent and identical—unvarying in their grotesque situation-humor and caricature. Not necessarily sensual is this wit, but materialistic, viewing man frankly as an object among objects in the visible universe, as a product of nature like the plants and the animals. From the earliest *gestanzeln* and *winileod* of the Carolingian nunneries to the latest epigram of the Tyrolese peasant, there has been no permutation of it. If one but study the modern *schnaderhüpfel* under the guidance of Gustav Meyer or Schuchardt, one will find

¹ Cf. the writer's "Studies in Popular Poetry," pp. 14 f., *Decennial Publications, Chicago, 1902.*

close kinship between these vernacular reaping-couplets and the antithetic, often leprous, Latin *fescenninae*.

Satire and sarcasm of much thoroughness would seem a heritage of the German. In that *bagan* which was more than half the battle, in the *gabs* which filled the mouth to cracking—what have we in early popular balladry but the flash of these everywhere? What were the rhapsodical lyrics which adversaries threw into each other's teeth—when Hildebrand and Hadubrand faced each other—when Walther of Aquitaine snarled at Hagen—when the adulteress and the red-haired thief of *Ruodlieb* stood bare before the multitude at the scaffold's edge? Lost are these in lyric form, but they can be read, with no amazing cleverness to help one, from the narrative dress which clothes them. *Schimpflied* and *schlumperlied* can scarce have failed in ages of simple hate, boasting, and revenge; ages which were pervaded by drunkenness, and the custom of rapine and slavery; ages where impulse was father to the deed, with no obstacle to intervene. Lyric *pervigilia* there must have been during those most astounding festivals which filled the time from *polterabend* to *brautbett*. Narrative strophes may have sufficed for the village yarn of the sentimental middle-class mother who hears of the returning Ruodlieb from the boy in the tree; but there was lyric utterance of a kind back of the lost episode of the lady-of-the-garters who had been overgood to the clerk, back of the text which a most emancipated *fräulein* reads to the surprised nephew, back of the dying moan which the outraged husband makes to his young wife. And in times when deformity and disease were considered a scourge from heaven there were mocking-songs. Who would say that the mischievous spirit of such *spottlieder* so avoided the vocative case of address, so avoided the second-personal note of direct apostrophe, that the narrative third person of the preterit indicative was alone felt to answer?¹

And the mendicant songs. Gypsy and outlaw, mime and minstrel, bear-leader and itinerant peddler, clerk and quack, were each on his own pilgrimage bent. Every age has its freemasonry

¹ As in the mocking stanza on the jilting of Liubene's daughter, preserved to us in a ninth-century manuscript (cf. Müllenhoff u. Scherer, *Denkmäler*³ (1892), No. XXVIIIB); or the verse on the man from Chur (Kögel, *Littgesch.*, Vol. I, part 2, p. 165).

of wayfarers; and every age which has given us record of such has left us many a whining stanza to elicit pity and alms. When monastery furnished asylum to these creatures of circumstance, the labors of the quiet monk who bent above the unfinished initial were often interrupted by scurvy chants of drinking which parodied Bible and hymn. In earlier times, when the sky was the only roof for the heads of *schirmaer*, *gigaer*, *goukelaere*, and *schuolaere*—before the adoration of the Virgin had given the model for *potatoria*, the New Testament evangels for *lusoria*, and scarce-remembered lines from Ovid and Flaccus the very mold for *amatoria*—the scene rang with vagabond lyric; unless—with the literary critic—we would deny the solace of song to an age which needed it sorely in the open and at the chimney breast, merely because the only tones which have reached us in the conscious literature of the educated classes of these times are those of harp and organ.

Körting finds in the national character of the German a mingling of contrasting elements: a masculine fierceness and coarseness adjoined to a certain emotional susceptibility, a dreamy melancholy quite feminine in tone. These contrasts are manifest in Anglosaxon poetry. The clash of swords and the rattle of mail sound forth in *Beowulf*, in the *Fight at Finnsburg*, in *Byrhtnoth's Death* and other epic pieces. But side by side with these is the elegiac sentimentality of such poems as the *Ruin*, the *Wife's Complaint*, the *Husband's Message* and the *Complaint of Deor*. If it be unwise to advert to them as distinctly lyric pieces because of their verse-structure and mannerism of diction, it is still permissible to say that these four compositions show clearly enough what the character of a real body of early Germanic song was like. Lyric song, too, which may equally as well have been taken across the English Channel from an original continental home, as any *materia epica* found in *Beowulf* or the *Fight at Finnsburg*. But it is only the absence of such lyrical pieces in any known German manuscript which leads the historian to assert that a national literature began to develop in Germany much later than in Britain. And despite this lack it would seem that the testimony of the *Hildebrandslied* was enough to convince

him that an abundant and early folk-poetry existed in Germany, one which need not have been exclusively heroic and epic in tone. A like message may be read regarding Francia from the song which celebrates the victory of Chlotar over the Saxons in the year 620, and which the women still used in the ninth century as a dance-song, or from the presumable historical ballad which deals with Childebert's campaign against Saragossa in 542.¹ For, did we possess no other mention of Anglosaxon lyrics, we might yet read of their presence in the *Wanderer* or the *Seafarer*. And when we meet in the *Hildebrandslied* no small degree of æsthetic maturity how shall we believe that the artist ever found his appeal alone in the form of the heroic epic, rather than in the mold of lyric elegy?

Are these lyrics of one sort and another, which we have just been discussing, German in form or Latin? Sometimes the one without doubt, sometimes the other, and not improbably on occasion that strange *doppelbräu* of "lustic Tiutsch und schoen Lattin als ein frischen brunnen und starken wîn gemischet," of which Trimberg speaks. Controversy as to whether these lyrics did or did not exist before the eighth or ninth century in Germany is of small avail, for neither side of the contention can be definitely proven, if manuscript tradition be relied upon.² Simply because the manuscripts do not exist, so far as we now know. But personally I doubt if I shall ever be convinced that the German lyric, such as we have almost continuously known for eight centuries or more, was non-existent before say the year 1150, being discovered between night and morning of some individual day. Nor shall I believe it imitated from a foreign source in any of its essential phases. Nor shall I deem it a thing consciously evolved.

¹ Cf. Lenormant, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, I, 1, p. 321.

² We have likewise no French manuscripts prior to the twelfth century which contain lyric songs. And yet who can read without feeling their inherent truth Gaston Paris's remarks about the lyric of the Merovingian Epoch (486-751 A. D.): "Various evidence shows us that at the festivals the youth of both sexes danced to the sound of songs which the Councils condemned as immodest, and which were merely love-songs; that the repasts where the Romanised Germans gave themselves up for entire nights to their hereditary vice, drink, were enlivened by songs; that satirical songs were composed which the authorities were compelled to forbid. This shows us that popular poetry was abundant."—*Mediaeval French Literature*, p. 17. Cf. also Du Méril (1847), pp. 189 ff.; Gröber, *Zur Volkskunde aus Concilbeschlüssen* (1893); Maasen, *Concilia aevi Merovingici* (1893); Gröbers, *Grundriss*, Vol. II (1902), p. 444.

Its origin seems no mystery, nor are its functions wrapped in impenetrable darkness, unless we make the lyricality of any century depend for good or ill on a single statement of manuscript. It is through such literality of labor that our time has suffered in its conception of Dark Age and Middle Age, quite as much as through what criticism often regards as the extravagant and fantastic claims of Jakob Grimm, Müllenhoff, Lachmann, and Scherer.

Where is the light? Is it in allowing nothing to any time long gone which is not recorded in discovered hieroglyph? Shall we deny to Babylonian culture some one of the world's ingredients for pain and pleasure because of tablets yet undug? Is it in so emphasizing one message of a people to posterity that all other messages are neglected? This is but to deepen the mire of traditional belief until it amounts to superstition; as we are discovering is the case with Greek civilization which we have accounted so "classical" in its teaching that all its romanticism has been forgot. Is there no argument possible from the point of view of common humanity, which shows much the same in any age; or shall the only testimony accepted by the court be that of circumstantial evidence?

These questions as to the life and literature of past ages cannot be solved. But surely, so long as the field of our immediate investigation be the lyric or drama, we must accept much on the purely emotional grounds of kinship of race and experience; for we can never study distant times from deposits and strata; we cannot reconstruct fossil growths from bone-vertebræ; we cannot apply the researches of Darwin or Spencer or Haeckel to the organic study of the common basis of literature, as if this were an accretion of protoplasm.

Is this not universally done? I have in mind, as a striking instance in point, a brilliant study in cross-section of the tenth and eleventh centuries in Italy. There is the life of the clergy spread out before you, as an anatomical wall-map is unrolled before the astonished eyes of the schoolboy. It makes brilliant reading, that part of the book which seems like a blood-stained chronicle of the crime of old Newgate. Some of it is dull work —particularly the section which deals with simony and church

disorganization. But the chapter on poetry is a wonderful instance of how much may be left unsaid. Poetry—we are told therein—was in these centuries nothing but grammar and rhetoric. Concise at least is this information; would that many a chapter of teaching were as succinct! But is the author right? Is it true that one might have walked the length of Italy during two centuries and never heard a happy lyric song? When one remembers that the Greenlander has poetry full of lyric sweep and love for nature, when one knows that even the Andaman Islander is inclined to lyric expression, what unerring testimony may our author have possessed, to pronounce so cathedral a statement? The source of his learning is discoverable: it lies in a collection of book-titles known as the “bibliography” of the subject. And the biography of the subject is to be taken from this? What superstitious reverence for books has fastened its tentacles on this enlightened age?

With this failure fresh in mind, would it seem worth while to collect further evidences from conscious literature of the presence of the lyric in pre-mediæval Germany? Would it repay the effort if we exhumed stray lyric bits here and there, treated them with formalin to repair their freshness and exposed them as added proof? I doubt it. And yet there is Fridugisus's farewell to his cell, with its insistent note of pathos, its elegiac beauty, no matter if it be distorted by an occasional commonplace orthodoxy and the poor masque of attempted classicality. And there is Strabo's love-letter, as tender and pure as a quatrain of Eichendorff's. Again and again we are struck by the color and life of stanzas and couplets from the poetic letters of the Carolingian poets and their successors. Buried they often are amid endless chaff, but even a careless search through the convenient material will lead the student to acknowledge that pedantry, imitation, stiffness of borrowed quantitative structure, canting godward—naught can quite obliterate even in such artificial pieces the vista of real poetry that stretches out behind them. And if a love for nature penetrated into this machine-made versification, if sunlight and beauty gleam through rifts in the shade cast by conventional piety and pose, shall we believe that the unseen and unheard

world of laymen found no expression for the passionate unrest which animates ever the human breast?

To me I confess the suggestion carried by the ballad measure *Equitabat Bovo* is as wide and conclusive as any gained from the most extensive of epics—where light and lyric lilt are in question. The mere remnant of *Hirsch und Hinde* tells its own story quite as effectively as a capitulary against face-powder and love-songs, were the latter a thousand lines in length. The popular strophic structure of the *Samariterin*, the *De Heinrico*, and the *Ludwigslied* bespeaks an environment of song and swaying rhythm by the cool well under the village lindens. The verses which Notker used as paradigms in his rhetoric are the despised utterances of the people which live in any age. The erased love-song in the Cambridge manuscript is a single nugget which draws the gaze of the prospector to a soil which hides a mine of unearthed gold.¹ What are these and other like hints to mean for us but that the lyric choir invisible is singing? Why ask for more than a single yellow gleam from the parted thunder-cloud to tell us that the sun is shining above it, that past warmth and future glory are promised by it as fully as by the blaze and glare of torrid noonday? And even if no single gleam appears and the whole sky is gray, does not the memory of other days and other times inform us that the sun is there, albeit shrouded from our human gaze?

Which shall we subscribe to—this doctrine of an ever-present inspiration, or that other orthodoxy of continuity which ever derives one thing from another? Theory of Continuity—what sins have been committed in thy name! By what insensible gradations has the lyric had to grow! Tirelessly and from lower organisms must we trace its development. Impulse—other than the unexplained initial impulse—there has been none. Inspiration—other than that first breath of God or chance—has been impotent to alter by jot or by tittle the unnumbered accretions

¹Scherer long ago directed attention to the beautiful *Verna feminae suspiria*, an example of pathetic fallacy which seems remarkable because of the early date of its composition (end of tenth century). Cf. Scherer, *Geschichte d. deutschen Dichtung im XI. u. XII. Jahrhundert* (1875), p. 8; Jaffé, "Die Cambridger Lieder," *Z. f. d. Alt.*, Vol. XIV (1869), p. 492; Winterfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

by which lyric has come to be. (And Adam begat Seth; and Seth begat Enosh; and Enosh begat Kenan.) Inherent need for utterance, recurrent power of full expression in personality, emergency of life—these have availed as naught against the insensate ongoing of plantlike growth which finally yields the lyric.

Let us see how current doctrine as to the genealogical tree of lyric expression sounds. Here it is: Scōp and minstrel, troubadour and spielmann, sit with their elders in the seats of the mighty and sing full-throated to them as they eat. Not that the player actually invented his songs; he ever took his themes from somewhere else; he had ever been anticipated. Creation, it seems, was not of him, for men of a southern clime had grown up faster than had he, and they had stolen all his thunder. His very rhythms he had to get as best he could from other rhythms, and he lacked the consolation of knowing that these in their turn had been taken from things that look like rhythms but are not—things which we call meters. Verses these meters are which hang suspended and without stress on the lips of their awe-struck utterers. But though he could not create a lyric, the minstrel could graft one—and this afforded him some solace. So he sings care-free to his pleased auditors, and they pat him kindly on the shoulder and make him presents: a side of beef, a fur-tipped mantle somewhat out of fashion, or a foaming mug of ale.

His song he stole from the church. Now, it seems that the clerks coming out of the portal after a two-hour session with the liturgy drank deep draughts of the clear, sun-lit air and warbled the final vowel of the *allelulia-a-a-a*, till one would think they were never going to stop. Thereafter certain pious brethren reduced these warblings to many different set schemes, until there came to be such a deal of them that none could retain them all without confusion. Years passed, but the knotty problem of mnemonic device remained. One day toward twilight a monk from the razed cloister of Jumièges toiled up to the gate of St. Gall with an antiphonary under his arm; and this book contained a syllable for every neume. On that evening this messiah of coherency freed the spirit of the mediæval lyric, for the men at

St. Gall now had sense to proceed with the erection of their musical sequences so that the clerks might retain them. And the lyric bloomed henceforth.

His rimes the minstrel got from a parent, who had in his turn derived them from certain homespun utterances of uneducated Romans known as popular songs. These Latin rimes too grew, curiously enough, quite by chance—like later Topsies; for they could not help growing in a highly inflected language. If the minstrel had had them to create all out of nothing, he might well have failed; but happily he had nothing to do but just sit by until the things evolved themselves. Not that rime came first in full shape—otherwise it might have descended overheavily upon the unready minstrel—but little by little. First the minstrel must be content with the homeopathic assonance; only he must be careful not to speak the ultimate consonants with much distinctness for some while, or he would rime before he was expecting it. The Latin inflection which saved the world from a sahara of blank verse may now be taken up and developed from something else, either from kindly Olympus or from a primordial cell.

Such is the Theory of Continuity as applied to the lyric. Its evident weakness lies in the fact that it presumes fifth- and tenth-century German to be as inefficient as a child, as groping as the untutored savage. Let us believe it not. For we know that he who would seek the remains of primitive man must hunt him in kitchen-midden and in barrow; in burial mound and beneath the lava beds and sands of the south. If the student thinks to find him where many a literary critic is searching—in fifth- and tenth-century Europe—he must not look outside of manuscript tradition; he must continue study of books alone. Let the student not confuse Literature with Life. For with literature as with men the good die young. Those whom the gods love they often refuse to share with posterity.

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STUDIES IN THE TEXTUAL INTERPRETATION OF "BEOWULF"¹

D. NOTES ON VARIOUS PASSAGES²

12. *ðæm eafera wæs æfter cenned.* *æfter* is not exactly "afterward," "later," as it is commonly understood; it denotes rather "coming after him," as in l. 2730: *pær me gifeðe swa | ænig yrfeaward æfter wurde.* Cf. *ær* in l. 1356.

20–25. *swa* refers back to something that has been told before (see e. g., ll. 99, 144, 189, 559, 1046, *swa sceal* . . . ll. 1172, 1534, 2166); it is not the direct antecedent of *pæt* (l. 22); *gewyrcean* is not "work," "act," but (perfective) "bring about," like *gefremman* (l. 954). "In such a way as he (i. e., Scyld, not Beowulf) did, a [young or, according to Grein 1, prudent] man ought to bring it about by liberality in his father's house that his comrades will stay by him later on in times of war." Sievers,³ who has admirably elucidated the entire Introduction, still questions whether there may not be a gap between ll. 19 and 20. I prefer his other alternative that something has been left "unausgedrückt," something, that is, which did not need to be expressed, since it is implied in a previous statement. For how could the king have been so successful in war, had he not been conspicuous for generosity, which gained for him the loyalty of his followers? These two ideas were inseparably connected in the minds of the ancient Teutons.

The style of this archaic portion is decidedly abrupt, but the sequence of thought in the first half of the Introduction is clear. "Scyld was a glorious king; he conquered many tribes; he was

¹ See *Modern Philology*, III, 235–65.

² Only a few bibliographical references have to be explained. Bugge = *Beiträge*, XII, 79–112, 366–75; Cosijn = *Aanteekeningen op den Beowulf*; Holthausen = *Anglia-Beiblatt*, X, 285–74; Kock = *Anglia*, XXVII, 218–37; Müllenhoff = *Beowulf*, 1889 (in part = *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, XIV, 193–244); Rieger = *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, III, 381–416; Trantmann = *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*, II, 121–92. As this paper was completed in the spring of 1904, references to Sievers' article "Zum Beowulf" in *Beiträge*, XXIX, 305–31, have been appended afterward in brackets. To Grundtvig's edition I have had no direct access.

³ *Beowulf und Saxo*.

blessed with a son, who gives promise of a continuation of dynastic splendor. Lo, here is a model of a ruler!"

28–31. *hi hyne þa ætbæron to brimes farode, | swæse gesipas,*
swa he selfa bæd, | þenden wordum weold wine Scyldinga,— |
leof landfruma lange ahte. The result of the numerous interpretational attacks upon ll. 30 and 31 has not been quite satisfactory, because their connection with the preceding lines has not been sufficiently considered, and because (by certain scholars) the parallelism of ll. 30 and 31 has been taken for granted too easily.

Scyld's men prepare the funeral of their beloved king, as he had bidden them while he "wielded his words" (not "ruled with words"—Garnett, Kemble, Thorpe, Cl. Hall, Tinker, Trautmann). Similarly Beowulf gives directions concerning his own funeral honors (ll. 2802 ff.), and his mourning thanes carry them out—*swa he bena wæs* (l. 3140).¹ "Daaraan werd vastgeknoopt de mededeeling, dat die regeering langen tijd geduurd heeft" (Cosijn). In other words, l. 31, added para-tactically, conveys the very appropriate idea: "his had been a long (and beneficent) reign." (Cf. *Helgakv. Hund.*, 1, 10: *oc hann hardan let | Hunding reginn, þann er lengi rep | londom oc þegnom*). The implied object of *ahte* is *hi* (it need not be expressed; cf. l. 2208); cf. *þær he folc ahte, | burg ond beagas* (l. 522); *ic þas leode heold | fiftig wintra* (ll. 2732, 911, 2751); *folcagende* (see Grein). I admit the possibility of construing *leof landfruma* as variation of *wine Scyldinga*, which would entail a change of punctuation in accordance with Grein.²

To the list of previous explanations summarized by Kock, Bright's emendation³ should be added: *þenden wordum geweald wine Scyldinga, | leof landfruma, lange ahte.* It is more attractive than any of the seven other emendations, but the combination *wordum geweald ahte* does not sound quite genuine, and *lange* does not at all harmonize with its surroundings. Cosijn's attempt to justify the collocation of *þenden* and *lange* by a reference to ll. 57 f. *heold þenden lifde, | gamol ond guðreouw*,

¹Cf. *Atlamál*, 102 ff.; *Völsunga Saga*, ch. 31.

²*lange ahte* might be compared with *mihtig hæfde*, (*Par.*) *Ps.*, LXXVII, 60, 3b.

³*Modern Language Notes*, X, 43.

glæde Scyldingas, must be considered inadequate; for, though Healfdene was of course not all his life *gamol*, he lived in the memory of the people as an aged ruler, just as *der alte Fritz*.

The ninth emendation, fathered by Kock, *lan geahte*, ingenious as it is, rests on several mere assumptions. The existence of *OE. lan* and the signification claimed for it in this place, are open to doubt, and the only passage in which *geagan* has been found (Ælfr., *Hom.*, 1, 64) is in favor of the ingressive meaning, "obtain." Cf. Goth. *gahaban*, *Mc.*, 3, 21; 6, 17.¹

62. Kluge's emendation,² *hyrde ic, þæt Sigeneow wæs Sæwelan cweni*, has been adopted not only by Holder, 2, but also by Socin, 7. It should be noted by the way, that, according to Bugge,³ *Seafela* would be the proper OE. form, answering to the ON. *Sævil*. I confess that it seems safer to me, in view of the designation *Heaðoscilfing*, to stick to Grundtvig-Bugge's *Onelan*, and admit ignorance as to the name of Healfdene's daughter. The only excuse for Trautmann's *ond Yrde ec'* is readily disposed of by a consideration of the proper stylistic function of *hyrde ic* (epic formula of transition, cf. l. 2163), as I have pointed out in *Modern Philology*, III, 243.

72 f. By a hairsplitting process, Trautmann arrives at a translation which has no advantage over the usual explanation, and which is highly improbable; for *swylc him God sealde* is a complete phrase and should not be expanded. *folescaru* seems, indeed, in this place to denote "land;"⁴ cf. *B.*, 2321, *landwara*.

76. *him on fyreste gelomp | ædre mid yldum*. Earle's rendering, "with a quickness surprising to men," together with his labored explanation (cf. also Cl. Hall, "quickly, by mortals' reckoning"), disregards the formula-like character of *mid yldum*. Anything might be said to exist or occur *mid eldum*; cf. l. 2611; *Wald.*, 1, 11; *Gen.*, 2286; *Riddl.*, 6, 6; *mid mannum* (see Grein); OS. *mid eldiun*, *mid mannun*, *mid firihun*; *B.*, 944, *æfter gum-*

¹ [After writing this note, Sievers' article in *Beitr.*, XXIX, 305 ff., has come to hand. No change has been made in my text.]

² *Englische Studien*, XXII, 144 f.; but see also Grein, *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, IV, 265; Kemble, ii, XXXIX; Leo, p. 17.

³ *The Home of the Eddic Poems*, 177.

⁴ *Anglia-Beiblatt*, X, 261.

⁵ Cf. *Anglia*, XXV, 275.

cynnum. To say that the phrase has no definite meaning would be just a little too severe on the above passage.

104 ff. The passage which introduces Grendel and tells of his descent from Cain is one of the most confidently condemned portions of the poem. In recent times, Professor F. A. Black-
burn, in his careful study of "The Christian Coloring in the *Beowulf*,"¹ has postulated for it an original part and an interpolation, making the point that it "offers serious difficulties of interpretation and confusion of thought to a much greater degree than we should expect, even in Old English poetry." Still it seems to me that there is no more than a permissible amount of forward and backward and sideward movement of the narrative; see, e. g., the account of Grendel's visit in ll. 702 ff., which is, indeed, somewhat less complicated, since there was no need to allude to the origin and dwelling-place of the monster. The thought, though proceeding by a circuitous route, is not obscure.

An evil spirit is angered by the rejoicing in Heorot (ll. 86–90a). One of the songs recited in the hall is quoted (ll. 90b–98).² After looking back for a moment (ll. 99–100a)—as he often does, cf. note on ll. 20–25—the poet returns to Grendel, who is now spoken of as dwelling in the moors (ll. 100b–104a). This naturally leads the author to relate how Grendel came to live there, viz., by being descended from Cain, whom God had exiled for the murder of Abel (ll. 104b–114).³ Whereupon Grendel's first attack on Heorot is narrated.

The only apparent difficulty lurks in ll. 103b–6: *se þe moras heold, | fen ond fæsten, fifelcynnes eard | wonsæli wer weardode hwile, | sibðan him Scyppend forscrifen hæfde*, the second part of which might seem to refer to Cain. Now, it is true that originally Cain was proscribed, but with him all his offspring (*Caines cynn*), as we are informed in the following lines, so that the term *forscrifan* might without violence be applied to Grendel (or the *fifelcynn*). *wonsæli wer* is, of course, an entirely suit-

¹ *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XII, 205–25.

² Why should it not be a religious hymn? See Ten Brink, 12.

³ On the Jewish tradition (Book of Enoch) embodied in this account see Bouterwek, Cædmon, I, cxi ff.; Germania, I, 401; Bugge, *Beitr.*, XII, 82.

able appellation of Grendel, who is also called *feasceaf guma* (l. 973), *earmsceopen* (l. 1351), *dreamum bedæled* (l. 721), etc.¹

Trautmann rejects the dative after *forscrifan*; also after *forgripian* (l. 2353), *forswerian* (l. 804), *forleosan* (ll. 1470, 2145, 2861), *forgrindan* (l. 424)? The last-mentioned verb is actually deprived by him both of construction and existence.²

109. *ne gefeah he þære fæhðe.* Kemble, Ettmüller, L. Hall, and Cl. Hall refer *he* to *Drihten*, which is probably wrong; cf. *secg weorce gefeh* (ll. 1569, 827). The meaning of the negative phrase comes to about the same as *ne byð him wihte ðy sel* (l. 2277). Earle translates well: "he profited not by that violence."

128. *þa wæs æfter wiste wop up ahafen.* It should no longer be doubted that *wist* signifies "feast," "feasting" (Cosijn, Trautmann, Kock): there is now weeping where there was formerly feasting. Cf. *hwæt, me þæs on eple edwendan cwom, | gyrn æfter gomene* (l. 1774); *þær his lichoma legerbedde fæst | swefep æfter symle* (l. 1007) (*symle* not = *simle* "continuo," as Grein thought); *ða heo under swegle geseon meahte | morþor-bealo maga, þær he[o] ær mæste heold | worolde wynne* (l. 1078).³

131. *þolode ðryðswyð þegnsorge dreah, | syðþan hie þæs ladan last sceawedon.* Heinzel⁴ proposes a parenthesis of extraordinary dimensions, as he thinks the plural *hie* must be connected with *gumum* in l. 127. Still such a change from a singular to a plural subject is not to be considered objectionable; cf. *El.*, 56: *cyning wæs afyrhted, | egsan geaclad, siððan elþeodige, | Huna ond Hreða here sceawedon* (*ibid.*, 35, 55 f., 65 f., 125); *OE. Chron.*, 755 A.D.: *þa gebead he him . . . ond him cybdon.*

135. *ac ymb ane niht eft gefremede | morðbeala mare* cannot mean that Grendel took in the second night more than thirty

¹ If any emendation were to be thought of, the removal of l. 105 would relieve the passage: "who held the moors and the fenlands, which were the home of the race of monsters, since the Creator had proscribed it." These lines would be a close parallel, as to structure, to ll. 2036-38: *on him gladiab gomela tafe | heard ond hringmæl Headabearna gestreon, | þenden hie ðam wæpnum wealdan moston* (" . . . which was the property of the H. while . . .").

² [Trautmann's objection to *him forscrifan* has been recently silenced by Sievers, *loc. cit.*]

³ *Saxo*, Book II, *ad fin.*: *ita conuiuio in exequias uero, uictorie gaudium funeris luctus insequitur. Nibelungenlied* (ed. Lachmann), 2315: *mit leide was verendet | des küniges hözitz, | als ie diu liebe leide ze aller jungiste git.*

⁴ *Anz. f. d. A.*, XV, 189.

thanes (Müllenhoff), or "wrought a yet worse deed of murder" (Arnold, so Heyne), but simply ". . . more (additional) murder." The tautological combination *eft . . . mare* is of substantially the same character as the cases of redundant epithets observed in ll. 1328 f., 66 f., 12 f. (*Modern Philology*, III, 247); cf. also *Judith*, 182: *and þæt swyðor gyt | ycan wolde*. Though no other instance of this use of the adjectival *mare* is known, an exactly analogous example of *mare* with partitive genitive occurs in *Oros.*, 82, 7: *he . . . wæs wilniende ðæt he ðæs gewinnes mehte mare gefremman*.

141. *gesægd soðlice sweotolan tacne*. Not "truthfully related on clear evidence" (Cl. Hall). *secgan* is used here, like *cyðan* in many places, in the sense of "make known (by deeds)," "manifest."

142. The emendation *helðegnes* (MS *healðegnes*) (Ettmüller Transl., Bugge, Holthausen,¹ Ten Brink, 15, Earle, Trautmann) can easily be spared. *healðegn* (applied to Grendel) is a compound just fitting the special occasion, like *cwealmcuma* (l. 792), *muðbona* (l. 2079), *beorscealc* (l. 1240), *morgensweg* (l. 129), *þegnsorg* (l. 131), *guðsele* (l. 443).²

161. *seomade ond syrede*. The vulgate interpretation "caught (or, oppressed) and entrapped" (Kemble, Thorpe, Ettmüller, H.-Socin, Wyatt, Garnett, L. Hall, Cl. Hall, Tinker) is entirely out of the question. *seomian* is = "remain," "linger," not without the idea of compulsory retention, "be fixed to" (see *Andr.*, 183 f.; *Gen.* 71 f.; *El.*, 694, *siomode in sorgum : . . . under hearmlocan; Jul.*, 709, *seomað sorgcearig*), and *seomade ond syrede* suggests the phrase *wæs to fæst on þam* [i. e., *fyrenum*] (l. 137), perhaps = "kept on plotting, or ambushing." *on syrewe* (*searewe*) would be a more likely emendation than Trautmann's *on sweorce*, but equally superfluous. The paratactic construction *ond syrede* cannot be called abnormal.³

Grein's rendering "er lag Unheil brütend"⁴ was not far from the truth.⁵

¹ Also *Anglia-Beibl.*, IV, 35.

² Cf. O. Krackow, *Die Nominalcomposita als Kunstmittel im altenglischen Epos*, 40.

³ See *Anglia*, XXV, 276 f., for some characteristic prose examples.

⁴ See also Gering, *Z. f. d. P.*, XII, 123.

⁵ [Cf. Sievers' recent note, *loc. cit.*]

207 ff. There is no reason whatever for assuming an unskillful blending of two versions, or suspecting any other kind of disorder (Ten Brink, 32; Trautmann). It is only to be borne in mind that (1) *fyrst forð gewat* (l. 210) has pluperfect sense (Cosijn); cf. also l. 2119; (2) *sundwudu sohte* (l. 208) means "went to the ship" (not "on board"); (3) *secg wisade, | lagucrœftig mon landgemycru* (ll. 208 f.) does not refer to a pilot, but to Beowulf,¹ who showed, or led the way to, the land boundary, i. e., the shore.²

276. *þurh egasan*. Not "through terror," "by the terror of his coming," but rather "in a terrible manner." Cf. *þurh hæstne had* (l. 1335), *þurh hest* (*Riddl.*, 16, 28), *þuruh neod* (*Par. Ps.*, 139, 13), *þurh lust* (*Dan.*, 249).³ [So probably *þurh sliðne nið* (l. 184), cf. *H. Archiv*, CXV, 178.]

303 ff. See Ettmüller,⁴ Bugge,⁵ Ten Brink, 33, Cosijn, Lübke,⁶ Münster,⁷ Sarrazin,⁸ Bright,⁹ Trautmann, Holthausen.¹⁰ Bright's emendation (which has been unduly ignored), *ferh wearde heold | guðmod grimmon*, offers the simplest solution paleographically, but is objectionable in its retention of the *ferh* ("pig"), which, moreover, would hardly have been personified by the designation "grimly warlike of mood." By far the most plausible reading of ll. 305b-6a is Bugge's *ferhwearde heold | guðmodgum men*. The change from the plural *eoforlic scionon* (for Bugge's *eofor licscionon* cannot be accepted) to the singular (to be taken collectively) is a little harsh, but appears by no means impossible.

307. *oëltimbred*, MS. *sæltimber* (Ettmüller, *Scop.*), *saltimbre* (Ettmüller, Ed.) would be a compound like *healreced*, *healcærn* (*timber*, (*ge*)*timbre* = *structura*¹¹). *sæl timbred*, first suggested by Kemble,¹² and commonly adopted since Grein's edition, may be compared to *wudu bunden* (l. 216), *nægledcnear* (*Brunanb.*, 53);

¹Similarly, Sigfried is "sea-crafty": *die rehten wazzerstræze sint, mir wol bekant* (*Nibel.*, 367).

²See Gering, *loc. cit.*, B.-T.; [cf. Sievers, *loc. cit.*].

³*Journal of Germanic Philology*, IV, 104; Ziegler, *Der poetische Sprachgebrauch in den sogen. Cædmonschen Dichtungen*, 48.

⁴*Scop.*

⁵Also *Z. f. d. P.*, IV, 195 f.

⁶*Anz. f. d. A.*, XIX, 342.

⁷*Dissertation on Thomas Chestre's Launfal*, Thesis I, probably suggested by Sarrazin.

⁸*Beowulf-Studien*, 38.

⁹*Mod. Lang. Notes*, X, 43.

¹⁰*Literaturbl.*, XXI, 64.

¹¹Cf. *Anglia*, XXVII, 401.

¹²Vol. II, Appendix.

searonet seowed smipes orþancum (*B.*, 406), *sincgim locen* (*El.*, 264).

349. *wæs his modsefa manegum gecyðed, | wig ond wisdom.* Cl. Hall: "his courage, prowess and wisdom were well known to many." Similarly Earle, Garnett, L. Hall. It is more likely that *modsefa* "mind," "character" is meant as a general term followed by the more specific, explanatory words *wig ond wisdom* "valor and wisdom." Thus *frætwe* is specified by *bill ond byrnan* (ll. 2620 f.); *untydras* by *eotenas*, *ylfe*, *orcneas*, *gigantas* (ll. 111 ff.); perhaps *helm* by *foldan fæbm*, *fyrgenholt*, *gyfenes grund* (ll. 1392 ff.).¹

377. *Donne sægdon þæt sælibende | þa ðe gifsceattas Geata fyredon | þyder to þance.* The substitution of *hyder* for *þyder* (*Cosijn*) is exceedingly risky in view of the invariable employment of double alliteration in this metrical type.² Equally unsatisfactory is the reading *Geatum* (*Thorpe*, *Bugge*), because *ferian*, "carry," "convey," cannot be construed with the dative like *beran*, but requires *to* (cf. l. 1158); and, besides, (*to*) *Geatum* would be next to impossible by the side of *þyder*. Why should not *Geata* be made regular *genitivus objectivus*: "presents (not 'tribute') for the Geats"?

Ten Brink's stylistic criticism³ is unjust. Ll. 377-81a express the very appropriate thought: "moreover (=*donne*), as I have heard from a reliable source (individualized epic formula, see A II, 1), he is a very strong man."

420. *þær* of the MS is a good deal better than *þæra* (*Rieger*, *Holthausen*). *þær* = "on that occasion," "then," or "when," occurs in other places; e. g., ll. 513, 550.

440. *ðær gelyfan sceal | Dryhtnes dome se þe hine deað nimeð.* This passage receives light from ll. 685 ff.: *ond siþðan witig God | on swa hwæpere hond halig Dryhten | mærðo deme, | swa him gemet þince*, and ll. 977 ff. *gelyfan* seems, indeed, to mean "resign himself to" (*Earle*).⁴

457. *fere fyhtum þu, wine min Beowulf, | ond for arstafum usic sohest.* A much mended and debated passage. Trautmann,

¹ Schröder, *Anglia*, XIII, 334 f. ² Kaluza, *Metrik des Beowulfliedes*, p. 13 f. ³ P. 33.

⁴ Cf. Grein 1, note; Paul, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, s. v. "glauben."

who pleads at length for Thorpe's *fore fyhtum þu, freond min B.*, seems to have been unaware of the point made by Sievers.¹ That *for* should have been used here to denote purpose is not absolutely impossible, but *a priori* to be doubted, since this function even in prose is not at all common before the time of Ælfric.² *weorþmyn-dum³* was mentioned by Cosijn⁴ only to be dismissed, presumably as being too far-fetched. Bugge's *wære ryhtum* fits the context most admirably, but we are loath to miss a *for* parallel with *for* in l. 458, as we find it in ll. 338 f.: *for wlenco . . . for wræc-si-dum . . . for higeprymmum*, ll. 508 f.: *for wlence . . . for dolgilpe* (*Gen.*, 1673,) and, in addition to it, *þu*, which cannot be relegated to the second half of the line (cf. ll. 1704, 530), is rather redundant metrically. These objections would be removed by reading *for werryhtum* (*wærryhtum*), *wine min B.*, which would mean, of course, a considerable departure from the MS.

Another possibility—nothing more—would be *werfestum* (= *wærfaestum*, adverbial dative, “loyally”) *þu*, *wine min B.* The corruption *festum* > *fehtum* > *fyhtum* is not unnatural.

487. *ahte ic holdra þy læs, | deorre dugude, þe þa dead fornam.* The sense of l. 488b (almost universally misapprehended), “since death had taken them away,” is fully established by *Riddl.*, 10, 11: *heo haefde swæsra þy læs | suna ond dohtra, þy heo swa dyde* (*ibid.*, 48, 5 f.); cf. *B.*, 1435: *he on holme wæs | sundes þe sœnra, ðe hyne swylt fornam.*

535. *wit þæt gecwædon (. . . ond gebeotedon . . . þæt)* = “we agreed.” So Thorpe⁵ (K. Ælfred’s Will): *ða gecwædon wit . . . ðæt.*

601b-3a. It is not a little surprising that, with the exception of Kemble and Thorpe, who, however, misconstrue *Geata* (Holder’s view of the case remains doubtful), nobody seems to have seen that *guþe* is parallel with *eafod ond ellen*, and does not signify “in battle.”

644. *oð þæt semninga. . . .* The meaning of *semninga* should not be pressed, nor that of *færinga* in l. 1414: *oþ þæt he færinga . . .* (cf. l. 1988). Certainly the phrase does not

¹ Z. f. d. P., XXI, 362; *Beitr.*, IX, 138.

² H. G. Shearin, *loc. cit.*, 42 ff.

³ Holthausen, *Literaturbl.*, XXI, 64: (*for*) *weordmyndum.* ⁴ Aant. ⁵ Dipl. Angl., 485.

imply that "with sunset the panic returned" (Earle). It looks as if these adverbs were merely added to accentuate the meaning of the conjunction, just as in some cases of (*siððan*) *ærrest*, (*siððan*) *furdum*; *syððan* . . . *edre* (*El.*, 1002); perhaps *bonne* . . . *oft* (*Beow.*, 2867).

665–68. See Müllenhoff, 117; Schönbach,¹ Bachlehner,² Bugge, Holthausen,³ Trautmann, Binz.⁴ The blessing of well-considered conservatism is strikingly illustrated by the history of the textual criticism of these lines. Trautmann's *waldend* and *halþegn* for *wuldor* stand self-condemned, and his *eoton weard abad* displays a bold disregard of the regular construction of *abidan*.⁵ Holthausen's successive emendations *wuldre* and *wildor* are rendered improbable by two considerations; viz., first, that such bare collocations as *wildor* (*wuldre*) | *Grendle* are not in accordance with the usual manner of "variation" (*ða wæs swigra secg sunu Eclafes*, l. 980, and *þæt winreced*, | *gestsele*, l. 993 are not quite analogous; the opposite order occurs: *bruc ðisses beages, Beowulf leofa*, | *hyse mid hæle*, l. 1216), and, secondly, that it would require stronger arguments than have been advanced so far to prove that the subject is Hroðgar, not God (cf. Schönbach). No valid argument has been brought forward against Müllenhoff's old translation: "Gott hatte gegen Grendel, wie es die Menschen erfuhren, einen Saalhüter gesetzt: der versah den Sonderdienst um den Herrn der Dänen und leistete (bot dar) die Riesenwache," which has been substantially adopted by Grein, Holder, Earle, Wyatt, Garnett, Cl. Hall. It remains to state briefly that (1) *kynningwuldor* is easily identified with *kyninga wuldor* (Bugge), = God, or Christ,⁶ cf. *lifwyn(n)*: *lifes wyn(n)*, *holmbrácu*: *yða gebræc*, etc.; the emendation *kyninga wuldor* (first propounded by Kemble⁷ and Thorpe), though metrically admissible,⁸ is not needed; (2) the subject of *sundornytte beheold* is not God (L. Hall), but Beowulf the thane; cf. *þegn nytte beheold* (l. 494);

¹ *Anz. f. d. A.*, III, 40.

² *Z. f. d. A.*, VIII, 201.

³ Also *Literaturbl.*, XXI, 64; *Anglia-Beibl.*, XIII, 204 f.

⁴ *Anglia-Beibl.*, XIV, 359 f.

⁵ The only example of an accusative cited by Shipley, 21, is based on an erroneous conception of the passage.

⁶ See *Sprachach.*

⁷ Appendix to Vol. II.

⁸ Sievers, *Beitr.*, X, 234; Kaluza: type 31.

(3) the difficulty of the form *eotonweard* in place of *eotonwearde* vanishes by the simple assumption of elision.¹

681. *nat he þara goda, þæt he me ongean slea.* Cf. Ælfr., *Hom.*, I, 190, 31: *þæt folc ne cube þæra goda, þæt hi cwædon þæt he God wære* (*Mald.* 176 f.).²

694. *þæt hie ær to fela micles | in þem winsele wældead fornam | Denigea leode.* It is hardly necessary to cancel *hie* (Bugge) or change it to *hiera*.³ The co-ordination of *hie* and (*to*) *fela* seems to be permissible, at least if we may trust the analogy of *fea(we)* and *sume*. It is further to be understood that *leode* is not genitive singular (Grein; Kluge, *loc. cit.*; Holder), but accusative plural, parallel with *hie*; cf. *Norðenum . . . anra gehwylcum* (ll. 783; 767 f., 2124 f., etc.). See *Modern Philology*, III, 255.

756. *ne wæs his drohtoð þær, | swylce he on ealderdagum ær gemette.* Trautmann wishes to change *swylce* to *swylcne*. But what is to be done with *swylce* in passages like the following: *we ne magon ælc þing ongitan swylc swylce hit bið* (*Boeth.*, 147, 16); *hu œnig mon mehte swelce burg gewyrcan swele sio wæs* (*Oros.*, 74, 8)?⁴

765. *þæt (bæt he MS) wæs geocor sið, | þæt se harmscaba to Heorute ateah.* Contrary to the usual view of the construction, I hold that *þæt* in l. 766 is the ordinary conjunction and *ateon* used intransitively, just as *teon* in several undoubted cases. This intercalated observation of the author's is strongly suggestive of instances like *ne wæs þæt forma sið, | þæt he Hroðgares ham gesohte* (ll. 716, 1463 f., 1527 f., 2625 ff.); *ne wæs þæt eðe sið, | þæt . . .* (l. 2586; cf. ll. 2532 ff.).

779. *þæt hit a mid gemete manna œnig . . . tobrecan meahte.* I cannot believe in the customary rendering of *mid gemete*, "with strength" (Kemble, Ettmüller, Arnold, Garnett, Earle, L. Hall, Cl. Hall, Tinker), still less in Trautmann's "correc-

¹ Cf. Rieger, *loc. cit.*, 404; Sievers, *Beitr.*, X, *passim*; Kaluza, *Altengl. Vers.*, I, 49; Cremer, *Metr. u. sprachl. Untersuchung der ae. Gedichte Andreas, Guðlac, etc.*, 3; Fuhr, *Metrik des westgerman. Allitterationsverses*, 47 f.

² [No need of *gude* (Trautmann's edition=Thorpe), *guda*, Holthausen, *Anglia-Beiblatt*, XV, 177].

³ Kluge, *Beitr.*, IX, 189.

⁴ Boeth., 63, 22; 64, 6; Ben. R. 12. 20 f.; Ælfric, *Saints*, III, 503, etc., etc.; cf. *Sprachsch.*, II, 514 f.

tion," *mægenelne*. In view of *nænige gemete* = *nullo modo* (*Bede*, 76, 22; *Dial. Gr.* 215, 23), *ealle gemete* = *omnimodo* (*Bede*, 86, 8), *to hwylcum gemete* (*Blickl. Hom.* 5, 7; *ibid.*, 237, 12), and the well-substantiated adverbial use of *mid gemete* (Hittle, 61), it is quite reasonable to credit *mid gemete* with the sense of "in any wise," as Thorpe translated it long ago.

Other examples of *mid* with modal function are the (semi-adverbial) phrases *mid rihte* (l. 2056), *mid geweoldum* (l. 2222), *mid elne* (l. 1493), *mid arstafum* (l. 317). See Hittle, 53ff.

816. *him on eaxle wearð | syndolh sweotol*. Not "there was on his shoulder an evident wound," (Garnett, Ettmüller), but *wearð sweotol* is = "became visible."

833. *pæt wæs tacen sweotol*, "that was clearly proved."¹

868. *guma gilphlæden*. As (se) *gylpheornest(a)* (*Bede* 92, 4) (=gloriae cupidissimus) is = *lofgeornost* (*Beow.*, 3183), and *gilp* appears in tautological combination with *lof* in *Cur. P.*, 209, 18, *gilphlæden* may be considered equivalent to (a hypothetical) *lofhlæden*, "covered with glory," "renowned." Cf. also *lofsalig*, *Heliand*, 176.

871. *secg eft ongan*. . . . Ten Brink (61) derives from the use of *eft* an argument for his pet theory of the origin of our *Beowulf*, but overlooks—what seems to have been quite generally overlooked—that this *eft* (= *item [rursum]*, not *denuo*²) properly goes with *hwilum* in l. 867 (there should be no period or colon before *secg*), and that *hwilum* . . . *eft* corresponds with *hwilum* in l. 864. The case is parallel to ll. 2107–11: *hwilum* . . . *hwilum* . . . *hwilum* . . . *hwilum* . . . *eft*; *Guðl.*, 879–82: *hwilum* . . . *hwilum* . . . *eft* . . . *hwilum* . . . *eft*.³ The only peculiarity of the passage in question is the insertion of some descriptive and explanatory matter (epithets, relative clause, parenthetical clause) between *cyninges þegn* and *secg*, but this cannot be considered out of keeping with the OE. style.

We can do without Rieger's emendation⁴ *secgan*, not to mention Trautmann's innovations.

¹ See *Anglia*, XXV, 280, for analogous expressions in OE. prose.

² See *Sprachsch.*

³ *Met. Boeth.*, 20, 214 f.; cf. *Riddl.*, 4, 36–38; *Bede*, 54, 17.

⁴ Cf. Bugge, *Z. f. d. P.*, IV, 203.

898–901. The punctuation is wrong in all editions and translations, except Heyne, 4, Simons, and Ettmüller (the latter, however, fails to place l. 900 *b* in parenthesis), although Müllenhoff (p. 119) gave the correct explanation many years since:¹ *se wæs wreccena wide mærost . . . , siððan Heremodes hild swedrode.* Similar constructions are found in *Brunanb.*, 65ff.: *ne wearð wæl mare . . . folces gefyllled . . . sippán eastqn hidér | Engle and Seaxe upp becomon. Wids.*, 45ff., *Hroþwulf and Hroðgar heoldon lengest | sibbe ætsomne suhtorfædran, | sippán hy forwræcon Wicinga cynn.* *Beow.*, 1197 ff.

992. *fela þæra wæs, | wera ond wifa.* The indispensable comma after *wæs* is lacking in nearly all editions.

1005. *genyded* belongs in the numerous class of useless emendations. *genydde . . . stowe* is simply “the place forced upon him;” cf. *benda onlysed | nípum genedde* (MS *geneðde*), *Crist* (ll. 68 f.). Nor is the insertion of *gehwyle* or *æghwylc* at all mandatory, since a pronominal subject is easily supplied from ll. 1002f., just as in ll. 1290f. . . . *þa hine se broga angeat.*² The genitives in ll. 1004 ff. depend on *gearwe stowe*; cf. *Hel.*, 4450, *thar is lif euiig, | gigareuuuid Godes riki godaro thiado.*

1224. *wes, þenden þu lifige, | æfelung, eadig.* Wyatt contends in vain against this punctuation of Wülker’s (used also by Ettmüller and Grein, 2). The adjective is to be taken predicatively, as in l. 407: *wæs þu, Hroðgar, hal;* l. 980: *ða wæs swigra secg sunu Eclafes* (not = “a silenter man was then the son of Ecglafl,” Earle); ll. 816f., 805ff., 2309.

1240. *beorscealca sum.* Not “a certain beer-servant” (Garnett, and similarly others), but “many a one of the beer-drinkers.” It is true, only one man is actually killed, but the fate was, as it were, hanging over them all; cf. also ll. 1234f. On a previous occasion all men present were in expectation of death (ll. 691ff.), and Grendel intended to entrap many a one, *sumne besyrwan* (l. 713). The collective force of the singular *sum* (by litotes, perhaps) may be compared to the same use of nouns (ll. 6, 795, 1243ff., 1110ff., 297, 492), cf. *Modern Philology*, III, 249 f.

¹ Cf. Bieger, *loc. cit.*, p. 399, n. 2; Sievers, *Beowulf und Saxo*, 179.

² See Pogatscher, *Anglia*, XXIII, 23, 296 f.

1246. *wæs þeaw hyra, | þæt hie oft wæron an wig gearwe.* A similar redundancy of phrase is noticed in *Dial. Gr.*, 194, 25: *se wæs gewunod, þæt he oft . . . ; Bede, 446, 9: be þam bysceope oft gewunelice sæde . . . ; ibid., 188, 30; cf. B., 164f.: fela . . . oft. an wig gearwe* is preferable to *ānwiggearwe* (Ettmüller,¹ Grein, 2; presumably Wülker), *an(d)wiggearwe* (Cosijn,² Holder, Holthausen),³ since these compounds are rather doubtful as to formation, and the former also as to sense, but *gearu* with *on* (*in*) is found in other places, as *on bæl gearu* (B., 1109), *in gefeoht gearo* (*Cræft.*, 90); *El.*, 222f., *Guðl.*, 1148.⁴ Moreover it appears especially adapted to the context, since it seems to denote primarily “in suitable condition for,” or “ready to go (on a journey),” not “prepared in mind,” “willing.” (*bæles gearu* would have been impossible.) That l. 1247a is an impossible specimen of type A3 has not been proved.

1519. *mægenræs forgeaf | hildebille.* Literally “he gave a mighty impetus to his battle-sword,” not “he gave a strong stroke with his battle-bill,” as rendered by Garnett and (with little variations) the other translators.

1530. *mæg Hylaces.* Normalized to *Hygelaces* (*Higelaces*) in all editions, except H.-Socin, 6, 7, whereby an interesting feature of the MS is destroyed. *Hylaces* is from *Hyglaces* (not *Hygelaces*⁵), as *oferhyda* (l. 1760) from *oferhygda*, *wonhydum* (l. 434) from *wonhygdom*. Also *Wilaf* (l. 2852) has been “corrected” to *Wiglaf* in all editions except Grein, 2; Holder, 2; Socin, 6, 7.⁶

1550. *Hæfde ða forsiðod sunu Ecgþeowes | under gynne grund.* *gynne grund* is not “sea-bottom,” “abyss” (Kemble, Grein, 2, Socin, Arnold, Earle, L. Hall, Cl. Hall, Tinker), but, like *eormengrund*, unquestionably “earth,” Cf. Bode, *Kenningar*, 66.

1604. *wiston ond ne wendon.* The explanation of *wiston* as = *wiscton*,⁷ which is still rejected by Wyatt and Cl. Hall, receives additional support from the formula-like character of the combination *wyscan* (*willan*) *ond wenan*. Thus *wyscað ond wenab* (*Guðl.*, 47); *wendun ge ond woldun* (*ibid.*, 635; *Andr.*, 1072); *woldon ond wendon* (*Bede*, 308, 11).

¹Scop., Ed. ²Beitr., VIII, 570. ³Also *Anglia-Beibl.*, IV, 35. ⁴See also L. Hall's note

⁶Sievers, *Beitr.*, X, 463.

⁶See Balbring, §530.

⁷See Cosijn, *Beitr.*, VIII, 571.

1634. *cyningbalde men*. Bugge: *cyningholde*. Grein (Ten Brink, 82), Cosijn: *cynebalde*. But if *cynebald* is matched by *cyneroft* (Cosijn), *cyningbald* is equally good as *bregorof* (l. 1925).

1665. *þa me sæl ageald* is a formula which Grein, 1 mutilated by substituting *hie* for *me*. Cf. *Gen.*, 2008: *þa sæl ageald*; *B.*, 2690: *þa him rum* ("opportunity," not "space") *ageald*; *Mald.*, 121: *þa he byre hæfde*.

1688ff. Blackburn¹ revives Ettmüller's theory that "the passage, before it was Christianized, contained an allusion to the Northern tale of the war of the gods with the giants." This seems to me unproven and improbable. Are not the giants the same as those of l. 113, and is not the whole passage merely an amplified version of the brief allusion of ll. 113f. (*swylce gigantas, þa wið Gode wunnon | lange þrage, he him ðæs lean forgeald*)? There is no need to look for any other source than Genesis, chaps. 6 and 7 (or some apocryphal account derived from it), especially 6:4 ("gigantes autem erant super terram in diebus illis isti sunt potentes a saeculo viri famosi"), 5-7; 7:17, 21.

1705. *eal þu hit geþyldum healdest, | mægen mid modes snyttrum*. Brooke's translation,² "thou holdest thy fame with patience, and thy might with prudence of mind," ignores the phrasal character ("distribution") of *eal mægen mid modes snyttrum*. Cf. *eall wongas ond wicstede* (l. 2461), and Sievers' note on *Hel.*, 40; also *æghwæþres worda ond worca* (ll. 287, 1043ff.).

geþyldum is not "with patience" (Kemble, Thorpe, Grein, Arnold, Garnett, Brooke, Morris-Wyatt, Tinker), but "steadily." Cf. *Cræft.*, 79: *sum geþyld hafað, | fæstgongel ferð*. The dative plural is used adverbially like *willum* (l. 1821), *lustum* (l. 1653), *listum* (l. 781), *searwum* (l. 2764), *snyttrum* (l. 872), *estum* (l. 2378), *dreamum* (l. 99), *þeawum* (l. 2144), *arum* (l. 296), *þrymmum* (l. 235), *strengum* (l. 3117), *unwearnum* (l. 741), *fyrenum* (l. 2441; not "wickedly," "with treachery" in this place, as it is commonly rendered, but "exceedingly,"³ "greatly"),

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 218.

² *Early English Literature*, 19.

³ Nor is *fyrendearf* (l. 14) = "Elend durch feindliche Nachstellungen" (Heyne-Socin), but "great distress."

invitpancum (l. 749; cf. *El.*, 308; *Andr.*, 559; *purh invitpanc*, *Andr.*, 670; *mid his hetepancum*, *B.*, 475).

1728ff. Whatever the meaning of *lufan* may be (Müllenhoff, 131; Sarrazin;¹ Cosijn; cf. Thiele² on *lufen*), the analogy of another passage, ll. 2885 ff., should be taken note of. Cf. the parallel terms *lufan*, *on eple eorþan wynne, hleoburh wera, side rice* (1728ff.) and *eðelwyn, lufen, londriht* (2885f.). Also *Hel.*, 3302 ff., may be compared: *thes odagan mannes the her al habad | giuuendid an thene uueroldscat uilleon sinen, | modgithahti.*

1807ff. See Müllenhoff, 131f; Hornburg, 29; Heinzel,³ Schneider,⁴ Schröer,⁵ Jellinek-Kraus⁶. "Than the brave son of Ecglaſ had Hrunting brought (cf. ll. 1023f.), bade [him] take his sword, the precious weapon; he [i. e., Beowulf] thanked him for that gift, said he considered that war-friend good, etc." Just a word of comment. The subject of l. 1810 (*cwæð*) must be the same as that of l. 1809 (for the introduction of indirect speech by *cwæð* following a more general preliminary announcement, see ll. 2156 ff., 2937 ff., 3179 ff., 856 f., 90ff., cf. *Modern Philology*, III, 245); that the sword praised in ll. 1810ff. should be that of Beowulf (ll. 1488 ff.) is much less likely than that Hrunting is meant, which had been really tried in the battle; besides, the expression *pæs leanes* (with definite article) naturally refers to the *sweord* mentioned before. The change of the subject (from Unferð to Beowulf) in l. 1809 is not more violent than some instances in the story of Cynewulf and Cyneheard, *O.E. Chron.*, 755 A. D.; the omission of the pronominal subject, like that of the object in l. 1808, needs no further defense. The fact that Hrunting had been restored to Unferð has been passed over as irrelevant; but the presentation of a parting gift (cf. ll. 1866 ff.) to the hero is properly dwelt upon with some emphasis. *lean* is "gift" (Heinzel; Karsten,⁷ though probably with the subaudition of "present given in appreciation of services rendered" (to the

¹ *Beowulf-Studien*, 104.

² *Konsonantische Suffixe*, 78.

³ *Anz. f. d. A.*, X, 224; XV, 192.

⁴ *Der Kampf mit Grendels Mutter*, 21f. (!)

⁵ *Anglia*, XIII, 337 ff.

⁶ *Z. f. d. A.*, XXXV, 279 ff.

⁷ *Engl. Stud.*, XVII, 420.

Danes). (A more general sense than "reward" seems to attach also to *med* in l. 1178).

It cannot be denied that the interpretation of the whole passage would be a good deal simpler, if it could be so construed as to refer to Beowulf's returning Hrunting to its owner. But it is doubtful if the meaning of the *lean* could be sufficiently stretched to permit this. As soon as we change the form *leanes*, we face other objections.

1864. *ge wið feond ge wið freond fæste geworhte*. See *Aant.*; further Ælfric, *Saints* XXXI, 307: *mislice geworhtne*; Ælfric, *Gen.*, 31, 5: *ðæt he nys swa wel wið me geworht swa he wæs gyrsstandæg*.

1903. In favor of Rieger's *gewat him on naca* (MS *nacan*) we may cite *Brunanb.*, 35: *cread cnear on flot*; also *Beow.*, 217: *gewat þa ofer wægholm winde gefyset*; cf. *Hel.*, 2265: *thie naco furthor screð(C)*. Socin's objection is to be met by the consideration that *on* may well be understood as *on wæter*, especially as it is immediately followed by *drefan deop wæter*.

1968. *bona* is not "enemy,"¹ but "slayer," though in this case Hygelac has performed the deed only by proxy.² *bona Ongen-beoēs* is curiously suggestive of the surnames *Hundingsbani*, *Fáfnisbani* (cf. *Ísungs bani*, *Helgakv. Hund.*, I, 20).

1978 f. Without a single exception, the editors and translators make *mandryhten* nominative (*syððan mandryhten . . . holdne gegrette*). But is it not more natural to take it as accusative: "after he (Beowulf) had greeted his gracious lord"? It is Beowulf's part to greet the king in a solemn address (*meaglum wordum*). See ll. 407 ff.³

2018. For *bædde*, which is in fact unintelligible, *bælde* may be hazarded as a possible and better reading: *bælde byre geonge, oft hio beahwriðan | secge [sealde], ær hie to setle geong*. A similar use of this verb is seen in ll. 1093 f. (*Folcwaldan sunu . . . Dene weorpode, . . . hringum wenede, | efne swa swide sincgestreonum | fættan goldes,) swa he Fresena cyn on beorsele byldan wolde*.

¹ Heinzel, *Anz. f. d. A.*, XV, 192.

² See Earle's note, which is sufficient to dispel the doubts of Schemann, 74.

³ [The correct translation is now found in Trautmann's edition.]

2041. *ponne cwið æt beore, se ðe beah gesyhd.* To an unprejudiced reader *beah* refers to a sword (cf. l. 2047, *meaht ðu, min wine, mece geasnawan*), though it has often been understood as “ring,” “collar.” The conjectures of Grein, 1 (*bill?*), and Bugge (*ba*) are not needed, if we take *beag* in the more general sense of “ornament,” “precious thing.” *beagas* = “treasure,” “things of value” is well known (see, e. g., ll. 523, 2635; 80 [*beagas* parallel with *sine*]), and *beaggifa* is = *sincgifa, maðum-gifa, hordweard.* If, then, *maðum*, “treasure,” “anything precious,” is applied to a sword (see l. 1528 and especially l. 2055), why not *beag*?

A similar extension of meaning is seen in *headoreaf* (401), literally *vestis bellica* (Grein), but here “armor” in general, used with reference to shields and spears (ll. 397 f.). Cf. Cosijn,¹ who speaks, however, too severely of a “logische fout.”

2152. *Het ða in beran eafor heafodsegn.* Kluge; Holder, 1; Köppel:² *ealdor.* Grein; Heyne, 1, 2, 3; Wülker;³ Arnold; Heinzel;⁴ Cosijn; Holthausen: *eaforheafodsegn.* Heyne, 4; H. Socin, 5; Wyatt: *eafor, heafodsegn.* H. Socin, 6, 7; Holder, 2: *eafor heafodsegn.* It seems to me that Rieger’s aversion to *decomposita* was entirely justified, and that *eafor heafodsegn* (which must, of course, be identical with the *segn gylden* of l. 1021) is an example of asyndetic collocation—which even Grein⁵ considered possible—like *wudu wælsceaftas* (l. 398), *ides aglæcwif* (l. 1259), etc.⁶ As to this *eafor*, might it not denote a “boar banner,” similar to the Danish and Norse “raven banners” (also *OE. Chron.*, 878 A. D.)?⁷

2156. *sume worde het, | þæt ic his ærest ðe est gesægde, | cwæð, þæt hyt hæfde Hiorogar cyning, | leod Scyldunga, lange hwile; | no ðy cer suna sinum syllan wolde . . .* Discussed by Rieger, Schröer,⁸ L. Hall. Considering the regular way of introducing indirect speech,⁹ it appears that *þæt ic his ærest ðe est gesægde* must be a general statement of the same import as that of the following lines introduced by *cwæð*. *est* may be “bequest,”

¹ *Aant.*

² *Eng. Stud.*, XIII, 468.

⁶ Sievers, *Beitr.*, IX, 137; note on *Hel.*, 20.

³ Also *Anglia*, VIII, *Anz.*, 169.

⁷ Cf. Lehmann, *Brünne und Helm*, 30.

⁴ *Anz. f. d. A.*, XV, 190.

⁸ *Anglia*, XIII, 342 f.

⁵ *Sprachsch.*, I, 235.

⁹ See note on ll. 1807 ff.

"bequeathing" (cf. *syllan* [l. 2160], almost = *unnan*), and *his est* may express "its transmission," so that the meaning of l. 2157 would ultimately come near to Grein's old rendering, "that I of the pedigree thereof should report to thee" (Earle). The use of the adverb *ærest* is perhaps to be compared to that of *æfter* (ll. 12, 2731).¹

2222. *Nealles mid geweoldum wyrmhorda cræft | sylfes willum, se ðe him sare gesceod.*—Might it not be *wyrmhord* *astread?* *strudan* with the object *hord* occurs in l. 3126; *Riddl.*, 54, 10 f. The subject is the same as the *þ[egn] nathwylces | hæleða bearna* (2224).²

2287. *wroht wæs geniwad.* Not "strife was renewed," but (literally) "strife (quarrel) arose which previously did not exist." The same function of *niwian* should be recognized in *Exod.*, 35; cf. *nive, B.*, 783.

2330. *ofer ealde riht.* Socin, followed by Wyatt, persists in talking of "the ten commandments" in this place;³ and Holder, Garnett, L. Hall, and Tinker consider *riht* a plural form,⁴ whereas it is simply accusative singular, preceded by the weak adjective (Barnouw, 51), "contrary to old law." Cf. Ags. Laws, *Hloðh. & Eadr.*, 12, *an eald riht*.

2448. *ond he him helpan ne mæg | eald ond infrod ænige gefremman.* Before Kock's explanation can be allowed, an authentic case of *ænige* = *ænige þinga* should be produced. Until then, Sievers' eminently plausible comment on *helpan*⁵ will stand.

2527. *ic eom on mode from, | þæt ic wið þone guðflogan gylp ofersitte.* The loose use of *þæt* is by no means exceptional, so that the conjectural *þæs* (Sievers, Holthausen)⁶ is to be rejected. The conjunction *þæt* is found to denote the relation between two facts in the vaguest possible manner; as Ten Brink⁷ has pointed out, it may even be translated by *indem*.⁸ Thus *sumne Geata leod of flanbogan feores getwæfde, | þæt him on aldre*

¹ Note on l. 12.

² [Trautmann in his edition has proposed the same emendation.]

³ Cf. Lichtenheld, *Z. f. d. A.*, XVI, 371.

⁴ Cf. Koehler, *Germania*, XIII, 143.

⁵ *Z. f. d. P.*, XXI, 357.

⁶ Also *Anglia-Beibl.*, IV, 35.

⁷ Pauls *Grdr.* I, II, 526.

⁸ Cf. Tolman, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, III, 35.

stod | herestræl hearda (ll. 1432, 2830, 2577); (*ac me geude ylda Waldend, | þæt ic . . . geseah . . . sword . . .*) *þæt ic ðy wæpne gebræd* (l. 1664). Even the notorious passage, ll. 2697–2702, branded by Rieger as an “ungeheuerliches Satzgeschiebe,” may safely be left alone; the lines *ac sio hand gebarn | modiges mannes, þær he his mæges* (em.) *healp, | þæt he þone niðgæst niðor hwene sloh* would not profit in the least by changing *þæt* to *þa* (Thorpe, Rieger).¹

2570 ff. The clause *ðær he by fyrste forman dogore | wealdan moste*, which looks like an individualized variety of the formula *gif he (ic) wealdan mot*, is to be interpreted with reference to the preceding remark: *lessan hwile . . . þonne his myne sohte*. “The shield gave good protection to the life and body of the illustrious lord for a shorter time than his heart desired, if he might (control, or) have controlled the (allotted) space of time (on the first day, i. e.) for the first time in his life, as fate did not assign to him glory in battle.” The last clause is of a similar nature to *swa hyt no sceolde* (l. 2585). For the *ðær*-clause, cf. *Jul.*, 570, *El.*, 979.

2623. *geaf him ða mid Geatum guðgewæda, | æghwæs unrim*. *guðgewæda* is commonly held to be genitive plural, but I suspect it is = the normal form *guðgewædu*, accusative plural, with *æghwæs unrim* added appositively, as ll. 3134 f., *wunden gold . . . , æghwæs unrim*. See note on l. 694. Ettmüller seems to be the only one who ever disliked this genitive, for in the *Scopas* he printed *guðgewædu*, though in the Edition he returned to the ordinary interpretation.

2684b–2686. More to the point than Jellinek-Kraus’s rationalistic comment² on *se ðe meca gehwane . . . swenge ofersohte* would have been a reference to Saxo, Book IV (Holder, p. 115): “Oblatis compluribus [gladiis], Vffo manu capulum stringens, frust<r>atim singulos agitando comminuit, nec erat quisquam ex eis tanti rigoris gladius, quem non ad prime concussionis motum crebra parcium fraccione dissolueret.” See Jantzen’s note.³ Cf.

¹ *Bede*, 126, 6, *mid worde his gebeda won, þæt he forebingode*; *ibid.*, 128, 9.

² *Z. f. d. A.*, XXXV, 269.

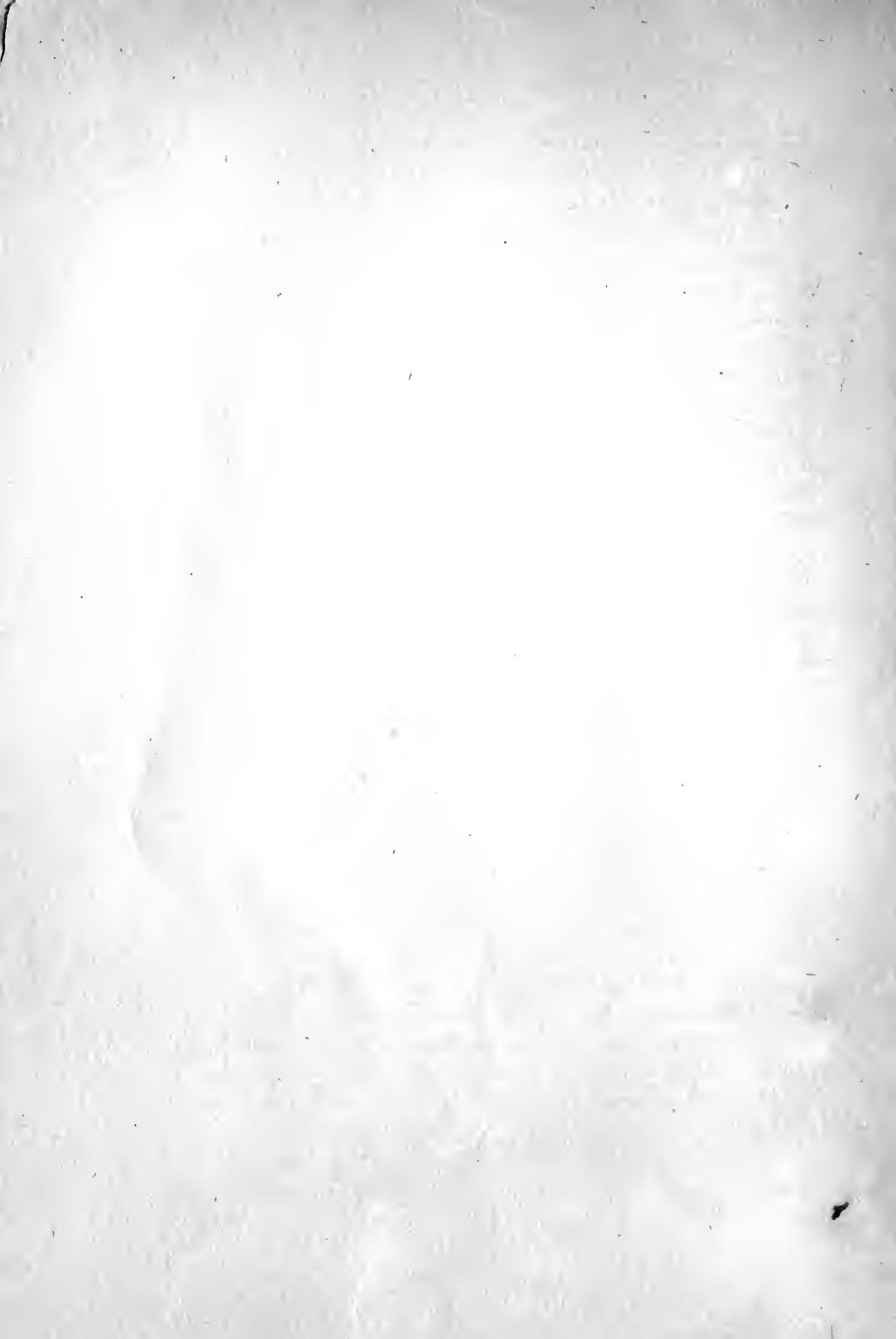
³ [Also Socin, 7, adds a reference to this passage.]

also Heinzel, *Sitz. Ber. der Akad. d. Wiss., Wien, Phil.-hist. Cl.*, XCVII, 155; *Volsunga Saga*, chaps. 15, 35; Saxo, Book II (Holder, p. 44): *manus aemula ferri | gestamen studeat condecorare suum.*

2836. *Huru þæt on lande lyt manna ðah | mægenagendra þæt he wið attorsceaðan oreðe geræsde* These lines, meant in commendation of the unique heroism of Beowulf, are in need of elucidation. "This indeed has prospered with few men" is the received translation, which presupposes the unsubstantiated use of *lyt* as dative, for the construction of *ðeon* with accusative *lyt* (Socin) is not to be thought of. I prefer to make *lyt*, "few men"—i. e., "no one"—the subject, and to take *ðeon* in the sense of "attain," "achieve," as it is found, e. g., in *Bede*, 234, 10, *æfter fæce gehabah* (varr. *geðeah*), *þæt hine mon to mæssepreoste gehalgode*, and other passages cited in *Anglia*, XXVII, 282; also *Gnom. Cott.*, 44 f.

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CHAUCER'S "LITEL CLERGEON"

Mediaeval writers were too much occupied for the most part, with themes of high romance and the pageantry of kings to stoop to such trivial matters as village schools. All the more welcome, therefore, is the glimpse of the fourteenth-century schoolboy which Chaucer gives us in the *Prioresses Tale*. Though the "litel scole" in which the seven-year-old martyr learned his "prymer" is sketched with few strokes, the outlines of the picture are clear. Chaucer, it is true, has chosen to place the scene of his story "in Asie, in a greet citee," but the school which he describes is thoroughly English.

The school attended by the clergeon is of the type in which the great majority of the English lads of Chaucer's time gained such education as they possessed. It was not one of the famous schools maintained by some of the great monasteries or cathedrals; there is as background to the picture no massive abbey or dim Gothic aisle. This school plainly was of a humbler sort; instead of adjoining some church or abbey, it was situated in the least desirable part of the town, close by the Jewish quarter:

A litel scole of Cristen folk ther stood
Doun at the ferther ende, in which ther were
Children an heep, yeomen of Cristen blood,
That lerned in that scole yeer by yere
Swich maner doctrine as men vsed there,
This is to seyn, to singen and to rede,
As smale children doon in hir childhede.
Among thise children was a widwes sone,
A litel clergeon, seuen yeer of age,
That day by day to scole was his wone.

It is difficult to see how a village school could have been more explicitly indicated, yet Professor Skeat seems to regard it as merely a school for choir-boys. "Clergeon," he tells us in his note on this passage, is "not a 'young clerk' merely, as Tyrwhitt says, but a happily chosen word implying that he was a chorister as well. . . . It means therefore 'a chorister-boy.'" Professor

Skeat's authority as a Chaucerian commentator is such that his opinion in this matter has been accepted by scholars without question.

Nevertheless, when one examines the account which Chaucer gives, difficulties in the way of regarding the clergeon as a chorister-boy at once present themselves. In the first place, on the very face of the narrative, the clergeon does not join with his companions in the school in singing the *Alma redemptoris*, as a chorister certainly should, but instead he listens to the anthem as it was sung by the others:

This litel child his litel book lerninge,
As he sat in the scole at his pryme,
He *Alma redemptoris* herde singe,
As children lerned hir antiphoner;
And, as he dorste, he drough hym ner and ner,
And herkned ay the wordes and the note,
Til he the firste vers coude al by rote.

I

But "clergeon," according to Professor Skeat, necessarily means chorister. In support of this definition he appeals to Randle Cotgrave's *French-English Dictionary*: "And Cotgrave has—'Clergeon, a singing man or Quirester in a Queer.'" Unfortunately, however, in this quotation Professor Skeat has omitted an essential part of Cotgrave's definition. Two forms of the word are registered by Cotgrave, and are defined as follows:

Clergeau: A peticl Clarke, vnder Clarke, or young Clarke.

Clergeon: as Clergeau; or a singing man, or Quirester, in a Queere.

By his omission of the three words which I have italicized above, Professor Skeat ignores the fact that "clergeon" is here recognized, first of all, as a synonym of "clergeau." The effect of this oversight is to restrict Cotgrave's definition of the word to what is actually the second meaning given.

Similarly in the *New English Dictionary* the first meaning given for our word is not "chorister," but "young clerk."¹ In Matzner's *Middle-English Dictionary*, on the other hand,

¹The definition in the *New English Dictionary* runs as follows: "Clergion, A young clerk or member of a clerical order; a chorister or choir-boy, also (as in Fr.) a term of depreciation = petty clerk."

*Chorknabe*¹ stands as the first definition of "clergeon." But, besides the passage in Chaucer, Mätzner cites only two instances of the word—one in the *Confessio Amantis*, the other in Robert of Brunne's translation of Langtoft's *Chronicle*—neither of which carries this distinctive meaning. The clergeon in Gower's story² is afterward referred to as a "yonge cleric"³ or simply as a "clerc;"⁴ nothing is said anywhere of his employment as a chorister. In the translation of Langtoft⁵ "clergeon" is a contemptuous diminutive applied by King Henry to Beket, equivalent to "petty clerk."

Indeed, I have been unable to find a single case in Middle English where "clergeon" is used with the definite meaning "choir-boy."⁶ In the anonymous rhyming chronicle (about 1325 A. D.), printed in Ritson's collection, we read that King Alfred, dividing his income among various charities, sent "the thridde to povre cleregouns."⁷ When one bears in mind the multitude of references in mediæval documents to the bestowal of alms *pauperibus scolaribus*, it seems altogether likely that "povre cleregouns" is here to be regarded as an equivalent phrase.

Our word occurs again, with slightly varied spelling, in *Piers Plowman*. The poet tells us that, at the close of his interview with Dame Scripture,

She called [to ken] me a cleroun that hyȝte

Omnia-probate, a pore thing with-alle.

"Thou shalt wende with Wil," quod she, "whiles that him lykyth,

Til ȝe come to the burghes *quod-bonum-est-tenete!*"⁸

Here also Professor Skeat insists in his glossary upon the definite meaning "chorister." But is any reason apparent why Dame Scripture should have been at special pains to select a choir-boy as the poet's guide? Would not any young scholar have done as well?⁹

¹ "Chorknabe, kleiner Priester, auch verächtliche Bezeichnung eines Priesters."

² *Conf. Am.*, II, vs. 2850. ³ *Ibid.*, vs. 2863. ⁴ Vss. 2855, 2885. ⁵ Ed. Hearne, p. 131.

⁶ A sentence in the *Testament of Love* (*Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. 51, l. 62): "At masse serveth but a clergion," may at first sight seem to present an exception to this statement. The context, however, makes it clear that here, too, we have to do with a young clerk rather than a choir-boy. Usk is lamenting prevalent abuses in the church: through simony and chicanery benefices are held by unworthy persons, and as a consequence divine service suffers; young, immature clerks officiate at the mass. But surely chorister-boys are out of the question here.

⁷ Ritson, *Ancient Eng. Metr. Rom.*, Vol. II, p. 292. ⁸ A-Text, XII, vss. 49-52.

⁹ Besides, as Professor Kittredge points out to me, *Omnia-probate* is obviously the name of a cleric, not of a singing-man.

Nor do the instances of "clergeon" in Old French favor the restriction of the word to the special meaning "chorister." In Villon's *Grand Testament* (1461 A. D.) there is a bequest *a mes povres clergeons.*¹ Here, as in Ritson's *Chronicle*, this phrase suggests merely "poor scholars," and I note that P. Lacroix, in the glossary of his edition of the *Grand Testament*, defines the word simply "petit cleric."

The most extended reference to the clergeon which I have found occurs in Gower's *Mirour de l'Omme*. In the course of his moral exhortations to the several ecclesiastical orders, Gower devotes almost fifty lines to "l'estat des Clergons."² He addresses himself primarily to those among them who are looking forward to holy orders. In dwelling on their duties he holds himself provokingly aloof from explicit details which might have added greatly to our information, but he makes it clear that he is thinking of young clerks in general:

C'est doel, car du malvois enfant
Croist malvois homme, puis suiant
Du mal clergon mal prestre sourt.

And it is in this sense that Gower's editor, Mr. G. C. Macaulay, understands his use of the word; in his note on this paragraph Mr. Macaulay remarks: "The author is here dealing with young students, 'scolares.'"³

Finally, it may be noted that from the Old French *clergon* there developed a Latinized form, *clergonus*, which likewise appears to have been used in the general sense of "young clerk." Thus, *clergonus* is defined by DuCange as *junior clericus vel puer choralis*. It will be observed that the general meaning is given precedence.⁴ Moreover, there was in mediæval Latin a

¹ Stanza cxxi. This reference is cited by Godefroy, who, however, does not register exactly this form of the word. His definition is as follows: "*Clergel, -eau, -eault, cleregaut, petit cleric, enfant de chœur, écolier.*"

² Vss. 20785-832.

³ If there could be any doubt as to this interpretation of the passage in the *Mirour de l'Omme*, it would be removed by comparing a parallel passage in the *Vox Clamantis* (Lib. III, cap. xxviii). For Gower, with his habitual literary thrift, has repeated the substance, and even many of the phrases, of this paragraph in his Latin work. Here he is as explicit as could be desired:

*Nomine sub cleri cognouimus esse scolares,
Ecclesie plantas quos vocat ipse deus.*

⁴ Alongside *clergonus* the Latinization of the French form, there is also the med. Latin *clericio*. Between *clergonus* and *clericio* there is no clear distinction in meaning. DuCange

specific term, *chorista* (also spelled *corista*), which seems to have been employed wherever definite reference to choir-boys was intended, and which is met with everywhere in ecclesiastical documents.¹

To conclude, then, in both English and French "clergeon" was used in the general sense of "young clerk." It is a French diminutive² closely parallel to the Latin *clericulus*. This Latin diminutive, it is interesting to note, was frequently employed in the definite sense of "young scholar." For example, the Latin grammar of Alexander de Villa Dei, one of the famous textbooks in the grammar schools of the Middle Ages, begins:

Scribere clericulis paro doctrinale novellis.

I may refer also to a passage in the *Chronicon de Lanercost*, narrating the terrible fate which overtook some two hundred boys in the school at Hexham during Wallace's raid in 1296: "Aggregaverunt etiam turbam clericorum in scholas de Augustaldis, et, foribus oppilatis, ignem in massam illam Deo candidam imposuerunt."³ But it is time to turn back from this quest of the word to the *Prioresses Tale* itself. For we shall find, I think, that Chaucer has decided for us beyond a doubt the question whether our clergeon was a choir-boy or not.

In the first place, the crowd of children in attendance at this "litel scole" makes it clear that it was not a school of choristers. For even in the largest churches the number of choir-boys was scarcely ever above twelve. At Bridlington, Yorkshire, in 1450, a school of grammar and song was maintained for twelve choristers;⁴ at Ottery, Devonshire, Bishop Grandisson, founding the collegiate church of St. Mary in 1361, made provision for eight

defines the latter as, "Tonsura donatus, clericulus, Gall. clerc̄on." *Clerc̄on*, according to Sainte Palaye, is simply, *diminutif du clerc*. In Gautier de Coincy's version of the story told by the Prioress *clerc̄ons* or *clerc̄oncel* is the form used.

¹Cf. *Bp. Grandisson's Register*, 1332 (ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, Vol. II, p. 668); will of Thomas Beck, 1346 (*Testa. Eborac.*, Surtees Society, Vol. I, p. 24); *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, 1440 (ed. Bradshaw and Wordsworth, Vol. II, p. 362); Letters of Henry VIII, for the suppression of Cardinal Wolsey's College, 1526 (Rymer's *Fœdera*, ed. 1728, Vol. XIV, p. 161).

²Cf. the similar diminutive form "floroun" (*L. G. W.*, Prol. B, vs. 217).

³*Chronicon de Lanercost*, ed. J. Stevenson, Maitland Club, 1839, p. 174; cf. also Prynne's *Collections*, Vol. III, p. 542.

⁴*Rotul. Parl.*, Vol. V, p. 188.

choir-boys;¹ at Higham Ferrers, in the collegiate church founded by Archbishop Chichele in 1422, there were only six choir-boys;² at the Hospital of Holy Cross, Winchester, there were seven;³ and at the collegiate church of Holy Trinity, Stratford-on-Avon, there were but four.⁴

Even in the great cathedral churches the number of choir-boys was never large. At Lincoln in 1264, according to the statutes of Bishop Gravesend, there were only twelve;⁵ and in 1440 their number had not been increased.⁶ At Salisbury, which was distinguished throughout England for the elaborateness of its ritual, the number of choristers was fourteen.⁷ When we place beside these meager numbers the description of Chaucer's school, "in which ther were children an heep," the difference is obvious.

Finally, it may be pointed out that in the fourteenth-century choir-boys were kept under a discipline which nowhere appears in the *Prioresses Tale*. They lived together under the watchful eye of one of the clergy, in quarters provided for them within the church inclosure. They were not allowed to walk outside the grounds of the church, except two by two, and then only when accompanied by a guardian. Let us take the cathedral church at Lincoln as an example: In the statutes drawn up by Bishop Gravesend in 1264 we read:

Ordinacio puerorum de choro ecclesie Lincoln.

1. quod dicti pueri forent duodecim numero et de illis duodecim forent duo turribularii, et in una domo manerent et viverent communiter sub uno Magistro.⁸

In the revised statutes of 1440 further details are added:

De statu choristarum.

. . . ordinamus, statutum inmitantes bone memorie Ricardi Gravesende, ut duodecim choriste in domibus in clauso ad hoc constitutis simul

¹ *Bp. Grandisson's Register*, ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, Vol. II, p. 1228.

² John Bridge, *Hist. and Antiq. of Northamptonshire*, 1791, Vol. II, pp. 177, 178.

³ Warren, *St. Cross*, 1899.

⁴ Dugdale, *Antiq. of Warwickshire*, Vol. II, p. 692.

⁵ *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, ed. Bradshaw and Wordsworth, Part II, p. 162.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 362.

⁷ *Parlia. Papers*, 1867-68, XXVIII, Report Schools Inq. Com., Vol. XIV, p. 36.

⁸ *Lincoln Cath. Stat.*, Vol. II, p. 162.

vivant, sub perpetua custodia alicujus canonici residentis in ecclesia nostra. . . . Quociens vero supradicti pueri ad spaciatum vel solacium ire debent, pariter erunt et redeant sub ducatu alicujus maturi hominis ad hoc per custodem vel supervisorem assignati; nec puerili levitate sparsum evagentur in honestate.¹

Similar statutes existed at St. Paul's, London, at Wells, and doubtless in many other places. At Wells the directions as to the sleeping arrangements of the choristers are interesting; they were to sleep three in a bed, two younger lads ranged at either side of the bed, and between them an older boy lying with his head toward the foot-board.² Nor was this rigid discipline confined to the cathedral churches. With the numerous services which were held daily in the mediæval churches, it was a matter of no small importance that the boys of the choir should be on hand at the appointed hour. And experience no doubt had taught that to be sure of having your boy when you want him the best way is to keep him well in sight. The following regulations for the government of the four choir-boys at Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-on-Avon, were drawn up by the warden, Ralph Collingwood, in 1491. The quaintness of these rules makes it impossible for me to refrain from a somewhat lengthy quotation:

Which Choristers, by his said Ordination, should always come by two and two together into the Quire to Mattens and Vespers, on such days as the same were to be sung there, according to the Ordinale Sarum; and at their entrance into the Church, bowing their knees before the Crucifix, each of them say a Pater noster and an Ave.

And for their better regulation did he order and appoint; that they should sit quietly in the Quire, saying the Mattens and Vespers of our Lady distinctly, and afterwards be observant to the Offices of the Quire: that they should not be sent upon any occasion whatsoever into the town: that at Dinner and Supper times they should constantly be in the Colledge to wait at the Table: and to read upon the Bible or some other authentique book: that they should not come into the Buttry to draw beer for themselves or anybody else: that after Dinner they should go to the singing School: and that their Schoolmaster should be one of the Priests or Clerks appointed by the discretion of the Warden, being a man able to instruct them in singing to the Organ: as also that they should have one

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 362.

² Statutes of 1459, in H. E. Reynolds, *Wells Cathedral, Its Hist. and Statutes*, 1881, pp. clxxii-v.

Bed-chamber in the church, whereunto they were to repair in Winter time at 8 of the Clock, and in Summer at nine; in which lodging to be two Beds, wherein they were to sleep by couples; and that before they did put off their clothes they should all say the prayer of De Profundis with a loud voyce, with the prayers and orisons of the faithfull; and afterwards say thus, God have mercy of the soule of Rauf Colyngwode our Founder and Master Thomas Balshall a speciaall benefactor to the same.¹

Such was the daily life of the choir-boy. Our clergeon was none of these. The boys in Chaucer's school were day-scholars, coming to the school in the morning and returning to their homes at night. The school was not held in a church "close," nor is anything said to indicate that it was in any way connected with a church.

II

But if this was not a school of choristers, how does it happen that they were singing anthems? This question is easily answered when one understands that the fundamental purpose of the mediæval school was to train children for participation in the services of the church; for in these services music played an important part. Accordingly, instruction in singing was given, not only to the boys serving in the choir, or to those who were being educated for the priesthood, but also to the youth of the parish generally. An extract from the injunctions of Bishop Pontissera at the Diocesan Synod of Winchester in 1295 will make this clear.

Let rectors, vicars and parish priests see that the boys of their parishioners know the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and Angelic Salutation of the Virgin, and to sign themselves rightly with the sign of the cross; and the parents of boys should be induced to let their boys, after they know how to read the psalter, learn singing also; lest by chance after they have learned higher subjects they should be obliged to go back to this, or being ignorant of it, should be always less fit for divine service.²

This injunction, it will be observed, does not specify any particular class, but relates to the children of parishioners in general.

The obligation to train up the laity to bear their part in the church worship by instructing them as children in matters pertaining to the liturgy, was repeatedly emphasized in the papal

¹ Dugdale, *Antiq. of Warwickshire*, pp. 692, 693.

² A. F. Leach, *Hist. of Winchester Coll.*, 1900, p. 40. The italics are mine.

decretales. Thus in a decretal of Gregory IX (1227-41) it is enjoined—

That every priest who rules a congregation shall have a clerk who shall sing with him and read the Epistle and the Lesson, and who shall be able to keep a school, and shall admonish the parishioners to send their boys to the church to be taught in the faith, whom he shall instruct with all purity.

A marginal gloss in the edition of 1498 summarizes this injunction briefly: "Scolas: docendo pueros Psalterium et cantare."¹

It need give us no surprise, therefore, to find schoolboys learning song. Indeed, as I shall show later, the singing of anthems is mentioned more than once as a part of the prescribed exercises in the grammar schools of the fourteenth century. But first let us inquire particularly in regard to the anthem to which Chaucer refers—the *Alma Redemptoris*.

Professor Skeat at first² believed that the hymn referred to in the *Prioresses Tale* was that beginning:

Alma redemptoris mater,
quam de caelis misit pater.³

But in a later note⁴ he gives up this hymn in favor of the anthem in the *Roman Breviary* which begins:

Alma redemptoris mater, quae peruvia caeli.⁵

No one will question the correctness of this later opinion. But unfortunately in his note on the *Alma Redemptoris*, these two hymns are inextricably confused. Of the former hymn, taken from Mone, he says: "The first and last stanzas were sung in the Marian Antiphon, from the Saturday evening before the first Sunday in Advent to Candlemas Day." Then, speaking of the anthem in the *Roman Breviary*, he tells us that it "was said at

¹ *Greg. IX Decretales*, ed. Baptista de Tortis, Venice, 1498, p. 157 dors. This injunction did not originate with Pope Gregory; it is verbally identical with a canon of Bishop Burhardus of Worms (1000-1025 A. D.) quoted by Specht (*Gesch. des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschl.*, p. 39, n. 1).

² Oxford Chaucer, Vol. V, p. 177.

³ F. J. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, ed. 1856, Vol. II, p. 200; also printed by Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnolog.*, ed. 1856, Vol. V, p. 133.

⁴ Oxford Chaucer, Vol. III, p. 422. Clearly written later than the note in Vol. V.

⁵ *Rom. Breviary*, ed. 1588, p. 112; also in *Breviarium ad usum Sarum*, ed. Procter and Wordsworth, *Fasciculus III*, p. 783; the *York Breviary*, ed. S. W. Lawley, Surtees Society, Vol. II, p. 494; and in Daniel, *Thes. Hymnolog.*, Vol. II, p. 318.

compline from Advent eve to Candlemas day, like the other."¹ Surely a strange procedure to assign two anthems beginning with the same line to exactly the same place in the ritual of the church!

On turning to the pages of Mone, one finds that the difficulty into which Professor Skeat leads us is due to a misunderstanding. Mone says:

Der erste und letzte Vers dieses Liedes ist der Anfang und Schluss der Marianischen Antiphone, welche von der Vesper des Samstags vor dem ersten Adventssonntag bis zu Mariä Lichtmesse gesungen wird, also eine Ueberarbeitung des Kirchenliedes.

Vers of course cannot be translated "stanza," for which Mone invariably uses the word *Strophe*. Mone, in this sentence, merely calls attention to the fact that the first and last *lines* of the hymn which he prints are identical with the beginning and ending of the Marian antiphon (i. e., the one in the *Breviary*), and argues from this that his hymn is to be regarded as founded upon the older one in the *Breviary*. His meaning is unmistakable when one notes that the first and last lines of Mone's hymn are printed in italics. Furthermore, the title of the hymn in Mone's collection is not "*Antiphone beatae Mariae*," but instead "*Sequentia de beata Virgine*." It is clear, therefore, that Mone intends expressly to distinguish the hymn which he prints from the Marian antiphon with this beginning, and to identify the latter with the *Alma Redemptoris* of the *Breviary*.²

The *Alma Redemptoris* of the *Breviary*, then, is the only one which can be properly referred to as a Marian antiphon. This is important, for it enables us to identify references to this antiphon about which we should otherwise be in doubt.

In point of popularity few mediæval anthems surpassed this one sung by our clergeon. "Diese Antiphon," testifies Rambach, "gehört zu den vier in der katholischen Christenheit noch jetzt

¹ Oxford Chaucer, Vol. V, p. 177.

² If further proof were needed on this point, it would be supplied by examining Mone's notes on other hymns in his collection. Coming upon the phrases *sumens illud ave, Gabrielis ore* (Vol. II, pp. 217, 227), and *succurre cadenti* (II, p. 328), he points out that they have been borrowed from "the antiphon *Alma Redemptoris*." Inasmuch as these phrases occur only in the *Breviary* anthem, there can be no doubt to which *Alma Redemptoris* Mone applied this title.

allgemein gesungenen, und beliebten Antiphonen."¹ In two of the analogues of the *Prioresses Tale* (The Paris Beggar-Boy and Alfonsus of Lincoln) the *Alma Redemptoris* is expressly mentioned as the anthem sung by the young martyr. Also pointing toward the popularity of this hymn, is a bequest in the will of Robert Appleby, dated 1407, by which a yearly stipend is left to the Clerks' Gild at Lincoln so long as they should continue to sing the anthem *Alma Redemptoris* and pray for his soul.² In the two great breviaries of English liturgy—Sarum and York—this antiphon finds a regular place, as well as in other less influential rituals. And, finally, it is one of the mediæval hymns which was selected by Cardinal Newman for translation into English.³

As to the place of our anthem in the calendar of services, there seems to have been no general agreement. The *Roman Breviary*, as Professor Skeat has pointed out, provides for the singing of the *Alma Redemptoris* at compline from Advent eve to Candlemas Day. In the *Sarum Breviary* this anthem is twice mentioned. The first reference occurs in the order of services for the second Sunday after Easter:

Ad Vesperas—Hae sequentes Antiphonae dicuntur usque ad Ascensionem Domini, quando in introitu chori dicetur de sancta Maria, scilicet, Ant. Alma Redemptoris, etc.⁴

The other mention of this anthem occurs at the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (September 8):

Ad Secundas Vespertas—Hae sequentes Antiphonae dicuntur *ad Processionem* in redeundo, per Aestatem,⁵ quando de Sancta Maria

¹ *Anthologie christlicher Gesänge aus allen Jahrh. der Kirche*, Hammerich, 1817, quoted by Daniel, Vol. II, p. 318.

² *Early Lincoln Wills*, ed. A. Gibbons, p. 107.

³ "Kindly Mother of the Redeemer," *Tracts for the Times*, No. 75, 1836.

⁴ *Breviarium ad usum Sarum*, ed. F. Procter and Chr. Wordsworth, 1879-86, Fasciculus I, p. deccxci.

⁵ *Æstas*, as here used, does not refer to the three-month season of summer. Instead of dividing the year into four seasons, as did the *Roman Breviary*, the breviaries of England split the year into halves: *Pars Hyemalis* and *Pars Estivalis*. The former extended—roughly speaking—from November to May; the latter from May to November (cf. *Old Service-Books of English Church*, Wordsworth and Littlehales, 1904, p. 98). The present reference, then, seems to mean that the anthems mentioned were to be sung from the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin (September 8) until the close of the summer division.

dicitur Antiphona in introitu chori, nisi inter Octavas Assumptionis et Nativitatis beatae Mariae (August 22 to September 15):

Ant. 1. Ave regina.

Ant. 2. Alma Redemptoris mater quae peruvia caeli.¹

Somewhat different from these rules of the *Sarum Breviary* are the directions found in the *Crede Michi*, a fifteenth-century book compiled to assist the priests in finding their way through the labyrinth of services and feasts. In the *Crede Michi* the *Alma Redemptoris* is mentioned as one of the four antiphons to be sung from the Feast of the Holy Trinity (June 16) to Advent, "alternatim tam ad vesperas quam ante missam."² Once again our anthem is referred to in the *Crede Michi*, this time in connection with the services of Paschal Week.³

In the *York Breviary*, on the other hand, there is but slight mention of the *Alma Redemptoris*. The only reference which I find occurs in the services for the octave of the Assumption of the Virgin (August 22). Here it is directed that the anthem (which is given entire) shall be sung at vespers on the sixth day of this octave.⁴ In the book of offices of the Briggittine monastery of Sion, to which Professor Skeat has already called attention, the *Alma Redemptoris*, instead of being assigned to the services of any special season, was sung every Sunday throughout the year, at the close of compline, the last service of the day.⁵

In view of these conflicting usages, it is useless to undertake to determine the season of the year at which the events of the *Prioresses Tale* occurred by referring to the service-books. Moreover, the times at which this anthem was sung in the church

¹ The anthem is given in full, *Sarum Brev.*, Fasciculus III, p. 783.

² *The Tracts of Clement Maydeston*, ed. Chr. Wordsworth, Bradshaw Society, 1894, p. 66. The *Crede Michi* is ascribed to Clement Maydeston (†1456), but Wordsworth shows that the portions with which we are here concerned are the work of John Raynton, circa 1450-55 (pp. xxxv-vii).

³ "Verus ordo Antiphonarum de Sancta Maria
In hebdomada Pasce prima ant. *Alma Redemptoris mater.*
Secunda (*Ave regina*).
Tertia (*Anima mea*).
Quarta (*Beata Dei genetrix*).
Quinta (*Ant. Descendi*).
Sexta (*Ant. Speciosa*)."—*Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁴ *York Breviary*, ed. S. W. Lawley, Surtees Society, 1882, Vol. II, p. 494. This is a reprint of an edition of 1493, printed at Venice.

⁵ *Myroure of Oure Ladye*, ed. J. H. Blunt, E. E. T. S., 1873, p. 174.

service really have nothing to do with the case. These scholars, as I have shown, were not choir-boys; consequently this was not a choir rehearsal, and the time of singing the anthem would not be governed by the liturgies. This opinion is confirmed by finding in the statutes of mediæval grammar schools express provision for the singing of a Marian antiphon among the prescribed school exercises. Thus at Wells, in a charter of the cathedral grammar school (not the choristers' school), dated about 1235, it is directed that every Wednesday and Friday morning the scholars on coming to school shall sing an antiphon in honor of the Blessed Virgin.¹ In the statutes of the Stratford-on-Avon grammar school—the school which Shakspere doubtless attended in his day—which were drawn up in 1482, there is a similar provision:

Et in super predictus dominus Willelmus clerico, et prefatus grammaticalis et scolares sui bis in septimana, videlicet in die Mercurii et in die veneris cantabunt antiphonam de Sancta Maria.²

Wednesday and Friday, the "Stationary days" as they were called,³ were especially observed by the pious. This doubtless explains the special religious exercises on these days in many grammar schools.⁴

Marian antiphons, then, are mentioned in the statutes of grammar schools as part of the regular school exercises.⁵ In this fact we have a sufficient explanation of the singing of the *Alma Redemptoris* in Chaucer's school.

¹ *Histor. MSS Commission*, Report X, Part 3, p. 19.

² *Collectanea Topograph. et Genealogica*, 1836, Vol. III, p. 82.

³ Cf. Chr. Wordsworth, *St. Nicholas Hospital, Salisbury*, p. lxii, note.

⁴ Thus the founder of the chantry grammar school at Stockport (1487) ordained: "I woll that the same connyng Preest with all his scolers with hym, that he shall have for the time, shall two dayes in ev'ly weke as long as he shall abyde in that s'veice ther, that is to wite Wednesday and Fryday, come into the said Church of Stopforde unto the grave ther where the bodies of my Fader and Moder lyen buried, and ther say togidres the psalme of de profundis with the verscules and collette thereto accustomyd after Salisbury use." (Heg. inbotham, *Stockport Ancient and Modern*, Vol. II, p. 371.)

⁵ Another instance of the singing of a Marian antiphon may be mentioned, though in this case the school was of a somewhat different type. In 1515 an agreement was entered into between St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, and one John Tucke, employed to teach grammar to the novices of the monastery and thirteen boys of "the clerks of the chamber," and also to teach song to five or six apt and teachable boys. In this agreement it is prescribed that Master Tucke, "cum eisdem pueris missam Beatae Mariae Virginis unacum antiphona ejusdem quotidie, ac sextis feriis missam de nomine Jesu cum antiphona ejusdem devote servabit." (*Histor. et Cartular. Monast. Gloucestr.*, Rolls Series, Vol. III, p. 291.)

III

Let us proceed next to ask what the boys in this fourteenth-century school were studying. So far as the clericon himself is concerned, Chaucer's answer is explicit: he "sat in the scole at his prymere." The clericon, in all probability, was in his first year at school, for he was "seuen yeer of age;" and this was the very age at which boys in Chaucer's time usually began going to school.¹ The "prymere," then, we may infer, was the book with which a boy's education began.

What was this "prymere"? Professor Skeat—in consideration, perhaps, of the fact that our scholar "so yong and tendre was of age"—defines it in his glossary as an "elementary reading book." This definition, however, hardly does justice to the contents of the mediæval primer; it suggests too strongly the short words and easy sentences of the "first readers" of our own day. The character of this primer is more clearly indicated in a passage in *Piers Plowman*. The author of this poem was certainly no child, yet he tells us:

The lomes that ich laboure with and lyfode deserue
Ys *pater noster* and my prymere, *placebo* and *dirige*,
And my sauter som tyme and my seuene pselmes,
Thus ich syngē for hure soules of such as me helpen.²

Here Professor Skeat defines "prymere" as "a book of elementary religious instruction." This is nearer the mark. But why "elementary"? Langland did not mean us to understand from this that he went about instructing children. Rather, he sought employment in singing for souls after the fashion of chantry priests.

The prymere, in short, was not, as its name might suggest, a book especially designed for children, but was a prayer-book for the use of young and old alike. Historically, the prymere seems to have been a development from the psalter, to which prayers and devotional exercises had gradually been added. At length,

¹ Thus in 1340 Bishop Burgershe, of Lincoln, left an endowment to support six boys at grammar school from the age of seven to fifteen (Chr. Wordsworth, article on "Lincolnshire Chantries," *Northern Genealogist*, 1895, p. 152). Richard II in 1398 made a grant to the Carthusian Priory at Coventry for the maintenance of twelve poor clerks from the age of seven to seventeen (Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Vol. VI, p. 18).

² C-Text, VI, vss. 45-48.

during the thirteenth century¹ these were separated from the psalter and gathered into a separate book according to a fixed order.² The contents of a prymmer invariably include: the "Hours of the Blessed Virgin," the "Seven Penitential Psalms," the "Fifteen Gradual Psalms," the "Litany," the "Office for the Dead," and "Commendations."³ In addition to these essentials, many copies of the prymmer contain other devotions and pieces of religious instruction.

At first, of course, the prymmers were in Latin. These Latin prymmers also frequently went under the title *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis*, from the fact that they began with the "Hours of the Virgin."⁴ At length, during the last quarter of the fourteenth century, prymmers in English began to appear, and in this form speedily attained great popularity as the prayer-book of the laity. From this time to the Reformation the prymmer circulated

¹The earliest mention of a prymmer yet discovered is dated 1297. The reference is given by Mr. Littlehales in his "Notes on the Primer" (E. E. T. S., No. 109, Part II, p. 2). It occurs in the inventory of the property of an Essex church made on the occasion of a visitation: "Erdele (Ardley, Yerdley) Item vnum primarium cum septem psalmis, et XV, et Placebo et Dirige" (*Visitationes of Churches Belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral*, Camden Society, pp. 49, 50).

²Cf. the scholarly essay on "The Origin of the Prymer," by Edmund Bishop, in *The Prymer or Lay Folke's Prayer-Book* (E. E. T. S.), Part II, 1897, pp. xi-xxxviii; also see Edgar Hoskins, *Horae B. M. Virginis, or Sarum and York Primers*, etc., 1901.

³Three early manuscript prymmers in English have already been edited: Brit. Museum MS No. 17010, of about the year 1410 (ed. William Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 1846, Vol. III); St. John's Coll. Camb. MS G 24, before 1400 (ed. Henry Littlehales, *The Prymer or Prayer-Book of the Lay People in the Middle Ages*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1891-92); Camb. Univ. MS Dd. 11, 82, between 1420 and 1430 (ed. Littlehales, E. E. T. S., 1895-97). Valuable introductions and collations of some fifteen other MSS accompany the texts. Mr. Littlehales' most recent discussion of the prymmer will be found in Wordsworth and Littlehales, *Old English Service-Books of the English Church*, 1904, chap. ix.

The printed editions of the prymmer, both Latin and English, of the early sixteenth century, have been made the subject of a valuable monograph by Rev. Edgar Hoskins: *Horae B. Mariae Virginis, or Sarum and York Primers with Kindred Books*, etc. (Longmans, Green & Co., 1901).

⁴It is contended by Maskell that the term "prymmer" was applied only to the English versions. "The Latin editions of the 'horae,'" he says, "do not use in any way the term *Prymer*. Their titles usually run, 'Horae beatae Mariae virginis ad usum ecclesiae Sarum,' or 'Horae presentes ad usum Sarum impressae fuerunt,' etc., although they contain not only the hours, but various other offices, the penitential psalms, dirge, etc." (*Monumenta Rit. Eccl. Angliae*, 2d. ed. 1882, Vol. III, p. xxxv.) He appears to contradict this statement, however, in his note on p. lx: "In the Latin books the names *orarium*, *horae*, *prymer*, and *enchoridion* are sometimes used interchangeably." Mr. Littlehales holds—rightly, it seems to me—that the title "prymmer" was used of the Latin as well as of the English versions: "That the name is also properly applied to the book, whether the contents be in English, Latin or in both languages, we may also feel sure from the reason that the name is applied indiscriminately to all three varieties." (*Old Eng. Service-Books*, p. 248.)

both in Latin and in English, as well as with the Latin and the English text side by side.

With these general facts in mind, let us turn to the matter of particular interest to us at present—the use of the prymmer in the schools. It is strange that, much as has been written in recent years concerning the prymmer, the fact has never been clearly recognized that it was in ordinary use as a school textbook.¹ Nevertheless, there is abundant historical evidence—besides the explicit statement of Chaucer—to establish the fact of such use.

Perhaps it will be well to turn first to the evidence in the sixteenth century, at the time when Roman Catholic prayers were being superseded by the revised ritual of the Reformers. Henry VIII made it one of his first cares, after the separation from the Roman church, to prepare a revision of the prymmer, both in Latin and in English, commanding that his prymmer should everywhere be used instead of the earlier form. These decrees in regard to the prymmer were confirmed in 1547 by Edward VI, among whose injunctions we find the following: "And that no teacher of youth shall teach any other than the said primer."² It is clear from this that the prymmer held a recognized place in the instruction of the schools. Still more valuable testimony to the actual use of the prymmer as a school-book is found in the *Day-Book of John Dorne*,³ the Oxford bookseller, in which are entered the titles of the books which he had in stock in 1520. In this list I count no less than twenty-six entries of *primarium pro pueris*.

But the fact that we find special "boys' prymmers" raises the question whether the prymmers used in the schools may not have differed materially from the regular editions. In answer to

¹ Once indeed Mr. Littlehales, in his "Notes on the Prymer" (*The Prymer*, E. E. T. S., No. 109, Part II, p. 3), suggests the possibility that schoolboys occasionally studied the prymmer. "Is it possible," he asks, "that service books and prymers were at times used as books from which children and choristers were sometimes taught?" He then proceeds to cite, in support of this suggestion, the reference to the prymmer in the *Prioresse Tale*, but carries the matter no farther. Mr. H. E. Nolloth, in his introduction to the *Lay Folke's Catechism* (E. E. T. S., 1901, p. xxxv), comes somewhat nearer in his statement that "during the 15th century, children were commonly taught the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments without any explanation, and with the addition of the *Ave Maria* and other prayers to the saints." But the only prymmer whose use in the schools he recognizes is the revised primer of the Reformers.

² Edw. Cardwell, *Doc. Annals of the Reformed Church of England*, 1839, Vol. I, p. 20; cf. also p. 49.

³ *Collectanea*, ed. C. R. L. Fletcher, Oxford Hist. Society, 1885, Vol. I.

this question it may be asserted, in the first place, that there is no evidence that these boys' prymers were abridgments. The price at which they were entered (ranging from 4d. to 6d.), though not large, is the same as that of the regular editions. Moreover, one comes upon the entry of a *primarium pro pueris longum*. These "long prymers" were editions which contained a number of additional prayers and offices not found in the ordinary edition.¹ Even these, it would appear, were sometimes used by boys. Plainly, then, the distinction between "boys' prymers" and the ordinary sort did not consist in abridgment.

In what respects, then, did they differ? I am disposed to believe that a boys' prymier was merely the ordinary prymier with certain elementary matters prefixed for the convenience of schoolboys. A good example of a prymier of this sort is one printed in 1537, with the title: *The Primer in english for children after the use of Sarum.*² At the beginning one finds the "Alphabet," "Lord's Prayer," "Salutation," "Apostles' Creed," "Ten Commandments," "Graces" (before and after dinner, and before and after supper), the psalm "De Profundis," and the "Works of Mercy." Then follow the prayers as in the ordinary prymier, except that the "Fifteen Gradual Psalms," the "Offices for the Dead," and the "Commendations" are omitted. In some of the early manuscript prymers in English one finds similar elementary material prefixed. Thus at the beginning of a manuscript of the time of Richard II, are placed the "Alphabet," the "Lord's Prayer," "Hail Mary," "Apostles' Creed," "A Confession," "Graces" for particular occasions, the "Seven Sacraments," and the "Easter Table." Then follows the prymier proper, in full, and at the end of this, the "Ten Commandments," the "Seven Deadly Sins," the "Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost," the "Seven Words of Christ," and the "Sixteen Properties of Charity."³ Essentially the same additions are also found in a number of the Latin prymers collated by Mr. Hoskins.

¹ Probably the MS prymers, Brit. Mus. Nos. 17010 and 17011, and Ashmol. 1288, may be taken as fair examples of the long prymier. See the collation of their contents in Littlehales' *Prymer*, Part II.

² Hoskins, *Horae beatae Mariae*, p. 173.

³ Hunterian Library MS V 6, 22, collated by Littlehales, *The Prymer*, Part II, p. 10.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century this elementary material which is found prefixed to many of the prymers was also printed separately—probably on a single sheet—with the title “The ABC.” In John Dorne’s *Day-Book* a quantity of these ABC’s are entered—in *papiro* at 1d. apiece, in *pergameno* at two-pence. Never, however, is this ABC confused with the prymier—another reason for believing that the *primarium pro pueris*, contained something beside this elementary instruction. The following list of the contents of an ABC printed by Thomas Petit about 1538, is given by Henry Bradshaw: “Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Credo (in Latin and English), Ten Commandments, Graces before and after meals as in the Sarum Manual, Parts of the Service requisite to enable a child to serve at mass.”¹ In the early sixteenth century this ABC was used in some of the more elementary schools of England. So at Launceston the chantry commissioners of Henry VIII reported the existence of a school “to teache yonge chylderne the ABC.”² I have not found evidence, however, of the existence of the ABC in separate form before the beginning of the sixteenth century.

That the prymier was used in the schools of the early sixteenth century is, as we have seen, abundantly established; let us turn back now to the time of Chaucer. A circular letter sent out in 1356 by Bishop Grandisson, of Exeter, to the schoolmasters of his diocese affords valuable testimony on the subject of our present inquiry. In this letter the bishop declares that he has been moved to amazement and pity by some of the methods of instruction which he has observed in the grammar schools of his diocese. These methods, he says, are absurd, unprofitable, yes, even superstititious, more after the fashion of heathen than of Christians. What were the methods to which the bishop takes exception? Let him answer in his own words:

Dum ipsi scolares suos, postquam Oracionem Dominicam cum Salutatione Angelica, et Symbolum, neonon Matutinas et Horas Beate Virginis, et similia que ad Fidem pertinent et anime salutem, legere aut

¹ *Collected Papers of Henry Bradshaw*, 1889, pp. 333-40. Cf. also the elementary portion of an English prymier of 1537 (Hoskins, *Horeæ B. Marie*, p. 173), which is entitled “The ABC.” An edition of the ABC in Latin was printed by Thomas Berthelet in 1543, with the title *Alphabetum Latino Anglicum*. (J. T. Ames, *Typograph. Antiq.*, ed. 1749, p. 173.)

² A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, Part II, p. 34; cf. also p. 31.

dicere eciam minus perfecte didicerint, absque eo quod quicquam de predictis construere sciant vel intelligere, aut dicciones ibi declinare vel respondere de partibus earundem, ad alias libros magistrales et poeticos aut metricos ad[d]iscendos transire faciunt premature. Unde contigit quod in estate adulta, cotidiana que dicunt aut legunt non intelligent; Fidem eciam, Catholicam (quod dampnabilius est) propter defectum intelligentie non agnoscant.

This state of affairs the bishop will not allow to continue; he therefore closes his letter with the following express injunction to these schoolmasters:

Injungimus et mandamus, quatinus pueros, quos recipiunt in Grammaticalibus imbuendos, non tantum legere aut discere literaliter, ut hactenus, set, aliis omnibus omissis, construere et intelligere faciant Oracionem Dominicam, cum Salutacione Angelica, Symbolum, et Matutinas, ac Horas de Beata Virgine, et dicciones ibi declinare ac respondere de partibus earundem, antequam eosdem ad alias libros transire permittant.¹

There can, of course, be no doubt that the bishop is here referring to the prymers. The "Hours of the Blessed Virgin" invariably formed a part of the contents of the prymers. Indeed, as we have seen, *Horae de Beata Virgine* was the very title by which the Latin prymers were frequently known. As for the Lord's Prayer, the Angelic Salutation, and the Creed, these are pieces of religious instruction often prefixed to the prymers, especially those intended for the use of boys.

But beyond the testimony which it affords to the use of the prymers in the schools, the bishop's letter has further interest for us. It shows us the way in which the prymers were studied. The boys first learned these devotions by rote (*literaliter*). Then, as they progressed in their knowledge of grammar, they were taught to construe these Latin prayers. For, it will be observed, the bishop offers no objection to the committing of the prymers to memory, but only to the fact that boys were allowed to go on to other books before they had parsed and declined the Latin of the prymers.

The bishop, moreover, has cleared up for us the question whether the prymers which our clergeon was studying was in Latin or in English. One might at first be inclined to doubt whether

¹ *Bp. Grandisson's Register*, ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, Vol. II, pp. 1192, 1193.

a Latin prymmer would have been put into the hands of a little lad in his first year at school. But after all there is nothing incredible in this; as soon as he had learned his alphabet (which was probably on the first page of his prymmer), he could at once begin spelling out the words of his Pater Noster and committing them to memory. He might not understand them, it is true—that would depend on whether the master took pains to explain their meaning to him as he went along—but at all events he could repeat them, and that was in those days the first essential.

For, as I have already said, one of the primary objects in the school of the fourteenth century was to train children for participation in the liturgy of the church, and that liturgy was in the Latin tongue. Even laymen in the Middle Ages learned in Latin at least the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ave, though in most cases they probably did not understand the meaning of the words they were reciting.¹ Parish priests were enjoined by the bishops to examine parishioners as to their knowledge of these forms,² and there is record of penalties imposed upon those who failed to pass this examination satisfactorily.³

¹ Thus Bishop Grosteste, in his homily *De Orando*, maintained that laymen derive spiritual benefit from repeating their Pater Noster with worshipful hearts, *although they do not understand the meaning of the words they utter* (Brown's *Fasciculus II*, p. 284). In this connection, Professor Kittredge reminds me of the "Mery Geste How the Plowman Learned his Pater Noster" (*Remains of Early Pop. Poetry of England*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, 1864, Vol. I, p. 209). This story of the ingenious device by which a priest taught the Pater Noster to an illiterate parishioner, though not found in English earlier than the print by Wynkyn de Worde, was related in Italian prose in 1424, and occurs also in Latin version of the second half of the fifteenth century (cf. R. Kohler, *Anglia*, Vol. II, pp. 388 ff.).

² The bishops' "Constitutions" of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries abound in injunctions to this effect. Thus in 1255, Bishop Kirkham, of Durham: "Habeat quoque unusquisque eorum [i. e. sacerdotes parochiales] simplicem intellectum fidei, sicut in symbolo, tam majori quam minori, quod est in psalmo *Quicunque vult et etiam Credo in Deum expressius continentur: necnon in oratione dominica, quae dicitur Pater Noster, ac salutatione beatae Mariae, et qualiter se debeant crucis charactere insignire; ne cum laici super hoc requisiti fuerint, se confite Valeant excusare occasione negligentiae sacerdotum."* (Wilkins, *Concilia*, I, p. 704.)

In the synodal statutes of Norwich, 1257: "Provideant attentius ecclesiarum rectores, et sacerdotes parochiales, ut pueri parochiarum suarum diligenter doceantur, ut sciant dominicam orationem, et symbolum, et salutationem beatae virginis, et crucis signacula sibi recte consignare." (*Ibid.*, I, p. 732.)

Cf. Also the injunctions of Bishop Pontisera, diocesan synod of Winchester, 1295 (Leach, *Hist. of Winchester Coll.*, 1900, p. 40); and the statutes of Archbishop Thoresby, of York, in 1357 (*Lay Folks' Catechism*, E. E. T. S., at bottom of pp. 6, 20, and 22); also "Dan Jon Gaytryge's Sermon" (*Relig. Pieces in Prose and Verse*, E. E. T. S., pp. 2 and 13).

³ For example, the following presentment was made in a visitation of the diocese of London in 1497: "Willielmus Nicholl notatur officio quod male sapit de fide, quia raro accedit ad ecclesiam suam parochiale. Et cum veniret, nullas preces Deo fundit, et

Toward the close of the fourteenth century, it is true, English versions of the prymers and of other books of religious instruction began to appear¹—probably due in large measure to the influence of Wyclif. But these books in the vernacular were designed to make the Latin liturgies intelligible, not to displace them.² Indeed, in the English prymers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Latin text was frequently placed beside the English translation. So far as the schools are concerned, it is not until the sixteenth century that one finds any evidence that the boys were being taught their prymers in English.³

IV

Our study of the school which the clergeon attended has thus far been confined to an exposition of the *Alma Redemptoris* and the "prymer." It remains to inquire what other instruction was being given there. Does Chaucer's description of this school allow us to regard it as a "grammar school"—a type well known in the Middle Ages—or was it purely an elementary school

creditur, quod nescit orationem Dominicam, salutationem angelicam, neque symbolum apostolorum. . . . habet ad purgandum se vij Marcii." (Maskell, *Mon. Rit.*, III, p. lili.)

¹ Examples of such books are the *Lay Folks' Mass-Book* (ed. T. F. Simmons, E. E. T. S., 1879; cf. also G. H. Gerould, *Engl. Studien*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 1-27, and Bübring, *Engl. Stud.*, XXXV, pp. 28-33) and the *Lay Folks' Catechism* (ed. Simmons and Nolloth, E. E. T. S., 1901).

² The reluctance to discard Latin in private devotions, even on the part of those who were friendly disposed toward prayer-books in the vernacular, is well illustrated in the following passage from *The Chastyng of Goddes Chyldren*, treatise printed by Caxton, probably about 1483 (cf. Dibdin's *Typograph. Antiq.*, Vol. I, p. 356): "Some now in thise dayes use to say in englisch her sawter & matynes of our lady, ye vij psalmes & the letanye. Many repreue it to have the sawter matynes or the gospel or the byble in englisse by cause they may not be translated into no vulgare worde by worde as it stondeth without grete circumlocucion after the feling of the firste wryters whiche translated that into latyn by teching of ye holi goost. Neuertheles I wyll not repreue to have hem in englisch ne to rede on hem when they may stire you more to deuocyon & to the loue of god. But unerli to use hem in englisch & leue the latyn I holde it not commendable." (J. T. Ames, *Typograph. Antiq.*, ed. 1790, Vol. I, p. 102.)

³ Even as late as the sixteenth century schoolboys were still being taught the Credo, Pater Noster, etc., in Latin. Thus according to the statutes of the chantry school at Childrey-near-Wantage, founded in 1526, the priest was bound to "teach the children the Alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin, the Apostles' Creed, and all other things which are necessary to enable them to assist the Priest in the celebration of the Mass, together with the psalm 'De Profundis' and the usual prayers for the dead. Also he shall teach them to say Grace as well at dinner as at supper." Then it is added, as if in distinction to what has gone before: "Likewise he shall teach them in English the Fourteen Articles of the Faith, the Ten Commandments, the Seven Deadly Sins, the Seven Sacraments of the Church, the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost, the Seven Works of Mercy as well corporal as spiritual, the Five Bodily Senses, and the manner of Confession." (N. Carlisle, *Endowed Gram. Schools of England*, Vol. I, p. 31.)

whose course of study went no farther than the prymer and the "antiphoner?"¹ The answer to this question must be more or less conjectural, inasmuch as Chaucer has not chosen to be explicit on this point. Nevertheless, his account, when closely scrutinized, affords, I believe, some indication of the kind of school he had in mind.

At first one might take it for granted that a young scholar of seven would be found at an elementary school. But it should be borne in mind that in Chaucer's time there was no system of graded schools in England. Boys did not prepare themselves for admission to the grammar school by first attending the elementary school. In the grammar schools also scholars were received at the age of seven, and without preliminary training;² in the grammar schools also elementary instruction was given. The essential distinction between the grammar school and the elementary school consisted in the fact that in the former Latin was taught, but in the latter it was not. Even this line of distinction in some cases it is difficult to draw. For in some schools where the instruction was for the most part of the elementary sort, provision was made that, "if any shall be apt and disposed to learn Grammar," the master "shall instruct them therein after the best and most diligent manner that he can."³

Our question, then, resolves itself into this: Is there reason to suppose that any of the boys in Chaucer's school were studying grammar? Obviously the clergeon was not; nor was his felaw, whose vague interpretation of the anthem which he sang was based upon what he had "herd seye" rather than upon his own knowledge of Latin. Still it is not safe to conclude from this that there were not others in the school who were studying grammar. Indeed, it would be easy to believe that the felaw, in his confession of ignorance—

¹ For an account of the antiphoner and its uses, cf. Wordsworth and Littlehales, *Old Service-Books of the Engl. Church*, pp. 104 ff.

² An exception to this statement should be noted in the case of the great grammar schools of Winchester and Eton, and Dean Collet's St. Paul's school, London. The statutes of Winchester and Eton required a knowledge of Donatus for admission (H. C. Adams, *Wykehamica*, p. 53; Maxwell-Lyte, *Hist. of Eton Coll.*, p. 495). Colet's foundation statutes (1609) specified that a boy should be able "to rede and wryte his owne lesson" (J. H. Lupton's *Life of Colet*, p. 285). But these are the only exceptions I have been able to find.

³ Statutes of the school at Childrey-near-Wantage, Carlisle's *Endowed Gram. Schools*, Vol. I, p. 32.

I lerne song, I can but smal grammere—

meant to draw a distinction between himself and other scholars already at their Latin. Why should the felaw have thought it necessary to explain he was not learning grammar, if it was not being taught in the schools?¹

Some confirmation of this interpretation is found, it seems to me, in the phrase which Chaucer employs in referring to the "doctrine . . . vsed there." In this school, he tells us, children learned "to singen and to rede." May we not suppose that he is here using "rede" in the special sense of reading Latin? The word occurs again and again in Middle English with this specific meaning. Thus in the *Castle off Loue* reference is made to "clerkes pat conne reden."² Lydgate in the same way speaks of—

the lewde that can not rede
But the pater noster and the crede,³

by which he clearly means laymen whose knowledge of Latin is limited to these two selections from the Catechism. To cite still another example, I may refer to a fifteenth-century inscription on a tomb in the church at Spofforth, bidding the passer-by say a De Profundis, "if you letterd be," but—

If thou be unlearned and cannot reed,
For our soules and all crysten soules med,
Saye a paternoster and ave and a crede.⁴

Either the author of this inscription used "reed" in the technical sense of reading Latin, or he was guilty of a palpable hibernicism.

¹I owe this to the suggestion of Professor Kittredge, who has also expressed to me his opinion that "rede" here refers to Latin.

²*Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, E. E. T. S., Part I, p. 386.

³"Merita Missae," vss. 3, 4, in *Lay Folks' Mass-Book*, E. E. T. S., p. 148.

⁴Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*, ed. 1882, Vol. III, p. lii, note. Very similar to this are the instructions to laymen how to conduct themselves during the mass:

If bou of letter kan,
To be priest herken þan
Hys office, prayere, and pistille,
And answerē þere-to with gode wille,
Or on a boke þy-selfe lit rede.

• • • • •
If bou kan noghte rede ne saye
þy pater-noster rehers alwaye, etc.

(*Lay Folks' Mass-Book*, E. E. T. S., pp. 14-16; cf. also *Engl. Stud.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 19, and Vol. XXXV, p. 31).

Moreover, in Chaucer's phrase "rede" and "singen" stand together. "Rede," thus coupled, is given a significance distinctly ecclesiastical; "to read and sing" was a stock phrase to denote the vocation of a clerk. Thus the author of *Genesis and Exodus*, who was certainly in orders, prefaces his poem by a prayer for grace to honor God:

Queðer so hic rede or singe.¹

Similarly in a "bidding prayer" in a York MS of the first half of the fifteenth century one reads: "We sall pray specially for all prestes & clerkes pat redis or singes in pis kirke or in any other."² And Chaucer himself, it will be remembered, in describing the Pardoner, mentions reading and singing as the distinctive accomplishments of the clergy:

He was in chirche a noble ecclesiaste.
Wel coude he rede a lessoun or a storie,
But alderbest he song an offertorie.²

There can be no doubt, in these cases, that the reading and singing were in Latin. Indeed, Gower, using the phrase in a similar connection, explicitly mentions Latin. Referring to the parable of Dives and Lazarus, he says:

the clerk and the clergesse
In latin tunge it rede and singe.³

Now, when the same phrase, "to read and sing," is used to describe the instruction given in a school it seems fair to suppose that it still retained this special sense which it had acquired in connection with the clerical profession. In support of this conclusion I may cite a passage in *Floriz and Blauncheflur* where this phrase is used in precisely the same sense as in the *Prioresses Tale*. When the king suggests to his son that it is time he be put to school, Floris replies:

Ne can y in no scole syng ne rede
With-out Blancheflour.⁴

¹ *Gen. and Ex.*, E. E. T. S., vs. 34.

² *Lay Folke's Mass-Book*, E. E. T. S., p. 69. The same phrase occurs in another York Bidding Prayer printed in 1509 (*ibid.*, p. 75).

³ *Prologue C. T.*, vs. 707-9.

⁴ *Conf. Am.*, Book VI, vs. 980.¹

⁵ *Floriz and Blauncheflur*, E. E. T. S., 1901, vss. 21, 22.

In this case, however, we are assured by what follows that it is the discipline of the grammar school which the author has in mind. For he proceeds to tell us what the two children learned after they were sent to school:

When þey had v.ȝere to scoole goone
So wel þey had lerned þoo,
Inowȝ þey couþ of latyne,
And wel wryte on parchemyne.¹

One should not, of course, push too far a phrase which may easily have come to be used rather loosely. Nor can one hope to reach absolute proof in regard to a matter concerning which Chaucer has not chosen to be explicit. Yet on the basis of such evidence as we have, I am inclined to believe that Chaucer, in sketching the school which the clergeon attended, had in mind the ordinary grammar school of his day.

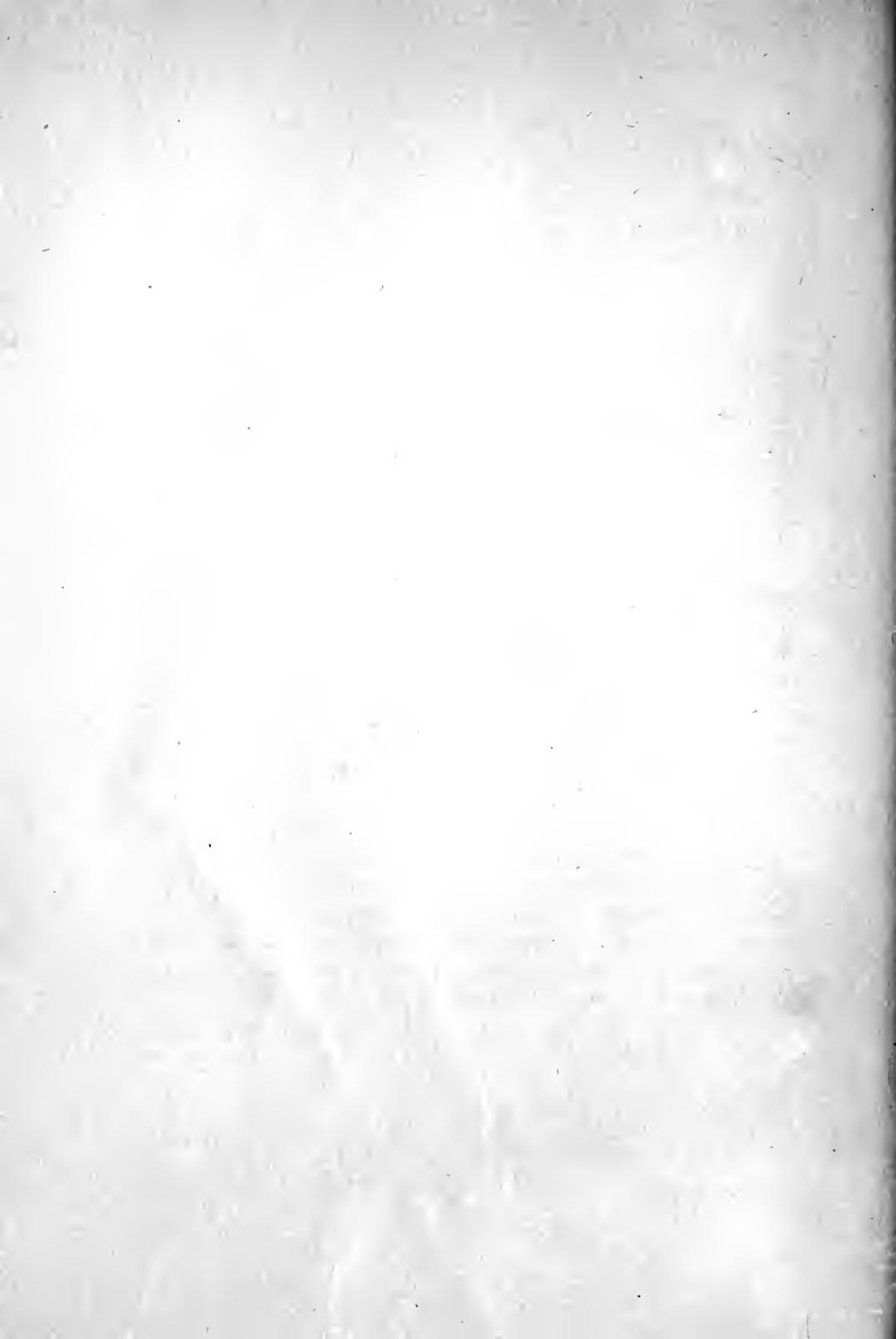
That Chaucer should not have seen fit to introduce any young grammarians into his story, even if there were such in the school, will surprise no one. A young pedant expounding the *Alma Redemptoris* would have marred the whole effect. He chose, therefore, to mention only the younger scholars; the seven-year-old clergeon and his felaw, somewhat older, who had advanced to the study of song. The boys of the upper forms, who alone might be expected to be engaged in construing Latin, he has carefully kept off the stage.

The present article has been confined to the exposition of the *Prioresses Tale* as Chaucer tells it. Some of the conclusions here reached are strengthened when Chaucer's account is compared with the form of the legend which probably served as his source. In another article, shortly to appear, I propose, to trace the development of the legend, and to fix as closely as possible the form of the story which Chaucer had before him.

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¹ *Ibid.*, vss. 31-34.



GOETHE'S "GOETZ VON BERLICHINGEN" AND LILLO'S "HISTORY OF GEORGE BARNWELL"

In *Goetz von Berlichingen* we have a number of characters that are not found in the autobiography of the old knight, the most important among them being Adelheid, Weislingen, and Maria, Goetz's sister. Weislingen's affections are divided between Maria and Adelheid, until finally Adelheid wins him over completely—a situation which was a favorite one with Goethe and other poets of the Storm and Stress. It has been pointed out by Minor¹ and Weissenfels² that *Goetz von Berlichingen* is not merely a historical drama, but contains elements of the bourgeois drama. These elements may be seen clearly in the scenes where Adelheid, Weislingen, and Maria appear. In the following I wish to show that the three characters have much in common with certain characters in Lillo's well-known play, *The London Merchant; or, The History of George Barnwell*, and that some of the scenes present striking parallels.

Lillo's tragedy³, which appeared in London in 1731, occupies an important place in the history of the German drama, small though its influence has been upon English literature. Shortly after its appearance the play was translated into French, and became known in Germany through the French translation, as was the case with so many English works during the first part of the eighteenth century. Later two German editions appeared which had been translated directly from the original.⁴ In Goethe's youth *George Barnwell* was one of the most popular plays on the German stage. When speaking of his father's aversion to the theater and his own fondness of it, Goethe relates (*Dichtung und*

¹ *Schiller*, Vol. II, p. 121.

² *Goethe im Sturm und Drang* (1894), Vol. I, p. 371.

³ The edition of Lillo's works before me is in two volumes (London, 1775). *The History of George Barnwell* is in the first volume.

⁴ Cf. L. Hoffmann, *George Lillo* (Diss. Marburg, 1888), pp. 18f.; Goedeke, *Grundriss*, Vol. III, p. 369.

Wahrheit, Book III), that he and his father had many disputes concerning the moral value of the stage. "Die schönen Beispiele von bestraften Vergehungen, 'Miss Sara Sampson' und 'Der Kaufmann von London,' wurden sehr lebhaft von mir hervorgehoben." Goethe mentions the play again in a letter to his sister from Leipzig (*Goethe-Jahrbuch*, Vol. VII, p. 13; Stein, *Goethe-Briefe*, Vol. I, p. 25); "Dein Leibstück den Kaufmann von London habe ich spielen sehen. Beym grössten Teil des Stückes gegähnt, aber beym Ende geweint" (1765). It would seem from this letter that Goethe had never seen a performance of the *London Merchant* before. The passage in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, however, which refers to the first Frankfort period, gives us the impression that he had seen the play. We may have here another case where Goethe's memory failed him in a minor point when writing his autobiography. It is not unreasonable, however, to assume that, though Goethe had not seen the play on the stage previous to the Leipzig performance, he was familiar with the plot and could use it as an argument for the moral value of the stage. At any rate, the fact is clearly established that at least the second part of Lillo's tragedy made a deep impression upon the young poet.

The three characters in Lillo's play that are to be compared with Weislingen, Adelheid, and Maria in *Goetz von Berlichingen* are George Barnwell, Millwood, and Maria, the daughter of the merchant Thorowgood. It must be borne in mind, however, that Lillo's artistic powers are very limited; his characters often lack psychological truth, consistency, and vitality; he is often compelled to state in so many words what Goethe expresses through indirect characterization. George Barnwell is an inexperienced, well-intentioned youth, without strength of character, who falls a prey to the wiles of Millwood and to his own amorous disposition, but not without a struggle. If his character is not so convincing as that of Weislingen, it is the fault of the poet who has failed to motivate sufficiently his moral ruin. Weislingen, though not as young and inexperienced as Barnwell, has essentially the same traits; he is well intentioned, weak, passionate. Trueman characterizes his friend Barnwell as follows (Act III, sc. 2): "an open, generous manliness of temper; his manners easy, unaffected and

engaging." The words might be applied¹ to Weislingen. Millwood is not the common harlot that she is generally supposed to be. She may seem so perhaps at the beginning of the play, but later she rises far above the ordinary courtesan. She approaches the type of the *Machtweib* who scorns social conventions and human laws, because they interfere with her own nature, with the development of her individuality. She is thoroughly selfish, like Adelheid; she desires wealth, as Adelheid desires power and position. Barnwell is completely in her power, and when he has done for her what he could, she tries to get rid of him, as Adelheid rids herself of Weislingen. Thorowgood's daughter Maria and Goetz's sister Maria have less in common than either of the other pairs. It is not impossible that Goethe's choice of the name may be due to perhaps unconscious recollection. The name does not occur in Goetz's autobiography. Still, the use of such a common name is of little significance. Maria is in a melancholy state of mind, owing to her secret love for Barnwell. Her love, however, does not make her unmindful of her reputation. When she advances her own money to cover up Barnwell's embezzlement, she anxiously asks Trueman whether she was doing anything unbecoming her sex and character. "A virgin's fame is sullied by suspicion's lightest breath" (Act III, sc. 1). A similar state of mind is revealed by Goetz's sister in her conversation with her lover, Weislingen.

Let us now take up different scenes in the two plays. In the second scene of the first act of the *London Merchant* we find Millwood at her toilet with Lucy, her maid. Millwood relates that she has met a young man and has asked him to call.

Lucy: Is he handsome? Millwood: Ay, ay, the stripling is well made, and has a good face . . . Lucy: Innocent, handsome and about eighteen!—you'll be vastly happy.—Why, if you manage well, you may keep him to yourself these two or three years.

In Goetz we have a similar scene between Adelheid and her maid (*Zu Bamberg*).¹ Here it is the maid who praises Weislingen's handsome appearance, as she has seen him first. "Das wäre ein

¹ *Der junge Goethe* (Vol. II, pp. 89 f.). The passages are all taken from the first version of the play, though I have retained the more familiar form Goetz.

Herr für euch," she concludes. Weissenfels (*Goethe im Sturm und Drang*, p. 513) compares this scene in Goetz with the conversation between Marwood and Hannah in Lessing's *Miss Sara Sampson* (Act II, sc. 1, 2); but the characteristic remark of the maid is lacking, as Marwood and Mellefont are old acquaintances, and there is no praise of the good looks of the young man. In the second scene between Adelheid and her maid (*D. j. Goethe*, II, 94) the latter says in reference to Weislingen: "Ihr habt sein Herz geangelt und wenn er sich losreissen will verblutet er." Then she leaves the room, and Weislingen enters. In the scene between Millwood and Lucy (I, 2) Millwood says: "he has swallowed the bait, promised to come and this is the time I expect him." At this moment Barnwell knocks, and Lucy leaves the room to usher in Barnwell. The important point is not so much the similarity in the figure of speech¹ as in the dramatic technique. In the short interval between Lucy's exit and Barnwell's entrance Millwood soliloquizes about the best way of receiving Barnwell:

Less affairs must give way to those of more consequence; and I am strangely mistaken if this does not prove of great importance to me and him too before I have done with him.—Now after what manner shall I receive him? let me consider—what manner of person am I to receive? he is young, innocent, and bashful: therefore I must take care not to put him out of countenance at first.—But then if I have any skill in physiognomy, he is amorous; and, with a little assistance, we'll soon get the better of his modesty.—I'll e'en trust to nature, who does wonders in these matters.—If to seem what is not, in order to be the better lik'd for what one really is; if to speak one thing, and mean the direct contrary, be art in a woman—I know nothing of nature.

If we except the reference to Barnwell's youth and bashfulness, the words might have been spoken by Adelheid; they fully agree with her character and the whole manner in which she gains Weislingen's confidence and affection. Lillo has to resort to words; Goethe makes his persons act. Liebetraut's words to Adelheid (*D. j. G.*, II, 90), "Ihr wisst nur zu gut wie man Männer fängt," apply equally well to Millwood.

In her conversation with Barnwell, Millwood tries to persuade him not to return to his master at once, but to stay with her. She

¹The same figure is used at great length in *Antony and Cleopatra*, II, 5.

is aiming at his loyalty to his master, at his honesty and integrity. Similarly Adelheid persuades Weislingen to stay and to renounce his loyalty to his friend Goetz. Attention has often been called to the strange fact that Adelheid throughout the play seems to know nothing about Weislingen's attachment to Maria; her rival is Goetz, not Maria. If our theory is correct, if Goethe consciously or unconsciously developed the Weislingen plot out of material gotten from Lillo's tragedy, we should have in a way an explanation for Adelheid's ignorance of Weislingen's first love. In the scene between Barnwell and Millwood we hear only of the merchant, but not of Maria, the merchant's daughter. This is perfectly natural, as Barnwell himself at this time is not aware of Maria's love for him. Adelheid appeals to Weislingen's sense of independence and self-respect that should keep him away from Goetz. "Geh und lass dich beherrschen . . . Du wirst ein Sclave eines Edelmannes werden, da du Herr von Fürsten seyn könntest" (*D. j. G.*, II, 96). Millwood says to Barnwell: "I would have you shake off all slavish obedience to your master." It is not the accidental use of *Sklave* and "slavish" that forms the parallel, but the desire of both women to make the victims independent of their friends and benefactors—a step which will make them all the more dependent upon their fair seducers. There is, to be sure, an important difference also: Millwood wants Barnwell to remain in the service of Thorowgood, as that will enable him to supply her with money. Both men are reluctant to desert their benefactors. Barnwell, realizing his situation, says to himself: "I must be gone while I have power to go;" then, turning to Millwood: "Indeed, I must (leave you) . . . should I wrong him (my master) though he might forgive me, I never should forgive myself." Weislingen says to Adelheid (*D. j. G.*, II, 95): "Ich muss (fort)! Zöge mich nicht die Ritterpflicht, der heilige Handschlag— . . . Hattest du gefühlt wie liebreich er mir begegnete." Again the similarity of the situation is of importance, not the use of "I must go." Both men strongly feel the moral obligation to their benefactors. Millwood replies to Barnwell: "Am I refus'd, by the first man, the second favour I ever stoop'd to ask? go then thou proud hard-hearted youth—But know, you

are the only man that cou'd be found, who wou'd let me sue twice for greater favours." Adelheid simply replies "So geht! (mit Verdruss)." The effect is the same; after a brief struggle both men stay. It is the beginning of their moral ruin. By staying they have become guilty of disloyalty, yes treachery; they are bound to sink deeper and deeper. Millwood's maid, Lucy, states this in an aside: "Lo! she has wheedled him out of his virtue of obedience already, and will strip him of all the rest, one after another, till she has left him as few as her ladyship, or myself." The words apply also to Weislingen; Adelheid gradually strips Weislingen of all the good qualities he may have had before. There is another slight similarity in the method pursued by the two women: they pretend to have a personal interest in their victims. Millwood says (p. 113): "the interest I have in all that relates to you." Adelheid expresses the same idea more cleverly (*D. j. G.*, II, 96): "Ich redete für eure Freiheit—und weiss überhaupt nicht was ich für ein Interesse dran nahm."

When Barnwell comes home after his first visit at Millwood's, his conscience is aroused (Act II, sc. 1): "How strange are all things round me! like some thief, who treads forbidden ground, and fain wou'd lurk unseen, fearful I enter each apartment of this well known house." Similarly, Weislingen, as soon as he has definitely decided to stay near Adelheid, is overcome for a moment by remorse and evil forebodings (*D. j. G.*, II, 97): "Auch ist mir's so unheimlich wohin ich trete. Es ist mir so bang als wenn ich von meinem Schutzgeiste verlassen, feindseligen Mächten überliefert wäre."

The two women are not content with having made traitors out of their lovers, they go farther. Barnwell is to attempt the life of his uncle, while Weislingen must hunt down and destroy his former friend and benefactor. Weislingen's reluctance to condemn Goetz (*D. j. G.*, II, 178) arouses Adelheid's anger and contempt: "ihn selbst zu verdammen—hast du nicht das Herz . . . Du bist von jeher der Elenden einer gewesen, die weder zum Bösen noch zum Guten einige Kraft haben." Franz is similarly treated. When he refuses to betray his master, Adelheid taunts him (*D. j. G.*, II, 169): "Wo bist du dem Gewissen geschwind begegnet?"

Millwood fails to understand how Barnwell, after actually murdering his uncle, should have lacked the heart to rob him. His qualms of conscience elicit the words: "It seems you are afraid of your own shadow; or what's less than a shadow, your conscience . . . Whining, preposterous, canting villain" (Act IV, sc. 2).

When Millwood sees that Barnwell is of no more use to her, yes that he will involve her in his ruin, she quickly resolves to get rid of him (Act IV, sc. 2):

"In his madness he will discover all and involve me in his ruin; we are on a precipice from whence there's no retreat for both—then to preserve myself—there is no other way—'t is dreadful—but reflection comes too late when danger's pressing—and there's no room for choice.—It must be done."

She then turns Barnwell over to the officers of the law. Adelheid only waits until Weislingen has signed Goetz's death warrant; then she poisons him, as he is in the way of her plans. The same fate overtakes Franz directly after the most passionate scene between him and Adelheid (*D. j. G.*, II, 184 f.):

Ich habe mich hoch in's Meer gewagt, und der Sturm fängt an fürchterlich zu brausen. Zurück ist kein Weg. Weh! weh! Ich muss eins den Wellen Preis geben, um das andere zu retten. Die Leidenschaft dieses Knaben droht meinen Hoffnungen . . . Du musst fort.

The words form the counterpart to Millwood's soliloquy: the same realization that the past cannot be undone, the same determination to take the next step required by the logic of events, the same apparent horror at the dreadfulness of the measure. The resourcefulness and determination of the two women come out strongly when apparently every escape is cut off. Millwood manages to find a pistol to protect herself (Act IV, sc. 2), while Adelheid just as unexpectedly draws a dagger from under her pillow (*D. j. G.*, II, 195).

Even Millwood's end bears a certain resemblance to Adelheid's death, strange as it may seem at first sight. There were three solutions that most naturally presented themselves. Goethe might have made Adelheid commit suicide, like Cleopatra in Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*; or he might have allowed

her to go off unmolested, but morally annihilated, as Lessing does with Marwood in *Miss Sara Sampson*; or he could bring her before a court of justice and have her sentenced for her crimes, as is Millwood's fate. Goethe chose the third solution: Adelheid is arraigned in court, sentenced, and executed before our eyes. To be sure the court and the circumstances attending Adelheid's execution are altogether different from anything found in Lillo's play.

Before being strangled by the murderer, Adelheid exclaims in despair (*D. j. G.*, II, 195):

Mein Mass ist voll. Laster und Schande haben mich wie Flammen der Hölle mit teuflischen Armen umfasst. Ich büsse, büsse. Umsonst suchst du Laster mit Laster, Schande mit Schande zu tilgen. Die scheusslichste Entehrung und der schmählichste Tod in einem Höllenbild vor meinen Augen.

Millwood is also overcome by despair, as her end approaches (last scene):

Is this the end of all my flattering hopes? were youth and beauty given me for a curse, and wisdom only to insure my ruin? they were, they were. Heaven, thou hast done thy worst, or if thou hast in store some untried plague, somewhat that's worse than shame, despair and death, unpitied death, confirmed despair and soul-confounding shame, . . . now pour it now on this devoted head . . . mercy's beyond my hope; almost beyond my wish. I can't repent nor ask to be forgiven.

After Millwood has been led away, Lucy describes the state of mind of her former mistress: "She goes to death encompassed with horror, loathing life, and yet afraid to die; no tongue can tell her anguish and despair." The lines may be applied word for word to Adelheid's state of mind.

There are other points in which Adelheid resembles Millwood. Adelheid's uncommon beauty and intelligence are the powerful weapons with which she conquers every man within her reach. Precisely the same qualities mark Millwood. Goethe reveals to us Adelheid's powers in the actions of the characters, Lillo again has to resort to words. Moreover, Lillo's intention is not to portray human passions, but to preach morality. Barnwell is the only man we see in Millwood's power, but we are told that no man is able to resist her. The old merchant Thorowgood, when

he sees Millwood in her apartment, exclaims (Act IV, sc. 2): "The powerful magick of her wit and form might betray the wisest to simple dotage, and fire the blood that age had froze long since." He calls her sorceress, as Weislingen calls Adelheid *Zauberin* (*D. j. G.*, II, 102). Again the parallel is not the use of the same word, but the fact that these women seem to possess almost supernatural powers. Later Thorowgood exclaims: "What pity it is, a mind so comprehensive, daring and inquisitive shou'd be a stranger to religion's sweet and powerful charms!" Even Lucy admires the "wit and beauty" of her mistress (Act I, sc. 2). The contrast between Adelheid's exterior and her black soul is forcibly brought out by the exclamation of the murderer (*D. j. G.*, II, 192): "Gott! machtest du sie so schön, und konntest du sie nicht gut machen!"¹ Thorowgood, less forcibly, says to Millwood (IV, 2): "the abuse of such uncommon perfections of mind and body is not the least (of your faults)."

A few other scenes must be mentioned where under the surface certain striking parallels may be detected. One of the most pathetic scenes in *Goetz* is Maria's visit to Weislingen, when he is in the agonies of death. The technical reason for the visit is Maria's desire to obtain Goetz's pardon; the real reason, however, is doubtless the great dramatic possibility of a scene in which the discarded sweetheart faces her disloyal lover, who has met with just retribution. In Lillo's play we have a somewhat similar situation, when Maria visits Barnwell, who is in the despair of death—a scene which is not without power in spite of several false touches. To be sure, Maria has not been deserted by Barnwell in the same manner in which Goetz's sister has been deserted by Weislingen. Just before Maria enters, Barnwell says to himself, "I now am what I've made myself." Weislingen says to Maria (*D. j. G.*, II, 188): "Ich bin meinen eigenen Weg gegangen, den Weg zum Verderben." Both men ask their visitors to pray for them. Maria's love makes Barnwell's sufferings all the greater. "This is indeed the bitterness of death," he says to himself (p. 179). He implores Maria to leave

¹The remark of the murderer throws an interesting light upon Goethe's attitude toward personal responsibility during his *Storm and Stress* period; God has made man, and is responsible for the good and evil within man.

him: "fly, abhor and leave me to my fate." Trueman feels that Maria's presence can only aggravate his woes; but Maria, overcome by her grief, confesses to Barnwell her love. For Weislingen, too, the presence of Maria is only an aggravation of his sufferings; he begs Maria to leave him, but Maria stays; she remembers how strongly she once loved him, yes we feel she still loves him, but as Sickingen's wife she must not talk to him of love (*D. j. G.*, II, 186).

"Du Engel des Himmels bringst die Qualen der Hölle mit dir." Maria (p. 187): "Sein Anblick zerreißt mir das Herz. Wie liebt ich ihn! Und wie ich sein Angesicht sehe fühl ich wie lebhaft. Er hatte meine ganze Liebe, er hat mein volles Mitleiden." Weislingen (p. 189): "Geh aus der Nachbarschaft dieser Hölle . . . Ich bitte dich geh . . . Und den letzten einzigen Trost, Maria, deine Gegenwart—Ich muss dich weg bitten—Das ist mehr Qual als alles. Du Seele voll Liebe! bete für mich! bete für mich! . . . Sogar ich fühle nur Elend in deiner Liebe."

The overwhelming power of Barnwell's passion we see from his remark to Trueman (V, 1): "I was so devoted to the author of my ruin that had she insisted on my murdering thee,—I think—I should have done it." To retain Millwood's favor he actually murders his uncle who, he says, has been a father to him (III, 3). We are reminded of Franz's love-frenzy and his startling exclamation (*D. j. G.*, II, 185): "Ich wollte meinen Vater ermorden, wenn er mir diesen Platz streitig mache." Are these mad words a lingering echo of Barnwell's murder of his uncle who had been a father to him?

Whatever value may be placed upon some of the parallels, taken as a whole they seem to me to prove conclusively that Lillo's play exercised considerable influence upon the conception of the characters and of some of the scenes in the Weislingen plot of *Goetz von Berlichingen*. Weissenfels has given us an excellent account of the origins of Goethe's drama, how the poet combined into an organic whole the tendencies of his time, literary traditions, and his personal views and experiences, and put upon it the stamp of his own genius. But while he mentions Lessing's *Miss Sara Sampson* and emphasizes the influence of Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, as Minor and Sauer had

done in their *Goethe-Studien*, he omits altogether Lillo's play. And yet the *History of George Barnwell* has the same claim to a place among the literary ancestors of *Goetz von Berlichingen* as Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*.¹

The importance of Millwood's character for the Storm and Stress period deserves a few additional remarks. Minor states indeed (*Schiller*, Vol. II, p. 121) that Lillo's drama is the starting-point for that type of feminine characters that finds its strongest expression in women like Marwood, Orsina, Lady Milford—a type that exercised so strange a fascination upon the German poets of the second half of the eighteenth century. But Millwood also anticipates sentiments that are characteristic of the Storm and Stress. "I follow'd my inclinations, and that the best of you do every day," she says to Thorowgood (Act. IV, sc. 2). "All actions seem alike natural and indifferent to man and beast." Her contempt for the clergy is complete.

In pride, contention, avarice, cruelty and revenge, the reverend priesthood were my unerring guides. . . . I am not fool enough to be an atheist! . . . Whatever religion is in itself, as practis'd by mankind, it has caused the evils you say it was design'd to cure.

Karl Moor expresses similar views, when he says (*Räuber*, II, 3):

Was ich gethan habe, werde ich ohne Zweifel einmal im Schuldbuch des Himmels lesen; aber mit seinen erbärmlichen Verwesern will ich kein Wort mehr verlieren.

Karl Moor's contempt of human law, to which he gives forceful utterance in several places, is shared by Millwood (IV, 2):

What are your laws, of which you make your boast, but the fool's wisdom, and the coward's valour? the instrument and screen of all your villainies; by which you punish in others what you act yourselves; or wou'd have acted, had you been in their circumstances. The judge, who condemns a poor man for being a thief, had been a thief himself had he been poor.

¹ Some of Goethe's contemporaries seem to have recognized at once a relationship between *Goetz* and Lillo's play. I infer that from a review of Chn. H. Schmid's treatise, *Über Götz von Berlichingen: Eine dramaturgische Abhandlung* (1774), which appeared in Nicolai's *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* and is reprinted in Braun, *Goethe im Urteil seiner Zeitgenossen*, pp. 336 ff. The reviewer says: "Die Scene des heimlichen Gerichts in Götz finden wir recht gut; aber warum soll nun gleich Otway, Shakespear und Lillo das entgelten?" The writer also compares Adelheid and Millwood. Schmid's treatise is not accessible to me.

Millwood's hatred and contempt of men come out in her conversation with Trueman:

That imaginary being [i. e., the devil] is an emblem of thy cursed sex collected. A mirror, wherein each particular man may see his own likeness, and that of all mankind. . . . Well may I curse your barbarous sex.

Lenz's Donna Diana in *Der neue Menoza* is filled with the same hatred:

Lass uns Hosen anziehen, und die Männer bei ihren Haaren im Blute herumschleppen . . . die Hunde, die uns die Hände lecken, und im Schlafe an der Gurgel packen (Act II, sc. 3; cf. also III, 2, 8).

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SOME HANS SACHS DISCOVERIES

In spite of the increased attention paid of late by scholars to Hans Sachs, there still remain numerous works of his unaccounted for. Some of these are doubtless lost forever, but many of them ought to be found in the course of time by systematic search in the numerous extant *meisterliederhandschriften*.

We recall that all the later *meistersingerschulen* regarded Hans Sachs as the foremost *singer* and his reform activity as exemplary. Consequently there is scarcely a *singbuch* of the late sixteenth, or of the seventeenth century that fails to contain some of the songs of our poet. In connection with my own Hans Sachs researches, it has been my good fortune to discover, among a great number of the poet's *lieder* already known, a number of others hitherto lost. Some of the latter I found in well-known MSS, others in MSS never before mentioned in this connection.

I have had occasion to examine a large number of *meisterliederhandschriften*, most of which contain more or less Hans Sachs material. Of these only the following preserve some of his *lieder*, regarded by scholars hitherto as lost:

MSS of the Stadtbibliothek, Nuremberg: Will. III 782; Solg. fol. 56¹ and ^{II}.

MSS of the Königliche Bibliothek, Dresden: Fol. M. 9; Fol. M. 16; Fol. M. 17; Quarto M. 186.

MSS of the Grossherzogliche Bibliothek, Weimar: Quarto 572; Quarto 576 Heft 1.

MS of the Königliche Bibliothek, Berlin: Fol. 25.

MS of the Universitätsbibliothek, Erlangen: Erl. 1668.

MS of the Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, Munich: cgm. 5103.

In reprinting these newly found Hans Sachs works by title, I have thought it well to arrange them by number corresponding to Vol. XXV of the Hans Sachs edition of A. v. Keller and E. Goetze.¹

¹ *Hans Sachs*. Herausgegeben von A. v. Keller und E. Goetze. Bd. XXV, herausgegeben von E. Goetze. Tübingen, 1902. I have kept as close to the various MSS as possible. Capital letters, which are used indiscriminately by many copyists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, I have been compelled to normalize. Similarly I have thought it well to

Nr. 1220. 1543, April 28. In der freudtweis Hans v. Mainz.
 "Hört wie uns der prophet Joel." M. 9, Seite 594-596

Nr. 1245. 1543, Juli 25. Die christlich Kirchenn.
 Im langen Ulrich Eislingers.
 "Das zwölfftin apocalipsim." Solg. fol. 56ⁱ, bl. 162'-164'

Nr. 1252. 1543, August 3. Im gulden thon Sachsen.
 Der todt July Cesaris.
 "Als Julius Cesar zu Rom." Solg. fol. 56ⁱⁱ, bl. 228-229

Nr. 1255. 1543, August 7. In der abenteurweis Foltzen.
 Die 18 schaut ob eim aj.¹
 "Eins tages ich zw. garte sass." M. 186, bl. 345'-346'

Nr. 1303. 1544, Januar 5. In dem freyen thon Hanns Foltzen.
 Der hauptmann Lisias.
 "Im andren Machabeorum." Solg. fol. 56ⁱ, bl. 191-192

Nr. 1441. 1544, Juli 17. In dem rotten thon Petter Zwinger.
 Drei schwenk Stratonicci.²
 "Stratonicus der war ein harpfenschlager." Solg. fol. 56ⁱⁱ, bl. 225'-226'

Nr. 1495. 1544, September 23. Im kurzen ton Wolffrans.
 Die 6 sigel des lames.
 "Johannes schreibt an dem sechsten capittel." P., bl. 168'-169'

Nr. 1505. 1544, Oktober 7. Im langen thon Nachtigal.
 Das lob der weisheit: Salomon 8.
 "Salomon am achten erzellet." M. 186, bl. 20'-21'; M. 186, bl. 57-58

Nr. 1632. 1545, März 18. Im freyen thon Hanns Foltzen.
 Joseph legt des Königs schencken und becken die treum auss der
 weinschenck wurd ledig und der beck gehenckt.

"Do Joseph nun gefangen lag." M. 17, bl. 150'-151'

Nr. 1649. 1545, April 9. Im schatz ton Hans Vogel.
 Dz kün weib Theosena.
 "Von Theosena wunder höre." Will. III 782, Seite 168-169

Nr. 1691. 1545, Mai 21. Im grauen thon Regenbogen.
 König Jugurta ertödt seine zwen brüder wirt von Römern gfangen
 und ertränckt.

"Kung Jugurtha." M. 16, Seite 12-13

Nr. 1707. 1546, Juni 11. Die Egipter werden mit hagl geplagt.
 Im langen thon Walters von der Voglwait.
 "Do Pharao das volck von Israel." M. 17, bl. 113-114

simplify the various spellings and indications of the months, and to insert the date according to Goetze, Vol. XXV, where the MS does not give it. I have not been able to collate the spelling of some of the MSS, particularly the Dresden MSS, a second time.

¹ Cf. *Sämmliche Fabeln und Schwänke von Hans Sachs*, herausgegeben von Edmund Goetze und Carl Drescher, Vol. III (Halle, 1900), No. 148; quoted as lost.

² Cf. *ibid.*, No. 164; quoted as lost.

Nr. 1708. (1546 o. d). Pharao wirt geblagt das alle wasser im Egipten
zw blud werden.
Im leit don Nachtigal.
“Als Pharaoo.” M. 17, bl. 108–109

Nr. 1789. 1545, August 21. Inn der feurweis Wolff Buchners.
Ein klag psalm der 88.
“Herr got meins heils tag unde nacht ich schreie.” Solg. fol. 56¹, bl. 195–196

Nr. 1800. 1545, September 3. Pharao gedenckt die Kinder Israel mit
listen zw. dampfen, befechls den wehmuetern.
Im langen Wolfram.
“Nach dem und Israel vil Jahr.” M. 17, bl. 96’–97’

Nr. 2304. 1547, Mai 6. In der pluttweis des alten Stolen.
Der adler mit dem jungen fuchsen.¹
“Ein adler nam eim fuchsen seine jungen.” M. 186, bl. 273’–274’

Nr. 2328. 1547, Juni 3. In der dretten fridweis Drechsels.
Hella der Künig aus Engelandt.
“Als der Kunig aus Engellande.” Solg. fol. 56¹, bl. 29’–30’

Nr. 2344 (o. j. u. d.). In der sauerweis Hans Vogels.
Der verprent Kunig im sal.
“Als Sachsen von Froto war bezwungen.” M. 186, bl. 412’–413’

Nr. 2351. 1547 (o. d.). Im rosen thon Hans Sachsen.
Kunig Froto kumbt durch ein zauberin umb.
“Froto der dritt des namen was.” M. 186, bl. 417–418

Nr. 2364. 1547, Juli 4. Im starcken thon Nachtigals.
Gott wil nicht dess sünders todt.
“Im drej und drejssigsten.” Erl. 1668, bl. 83’–84’

Nr. 2369 (o. j. u. d.).² In dem langen hofton Muscapluet.
Der knecht im garten.³
“Vor manchem jar.” M. 186, bl. 142–142’

Nr. 2381. 1547, August 2. In dem ploben thon Regenpogens.
Der gestraft Kunig aus Zipern.
“Alsgleich der erst Kunig regiert.” M. 186, bl. 373–374

Nr. 2468. 1547, September 29. Im kreutz thon Walthers.
Das seuift korn.
“Im drei zehinden fein.” Solg. fol. 56¹¹, bl. 21’–22; M. 9, Seite 308–310

¹Cf. *Fabeln und Schwänke*, Vol. IV (Halle, 1903), No. 377; quoted as lost.²First part only, but this in Hans Sachs's own handwriting.³Cf. *Fabeln und Schwänke*, Vol. IV, No. 383; quoted as lost.

Nr. 2480. 1547, Oktober 7. In der zugweis Frawenlobs.
 Die verkaufung Esopus.¹
 "Als zu verkaufen an dem marck was sten." M. 186, bl. 477'-478'

Nr. 2493. 1547, Oktober 16. Im verborgen thon Fritz Zorn. Die mord-
 terisch Konigin. Athalia.
 "Als die Kunigin Athalia." M. 9, Seite 745-748

Nr. 2515. Oktober 31. Inn der gesangweis des Leschen.
 Die zukunft Christi.
 "Amos am letzten der prophet." M. 9, Seite 743-745

Nr. 2521. 1547, November 3. In der traumweis Heinrich Mueglings.
 Draum vom lewen.
 "Es traumbt ein purger alte." M. 186, bl. 471'-472'

Nr. 2612. 1548, Februar 22. Im leidton Regenbogens.
 Der 132 psalm.
 "Gedencke o herr an David." P., bl. 157-158

Nr. 2613. 1548, Februar 22. Im kurzen ton Lenhart Nunnenbeck.
 Vermanung zum gebet, psalm 134.
 "Tutt loben den herren ihr knecht sein."
 P., bl. 398-399 (mit Noten); M. 9, Seite 616-617 (Seit loben).

Nr. 2622. 1548, März 1. Im reuter thon Kuntz Fulsack.
 Die alt kuplerin.²
 "Ein zimmerman." Solg. fol. 56^{II}, bl. 234-235

Nr. 2628. 1548, März 3. In der zugweis frawenlobs.
 Der edelman mit dem edlen stain.³
 "Ein edelman kam auf ein schlos geriten." M. 186, bl. 469-470

Nr. 2645. 1548, März 16. Inn der allment des Stolln.
 Der mördisch Römer Silla.
 "Als Silla zu Rom gwaltig wur." Solg. fol. 56^I, bl. 245'-246'

Nr. 2650. 1548, März 20. Die versteinigung Christi.
 In der zugweis Fritz Zornns.
 "Warlich ich sage euch warleiche." Solg. fol. 56^I, bl. 131'-132'

Nr. 2676. 1548, April 6. Im suesen thon Schillers.
 Der unberedt ritter.⁴
 "Ein edle fraw genandt." M. 186, bl. 468-469

Nr. 2678. 1548, April 6. Inn der gesangweis Römers.
 Die drei buleten schwester.⁵
 "Bocacius schreibt wie in Marsilia sas." Solg. fol. 56^I, bl. 249-250

¹Cf. *Fabeln und Schwänke*, Vol. IV, No. 408; quoted as lost.²Cf. *ibid.*, No. 456; quoted as lost.³Cf. *ibid.*, No. 462; quoted as lost. ⁴Cf. *ibid.*, No. 481; quoted as lost.⁵Cf. *ibid.*, No. 482; quoted as lost. The content of this No. 482 isn't that of a "Schwank."

Nr. 2714. 1548, Mai 2. Inn dem gulden thon Wolffrans.
 Die red der 7 philosophy.
 "Nach dem Alexander magnus." Solg. fol. 56¹, bl. 243-244

Nr. 2729. 1548, Mai 11. In dem feinen thon Walthers.
 Underschaid der klaider.
 "Es beschreibet uns Pluetarchus." M. 186, bl. 467-468

Nr. 2730. 1548, Mai 12. In dem hohen thon des alten Stolen
 Der gros fisch.¹
 "Philoxenus der poet ase." M. 186, bl. 470'-471'

Nr. 2732. 1548, Mai 12. In der meyenweis Eislingers.
 Der philosophus mit dem schuster.
 "Es hat beschrieben Plutarchus." Will. III 782, Seite 961-962

Nr. 2751. 1548 (o. d.). In dem gulten thon Sachsen.
 Ein straf gotlicher weisheit.²
 "Die weisheit auf der gasen klagt." M. 9, Seite 1195-1197

Nr. 2790. 1548, Juni 28. In dem gfangen thon H. Vogel.
 Der engel auf dem roten ross.
 "Als Israhel gefangen lag." Solg. fol. 56¹¹, bl. 144'-146; M. 9, Seite 273-275 (date 1546,
 Juli 28); M. 186, bl. 58'-59'

Nr. 2864. 1548, August 28. Im langen thon Nachtigal.
 Die unschuldigen kindle.
 "Do die weisen hin zogen schwinde." Solg. fol. 56¹¹, bl. 12'-13'

Nr. 2872. 1548, August 31. In dem spiegelthon Frawenlobs.
 Der schaz im weinperg.³
 "Ein weingartner drej sune hett." M. 186, bl. 328'-329

Nr. 2909. 1548, Oktober 4. Die geburt gottes, sündigt nit mer.
 Im klingenden thon Sachsen, 1. Joh., 1 Cap.
 "Wir wissen das wer von got ist geboren." Solg. fol. 56¹, bl. 157'-158'

Nr. 2912. 1548, Oktober 5. Im feinen thon Walther von der (Vogelweid)⁴
 Die bruntzend beurin.⁵
 "Als sant Petter auff erden ging." Solg. fol. 56¹, bl. 325'-326

Nr. 2917. 1548, Oktober 9. In dem langen thon Muscapluets.
 Der lauser.⁶
 "Ein boeses weib." M. 186, bl. 116'-117'

Nr. 2934. 1548, Oktober 23. In der circelweiss Albrecht Leschen.
 Der kampff Archelaus mit Herculi.
 "Nachdem alss Dionire." Will. III 782, Seite 164-165

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, No. 498; quoted as lost.² Read "w-heit."³ Cf. *ibid.*, No. 522; quoted as lost.⁴ Reads "von der."⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, No. 532; quoted as lost.⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, No. 536; quoted as lost.

Nr. 2963. 1548, November 6. In der flamweiss herr Wolffran.
 Der habicht mit der nachtigal.¹
 "Ein habichtt in eim grunen thal." Will. III 782, Seite 196-197

Nr. 2970. 1548, November 7. Die Sybilla Amalthea.
 In dem geschiden thon Nachtigalls.
 "Amalthea die ware." Solg. fol. 56¹, bl. 171-171'

Nr. 2971. 1548, November 8. In dem schwarzen thon Clingensor.
 Der purger² mit dem arzt.³
 "Ein purger lag heftig dott kranck." M. 186, bl. 337-337'

Nr. 3033. 1549, Februar 7. In der zuegweis Frauenlobs.
 Die 3 selb erwöltten döt.
 "Drei selb erwoelte dött hat uns beschrieben." M. 186, bl. 353'-354

Nr. 3070. 1549, April 16. Im grün thon Frawenlobs.
 Der puelent Kunig Regnerus.
 "Als Regnerus in Schweden." M. 186, bl. 414-415

Nr. 3076. 1549, April 17. In des Römers gesangweis.
 Kunig Magno wird ausgeschniden.
 "Als Magnus der dritt Kunig in Norwegen war." M. 186, bl. 405-406'

Nr. 3118. 1549, Juli 5. In der narrenweys,⁴ M. Schrots.
 Von den naren.⁵
 "Gleich wie in dem sumr der schne." Q. 576, Heft 1, bl 56'-58

Nr. 3150. 1549, September 30. In der hohen junglingweis C. Otten-dorffer.
 Der purger von Straspurg.⁶
 "Fro Straspurg sas." M. 186, bl. 136-137

Nr. 3152. 1549, Oktober 1. Der blintgeboren. Aligoria.
 Im parratrey Kettners.
 "Christus zu Betsaida war." Solg. fol. 56^{II}, bl 42-43

Nr. 3171. 1549 (o. d.). In dem gulden thon Kantzlers.
 Der pischof mit dem prediger.⁷
 "Zw Speir ein pischof ware." M. 186, bl. 466-467

Nr. 3252. 1550, März 19. Die erscheinung und himelfart Christi.
 Im dailton Nachtigal.
 "Als Jesus erstundt von dem todtt." Solg. fol. 56¹ bl. 125-126

¹ Cf. *Fabeln und Schwänke*, Vol. IV, No. 552; quoted as lost. ² Reads "purer."

³ Cf. *ibid.*, No. 555; quoted as lost. ⁴ Reads "narrinweys." ⁵ Reads "narin."

⁶ Cf. *Fabeln und Schwänke*, Vol. V (Halle, 1904), No. 612; quoted as lost.

⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, No. 626; quoted as lost.

Nr. 3257. 1550, (Mey)¹ 22. Im leid thon Frauenlobs.
 Art und lon der gotlosen wider die selig Malachias 3 caput
 "Malachias." M. 9, Seite 338-340

Nr. 3267. 1550 (o. d.). Im linden thon Jeroni Dreyboltzs.
 Hilf gotes wider die feind.
 "Esaias spricht schlecht." M. 9, Seite 202-204

Nr. 3275. 1550, April 5. Im süßen thon dess Regenbogen.
 Warum Israel gefangen sey.
 "Baruch am dritten spricht." Erl. 1668, bl. 82-82'

Nr. 3319. 1550, Mai. 14. In dem pfluegthon Sigharts.
 Der pest freundt.
 "Ein guet gsell fraget mich der mer" M. 186, bl. 336-336'; M. 16, bl. 328'-329'

Nr. 3402. 1550, Juni 22. Im überlangen ton Bartolme Regenbogen.
 David mit Absalom ein figur Christi mit dem sathan.
 "Nach dem David." Will. III 782, Seite 134-137

Nr. 4287. 1554, März 14. In der engelweiss Hanss Vogel.
 Der Samaritter. Alligoria.
 "Christus det sein jungren ein gleichnuss sagen" Q. 572, bl. 343'-345'

Nr. 4311. 1554, April 3. In der hönweis Wolframs von Eschenpach.
 Drey straf vom wein.
 "Eschelos der weis mone." M. 186, bl. 232

Nr. 4326. 1554, Mai 11. In dem daitlon Hans Folzen.
 Der dorff pfaff mit dem bischoff²
 "Auf einem dorff ein pfarher sas." Will. III 782, Seite 1107

Nr. 4338. 1554, Mai. 14. Im langen thon Hopfengarten.
 Dancksagung dz gott ales erhelt.
 "Ir himel lobt den herren reich." M. 16, bl. 469-470

Nr. 4374. 1554, Juni 21. Im langen hofthon Muscaplут.
 Der edelman rait dem munich das pferd weck.³
 "Ein edelman." M. 186, bl. 194-195'

Nr. 4394. 1554, Juli 9. Im barat reyen Fritz Ketners.
 "Got der ist unser zuversicht." Fol. 25, Seite 116-119 (mit Noten)

Nr. 4395. 1554, Juli 9. Im braunen thon Regenbogen.
 "Es lag ein stat in Arcadier lande." M. 16, Seite 17-18

Nr. 4403. 1554, Juli 11. In der traumweiss Mtigling.
 Hercules erschlegt die rauber erlost de 7. Jungkfrauen.
 "Busiris der tirane" Erl. 1668, bl. 490-490'

¹ Reads "Mey;" should be "Marz" in all probability.

² Vol. VI of *Fabeln und Schwänke*, of which this would be No. 890, is still in preparation.

³ Would be *Fabeln und Schwänke*, Vol. VI, No. 905.

Nr. 4419. 1554, Juli 20. In dem vergolten thon Wolframs.
Die mordisch pfafenwal.
“In Ritzo im Welschlande.” M. 186, bl. 201

Nr. 4433. 1554, Juli 28. Im kronten thon R. Dullers.
Der 64 psalm.
“Gott erhör mein stim kläglich.” Q. 573, bl. 112’-114

Nr. 4457. 1554, August 14. Im hofthon Zwingers.
Der leichtfertig pfarherr.¹
“In einem dorf ein pfarherr sas.” M. 16, bl. 107-107’

Nr. 4483. 1554, September 3. In der karenpluet Hans Schreiers.
Das glück und unglückhaftig leben Kunig Agathocles.
“Agathocles der kunig war eins hafners sun.” M. 186, bl. 411-412

Nr. 4508. 1554, Oktober 6. In der lerchenweis Endres.
Die christlich gedult.
“Christus thet auf sein mund.” Solg. fol. 56 n, bl. 17-17’

Nr. 4510. 1554, Oktober 8. In der donnerweyss Regenbogen.
Pharao wirt in seinem land mit hagel donner und fewer geplaget.
“Mose im andren buch.” M. 16, Seite 10-12

Nr. 4519. 1554, Oktober 12. In der narrenweiss Schrats.
Von narren.
“Eclesiastes Salomo.” M. 16, bl. 199-199’

Nr. 4520. 1554, Oktober 12. In dem newen thon Onofferi Schwartzpach.
Das neunt capittel eclesiastes.
“Eclesiastes saget.” egm. 5103, bl. 263-264

Nr. 4525. 1554, Oktober 22. In der geteilten krugeweise Hans Leut-
tesdorfer.
Der zerbrochen krug.
“Der herr sprach zu Jeremie.” P., bl. 445’-446’

Nr. 4533. 1554, Oktober 13. Im newen thon Frawenlobs.
Von israelischer beschneydung und haltung dess passah. Das him-
mel-brot nam ein ende.

“Josua an dem fünften stete.” M. 16, bl. 33-33’

Nr. 4537. 1554, November 5. In dem verwirten ton Hanss Fogels.
Dess osterlemeins blut.
“In Exodo geschriben stet.” Q. 572, bl. 32-34

Nr. 4571. 1554, Dezember 18. In der alment Frid. Stollen.
Eins soldans mördrische that.
“Ludovicus Varthomanus.” M. 16, Seite 103-104

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¹ Would be No. 919, Vol. VI of *Fabeln und Schwänke*.

SOME FEATURES OF STYLE IN EARLY FRENCH NARRATIVE POETRY (1150-70)

II. DIRECT REPETITION OF WORDS, PHRASES, AND LINES

The parallelism which shows itself in the transposition of the repeated passage from one couplet (or *laisse*) to another, with change of rhyme, is much the more interesting form of repetition in mediaeval French literature. But it is by far the less frequent. The period of its vigorous life was short, and even during this brief existence its popularity was constantly menaced by its older rival—direct repetition in the same or in consecutive couplets without regard to the rhyme. Direct repetition is at its best when expressed by single words or short phrases, as the hemistich of an octosyllabic line. It is less effective, and less usual, when it covers the whole line.

The ultimate origin of direct repetition is clear. A natural desire for emphasis produces it. It probably appears with the first literary productions of a people. It survives all other forms of linguistic art. There is therefore no occasion to wonder at its prevalence in French poetry during the sixth and seventh decades of the twelfth century. The example set by the older lyric and epic, or by contemporaneous Latin literature, especially where the style of the latter was inspired by models found in the Scriptures, would only go to strengthen a tendency which was inherent and spontaneous. We may also assume that at this particular period the dialectics of the Schoolmen, with which writers like Wace were thoroughly familiar, did not fail to influence the expression of thought in the vernacular in the direction of alertness and clearness. At all events, the variety of the forms of direct repetition, which is noticeable in the narrative poets of this first Renaissance, could be plausibly attributed to more than one source.

Direct repetitions of less than a line in length begin with the earliest Romance verse, with the Provençal *Boethius* and *Passion du Christ*, with the French *Ste. Eulalie* and *Vie de St. Léger*. The first words of the first *laisse* in *Boethius* are repeated by the

first words of the second *laisse*.¹ Also single words are repeated in consecutive lines:

Lai o solfen las altras leisjut jar,
 Lai veng lo reis sa felnia menár.
 Lai fo Boecis e foren i soi par. (61-63)

Phrases are repeated in successive or alternate lines:

Zo signifiga la vita qui en ter'es.
 Zo signifiga de céł la dreita lei. (206, 208)
 Contra felnia sunt fait de gran bontat,
 Contra perjúri de bona feeltat,
 Contr' avaricia sun fait de largetat, etc. (218 ff.)

Perhaps a larger number of instances of direct repetition are to be found in the *Passion du Christ*.²

The earliest French poem, *Ste. Eulalie*,³ reveals the same tendency, a tendency in which its Latin original does not share:

Voldrent la veintre li deo inimi.
 Voldrent la faire diaule servir. (3, 4)
 Ne por or, ned argent, ne paramenz,
 Por manatce regiel ne preiement. (7, 8)

The *Vie de St. Léger* presents some instances of transposed parallelism, as we have seen in our previous article. We may therefore expect to find in it the less artistic forms of direct repetition. Words are repeated in successive hemistichs of the same line:

Ciel' ira grand et ciel corrott (105)

¹ See P. Meyer, *Recueil d'anciens textes*, p. 23. Pio Rajna in his *Origini dell'Epopea Francese* attributes the repetitions in *Boethius* to the direct influence of the French epic (*Origini*, pp. 490-93). We do not understand this statement to exclude other influences than the national epic, particularly in such passages as we quote above (cf. ll. 218-29). The only instance where we note the repetition of an entire line,

Tuit a plorár repairen moi talant.
 Tuit mei talant repairen a plorar. (80, 91)

involves a change of rhyme and might be cited as an example of transposed repetition. The transposed line (80) in this case, however, involves a break with the usual syntactical order of the Romance phrase, which is represented by l. 91. It might be questioned whether the author in his effort to make his rhyme had not been guided in this instance by Latin models. Besides, the effect is more that of a refrain, since the line comes at the end of successive *lisses*.

² See Foerster und Koschwitz, *Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch*, ll. 7, 8; 22, 23; 330, 331, 334, 335; 435, 436; 491, 494. Cf. J. Vising, "Les Débuts du style français," *Recueil de mémoires philosophiques présentés à M. Gaston Paris*, pp. 184, 185.

³ Foerster und Koschwitz, *op. cit.*

and hemistichs and phrases are repeated in alternate or consecutive lines:

Cio li preia, laissas lo toth.

Cio li preia, paias ab lui. (106, 108 [cf. 110, 112; 203, 204])

We have already noticed the apparent unwillingness of the author of *St. Alexis* to employ the forms of transposed repetition. But he quite atones for this neglect by the variety and frequency of his direct repetitions. The first hemistich of the poem recurs at l. 8, the first hemistich of l. 117 at ll. 120 and 121, the first hemistich of l. 235 at ll. 238 and 260, and so on. Single words are repeated in successive lines or hemistichs:

Tantes dolors at por tei enduredes,

E tantes fains e tantes sez passedes,

E tantes lairmes por le tuenc cors ploredes! (397-99 [cf. 471-73])

O bele boche, bels vis, bele faiture, (481)

Que valt cist criz, cist duels ne ceste noise? (502) etc.

In the first epic poems extant, *Roland*, *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, *Gormund et Isembard*, the number and kinds of direct repetitions, whether of single words, phrases, or lines, are considerably increased. Repetitions of words, as *tant* in *Roland* (525-27, 553-55, 1399-1401, etc.), *cil* or *cist* in *Roland* (1452, 1453; 1612, 1613; 1810, 1811; 3307-9; 3482-86), *ne* in *Roland* (2134-36; 2399-2401) and the like; *quant* in *Pèlerinage* (15-17), and *les* in *Pèlerinage* (105, 106); of short phrases, as *e pur* in *Roland* (2211, 2212), *e la* in *Roland* (3224-30), *veez cum* in *Pèlerinage* (448, 449); of hemistichs in consecutive lines (*Roland*, 1988, 1989; 2322-24; 2854, 2855), or after an interval (*Roland*, 1889, 1902; 2909, 2916; *Pèlerinage*, 371, 377, 382; 601, 628; 650, 653, 665; 734, 737; 768, 777, etc.; *Gormund et Isembard*, 41, 65; 69, 78, etc.); and of entire lines (*Roland*, *passim*; *Pèlerinage*, 241, 249; 270, 338; 383, 443; 466, 563, 590; *Gormund et Isembard*, 492, 498; 563, 565), all would tend to prove that direct parallelism had become a component part of poetic art before the beginning of the twelfth century.

The few remains of the didactic writers of this period tell the same story. Philippe de Thaun uses direct repetition whenever convenient. So does the author of *St. Brandan*, who even takes

a step in advance, and by repeating a substantive in successive hemistichs gives us a foretaste of the effect this kind of parallelism is to produce with the poets of the mediæval Romantic School, younger than he by a generation:

Peril devant, peril desus,
Peril detriars, peril dejus. (1234, 1235)

The gap in vernacular literature between Philippe de Thaun and the author of *St. Brandan* on the one hand, and Gaimar and Wace on the other, is not so serious to bridge over, when we recall that these last-named pioneers of the literary revival which followed the Crusade of 1147 were, like the elder poets, nurtured in the schools of Normandy and England, and received their first literary impressions from the court of Henry I. We might therefore expect them to hand down the literary traditions of the twenties. And the younger poets, contemporary with Gaimar and Wace, with few exceptions, perhaps none, were also clerks, brought up in monastic foundations and trained in the learning of the day. Consequently the literature of the period from 1150 to 1170, the output of the first Romantic School, should preserve the general features which had distinguished French literature under Henry I. The educational environment of the poets of this second generation had practically remained the environment of the author of *Roland* and Philippe de Thaun. It would therefore be logical that the conceptions of style which obtained with these authors should be reaffirmed in the works of Wace, Thomas, or even Chrétien de Troies. New influences had indeed entered, to modify and enlarge. But whether Eastern or Provençal in origin, these new influences had been quickly assimilated, had been grafted on the indigenous tree. Better fruit might be the result, but its flavor would still smack strongly of the native soil. So with direct repetition. It continued as it began, in many particulars. Indeed, the recent rise of scholasticism had only intensified the inherent desire for emphatic reiterated statement. The debates of the schools over the meanings of words and their striving for accurate definitions could not fail to react on the expression of the vernacular poets who had been educated in them. Wace, for instance, shows a decided liking for subtle dis-

tinctions and for plays on words. This liking must have been given him by his education. And Thomas, the author of *Tristan*, reveals such fondness for what might be called pseudo-psychology, that we are almost forced to attribute its origin to his familiarity with those analyses of ideas which claimed so large a share of the attention of the dialecticians.

But with the poets of the fifties direct parallelism is expressed in phrases which mark a considerable advance in literary art. As we have said, the citation made above from *St. Brandan* foretells the manner of the later generation, more rhetorical and declamatory, but also more poetical. You do not find Gaimar remaining satisfied with a simple repetition of connectives or adverbs, as *pur quei* (256–58) or *u* (1035, 1036). He tries the repetition of synonyms in successive hemistichs and lines:

E lur herneis, e lur avers,
E lur tresors, e lur maners. (1003, 1004)

But it is Wace particularly who exercises his talents in order to enlarge the possibilities of direct repetition—direct repetition constitutes his main contribution to literary style—and his improvements are of so striking a nature that they may be said to have founded a school of expression. During the next decade and longer the leading poets look back to Wace's *Brut* as a classic. From it they get a more lively form of repetition in the case of single words:

Or tost, or tost, montez, montez,
Poignez, poignez, corez, corez. (12174, 12175)
Ça dui, ça troi, ça cinq, ça sis,
Ça set, ça huit, ça nuef, ça dis. (12184, 12185)

They also find in it an emphatic combination of synonyms and words describing objects that are alike:

Pran mes cités, pran mes manoirs,
Pran mes trésors, pran mes avoirs. (6733, 6734¹ [cf. 10879–94])

Wace occasionally employs direct repetition for the purpose of contrasting words of opposite meaning, the antithetical phrase which became such a favorite of French composition, and which

¹ But see the citation from Gaimar above, which may have been a model for Wace in his turn.

appears at an early hour in French literary history. First among his nation he describes the effects of love.

Ne puis aler, ne puis venir,
Ne puis villier, ne puis dormir,
Ne puis lever, ne puis colchier,
Ne puis boire, ne puis mangier. (*Brut*, 8887-90)

Or again he puts endearing epithets together in a way that foreshadows lyric passages in later romantic poems:

Lasse! caitive, ma dolçor,
Ma joie, mon déduit, m'amour
A li gaians à honte ocise. (*Op. cit.*, 11796-98)

The influence of the Schoolmen's dialectics is traceable in the *Brut*, whether applied to the analysis of abstract conceptions:

Oisdice met home en perece,
Oisdice amenuise proëce,
Oisdice esmuet les leceries,
Les jurèces et drueries, (11021-24)

or revealed in the desire to make plays on words, the false distinctions of argument and debate:

Mult me desdaigne, en mervillant,
Et me mervel, en desdegnant, (10923, 10924)
Mult me desdaing, mult me mervel. (10927)

Thus the direct form of repetition, which produces the sensation of alertness, exactness, vividness under the pen of a good writer, may also develop, under the guidance of scholastic training, the qualities of refinement and distinction of thought which we qualify as *précieux*, when we encounter them in more recent literature. These qualities we have come to recognize as inseparable attributes of the French mind; but we are none the less indebted to Wace and his clerical education for their first successful exposition as features of literary style. It is quite likely that the *Brut* owed its reputation among subsequent authors to these characteristics. They regarded its phrases as standards of expression. They continued, for sometime, to imitate and adapt its periods. A few, indeed, tried to undermine its authority, but the larger number upheld its sway.

Did the author of *Thèbes*, antagonistic as he is to Wace in

many respects, and particularly in this matter of parallelism, weaken at times and fail to guard his independence against the encroachments of Wace's style? Such would seem to be the case, because direct repetition of words and phrases are not wholly lacking in his great romance, though it does not occur so frequently as in the *Brut*, nor is it by any means so prominent. For instance, repetitions of individual words are quite restricted in *Thèbes*:

Por mon seignor ai jo mout fait,
Maintes peines et maint mal trait,
Et receu maintes colees. (3733-35)
Le rei guardent quant il conseille
Et quant il dort et quant il veille. (4067, 4068)

Even more limited is the reiteration of phrases. There is one antithetical passage which recalls the manner of the *Brut*:

Nus nel viée, nus ne l'otreie,
Ne nus nel tout, ne nus nel done, (2810, 2811)

and in the following lines the poet is evidently conscious of the repetition of both word and hemistich:

Par le tornei ensemble vont,
En la grant presse ensemble sont;
Il et li reis ensemble poignent,
Il et li reis ensemble joignent. (6933-36)
Al cors escorre grant gent meine,
Al cors tolir meine grant torbe;
Ypomedon le li destorbe;
Ypomedon le li defent. (6946-49)¹

Ne lor toudront, se nes ocient;
Ne lor toudront, go cuit, mais hué. (6964, 6965)

Yet if we take all such passages together, and add to direct repetition within the couplet (the usual form in the *Brut*) direct repetition in consecutive lines of different couplets (the case of the last two citations from *Thèbes*), we find that the total number in *Thèbes* is inconsiderable. The repetitions in *Thèbes* are also less striking, less varied, and less original than in the *Brut*. The

¹This particular passage recalls the forms of transposed parallelism. In the second line the rhyme word is transposed. In the last the rhyme word is replaced by a synonym. The combination of the four lines, however, would seem to be due to the poet's wish to repeat the first hemistich, rather than to any notion of varying the rhyme.

author had no interest in them. He expended his strength on perfecting his conception of transposed repetition. Direct repetition may have seemed to him commonplace, simple. He was attracted by the more difficult manner, which required skill to harmonize the demands of syntax with the necessities of versification.

If this conclusion is a correct one, it is surprising that *Énéas*,¹ later than *Thèbes*, but very like it in content and spirit, should reject the more artistic parallelism of its romantic forerunner and follow the simple forms which the *Brut* had made popular. For *Énéas* contains quite as many and quite as extended repetitions of single words as Wace's chronicle; namely, *grant* (*Énéas*, ll. 51, 52), *molt* (ll. 331-34), *porquei* (ll. 1984-1990). Reiterated phrases also occur frequently, whether within the same couplet or, like *Thèbes*, in consecutive lines of different couplets:

Entre ses braz tot nu tenir;
 Entre ses braz le cuide estreindre. (1238, 1239)
 Et li autre de busche atraire,
 Et li autre vont por les mors. (6078, 6079)

Énéas also offers analyses of ideas, quite in Wace's manner, as is shown by the following definition of love's attributes:

Amors molt fait ome hardi,
 Amors molt tost l'a enaspri.
 Amors, molt dones vassalages!
 Amors, molt faiz creistre barnages!
 Amors, molt es de grant efforز!
 Amors, molt es reides et forz! (9061-66)

The repetitions in *Énéas* offer a redundancy of words which would classify them with the repetitions in the *Brut*. This classification seems all the more noticeable when we take into account the advantage which the author of *Énéas* might have gained by following the transposed parallelism of *Thèbes* as opportunity offered, an advantage he appears to have deliberately refused; for when he wished to repeat the idea of a hemistich or line, instead of using the mannerism of *Thèbes*, with which he must have been acquainted, he chose a much less effective form:

¹ Edited by J. Salverda de Grave, *Bibliotheca Normannica*, Band IV.

Cartage virent, la cité,
 Dont Dido tint la dignité.
 Dame Dido tint le païs, (375-77)
 Ja nus oem armez n'i venist,
 Que la pierre a sei nel trasist:
 Tant n'i venissent o halbers,
 Ne fussent lués al mur aers. (437-40)
 Ja de toz cels n'issist uns fors,
 Ne fust detrenchiez et ocis,
 Ja uns seuls d'els nen issist vis; (936-38)
 Molt a dur cuer kil tochera,
 Kil vuelt ocire onkes n'ama;
 Onkes de buene amor n'ot cure
 Ki tochera tel criature; (5231-34)

A comparison with like parallelistic passages in *Thèbes* discloses at once the artistic inferiority of *Énéas*.

The date of *Énéas* has not been determined, but in the matter of versification it seems to be older than Gautier d'Arras' first poem, *Éracle*, which was probably begun by 1165. In *Éracle* Gautier employs transposed parallelism, as we have seen. He also uses various kinds of direct repetition, thereby confessing to eclecticism, and also to lack of originality when placed beside his models of the *Brut* and *Thèbes*. Simple repetitions of words are frequent in *Éracle*, as *quunque* (698-700) *quoique* (4662, 4663), or *voiz* (5692-94). Of a higher grade is this repetition of *bel*:

Bel sont si crin, bel sont si ueil,
 Bele bouche a, bel nés, bel vis,
 Bel est trestout, çou m'est avis. (2603-5)

Phrases are often repeated in *Éracle*, as *ne plus tost* (3805, 3806), *li uns . . . li dui* (4918-21), *et maint* (5433-36), while the simple form of lyric parallelism is recalled by the repetition of lines in successive couplets:

Pour çou me dueil qu'il ne s'en dueut:
 Pour çou me dueil que il nel set. (3923, 3924)

Lines are also repeated on the same rhyme, but with a new rhyme word:

Tant maintes foiz i ai alé,
 Tant maintes foiz i ai balé,
 [E maintes foiz i ai sailli,] (3944-46)

or with less exactness:

Pleurent cousins et cousin,
Pleurent voisines et voisin. (4022, 4023)

Repetition of ideas occurs, as in the proverb:

Car puis que sire a chier sen chien,
Tuit li autre li vuelent bien:
Tant que li sire a chier celui,
Tant le chierist n'i a celui; (1916-19 [cf. 812-15, etc.])

In general it may be said that *Éracle* presents many instances of direct repetition and a considerable variety of parallelistic forms, but displays an inferior talent in expressing them.

Gautier's second poem of *Ille et Galeron*, which was composed under auspices quite different from the environment of *Éracle*, reveals a smaller number of parallelistic passages and less variety of form. Transposed parallelism disappears entirely. From the direct kinds we miss the analysis of ideas. Its repetition of words savors strongly of Wace:

Illes les plasse, Illes les fiert,
Illes les destruist et requiert,
Illes lor perce lor escus,
Illes les fait tous irascus,
Illes lor fausse lor haubers,
Illes les fait chocier envers. (742-47 [cf. 2723, 2724, etc.])

On the other hand, repetitions of phrases which include the larger part of the line, or repetitions of lines in the same couplet with change of the word at the rhyme seem to be particularly favored:

Lors n'i a nul qui cuer ne coelle,
Lors n'i a nul qui für voelle. (2683, 2684)
Con malement il nos bailissent,
Con malement il nos träissent! (2775, 2776)
Por coi mesciet il dont as buens?
Por coi mesciet il dont as tuens? (2955, 2956)

The proper emphasis is attained by repeating the hemistichs of a line separately in a new couplet:

Merci li qiert, merci li rent,
Tot selonc l'oevre et l'errement.
Merci li quiert qu'il li dist lait,
Merci li rent de ce k'a fait. (3253-56)

We have called Gautier an eclectic in the matter of style. The same term might be applied, perhaps, to his contemporary, Thomas, the author of *Tristan*. Thomas possessed, however, what Gautier lacked, originality. His poetic merit is also much greater. His originality is shown by the development he gave to the transposed parallelism of *Thèbes*. His poetical talent is proven by the depth of feeling he imparted to the sentiment already inherent in many of the direct repetitions of the *Brut*. From the fragments of his *Tristan* which are extant it would seem that he was endowed with the gift of infusing even into repetitions of single words a deeper meaning than they had before enjoyed. Several passages attest this ability:

Dunt me vint ceste volenté
 E cest desir e cest voleir
 U ceste force u cest poeir
 Que jo vers ceste m'acointai, (600-3)
 Suffert en ad tantes dolurs,
 Tantes peines, tantes poûrs,
 Tantes anguisses, tanz perilz,
 Tantes mesaises, tanz eissilz. (1863-66)

In both these citations the repetition is employed to heighten the effect produced by a sequence of synonyms. Somewhat the same result is also reached in the well-known passage at the end of the poem:

Aveir em poissent grant confort,
 Encuntre change, encuntre tort,
 Encuntre paine, encuntre plur,
 Encuntre tuiz engins d'amur! (3141-44)

In the citations already made we detect a tendency toward alliteration, as well as toward the analysis of sentiment by the use of synonyms. Elsewhere we find these tendencies emphasized. For a repetition of the same idea with Thomas quite often involves the play on words which we noticed in Wace when he became analytical. And with this play on words is sometimes combined a variation of phrase which, when expressed in consecutive lines, reminds us strongly of the manner of transposed parallelism:

Tant se deit deliter al rei
 Oblier deit l'amur de moi,
 En sun seignur tant deliter

Que sun ami deit oblier.
E! quei li valt ore m'amur
Emvers le delit sun seignur? (155-60)

By such reiterations Thomas attained a degree of *préciosité* which gave his *Tristan* a fleeting vogue in the more refined courts of the time, perhaps in those circles particularly where feminine influence was most potent. Furthermore, his subtleness of reasoning has persisted beyond his immediate admirers, and through one passage at least has found an echo in the verse of a modern romanticist:

Le nun, la belté la reïne
Nota Tristrans en la meschine:
Pur le nun prendre ne la volt
Ne pur belté, ne fust Ysolt.
Ne fust ele Ysolt apelee,
Ja Tristrans ne l'oüst amée;
Se la belté Ysolt n'oüst,
Tristrans amer ne la poüst;
Pur le nun e pur la belté,
Que Tristrans en li ad trové,
Chiet en desir e en voleir
Que la meschine volt aveir. (273-84)

Repetitions like this are quite frequent in *Tristan* and form its predominant characteristic. Yet, as we have seen, the more simple manner handed down by the *Brut* is quite as much in evidence. It inspired many of the verses already quoted, and the celebrated couplet which was taken over bodily from *Tristan* by Gottfried von Strassburg:

Isôt ma drûe, Isôt m'amie,
En vûs ma mort, en vûs ma vie!¹

Chrétien de Troies did not adopt at any time the complete form of transposed parallelism so diligently cultivated by the author of *Thèbes*. He could hardly bring himself to even two transpositions of the final hemistich of a couplet in his first long poem of *Érec*. But there is no lack of the various forms of direct repetition in *Érec*, in lines which recall corresponding passages

¹ See Bédier's *Tristan*, Vol. I, p. 258, n. 3. Could this phrase have also been in Gace Brûlé's mind when he wrote:

Qu'eu ma dame est et ma mort et ma vie. (Poem VII, l. 54, of Huet's edition.)
See also Barbazan-Méon, *Fabliaux et Contes*, Vol. II, p. 57, l. 126, and Vol. IV, p. 444, l. 88.

of the *Brut*. Chrétien uses the repetition of single words for the purpose of producing lively narration:

Cil saut, cil tume, cil anchante,
 Li uns conte, li autre chante,
 Li uns siffle, li autre note,
 Cil sert de harpe, cil de rote,
 Cil de gigue, cil de vièle,
 Cil flaûte, cil chalemele. (2041-46 [cf. 2392-97, 5238-48])

Quite as conclusive of Wace's influence are the following lines, where the thought is emphasized by a juxtaposition of synonyms:

C'est mes deduiz, c'est mes deporz,
 C'est mes solaz, c'est mes conforz,
 C'est mes avoires, c'est mes tresors. (543-45 [cf. *Brut*, 6734 above])

or these which are more analytical:

Teus est amors, teus est nature,
 Teus est pitiez de norreture. (1463, 1464)

Érec offers also several instances of the repetition of ideas in successive verses, but in quite different terms:

Cil recuevre, si l'a ferue
 A descovert sor la main nue;
 Si la fiert sor la main anverse. (183-85)
 Erec cele part esperone,
 Des esperons au cheval done. (205, 206)
 Mout me poise quant l'an le dit;
 Et por ce m'an poise ancor plus
 Qu'il m'an metent le blasme sus;
 Blasme an sui, ce poise moi. (2558-61)
 Sanblant an fist, quanqu'ele pot;
 Mes n'an pot pas tel sanblant feire. (6638, 6639)

These last citations recall the repetitions of ideas which we observed in *Énéas* and *Éracle* quite as strongly as the first reminded us of the *Brut*. There are not any parallelisms in *Érec* which resemble the dialectics of Wace, nor are there plays on words.

With Chrétien's *Cligès* we find Wace's influence balanced by the more fashionable vogue of Thomas. From the former we can still trace the emphatic reiteration of the single word, coupled with an enumeration of qualities or synonyms:

Ce que ne puet feire hautesce
 Ne corteisie ne savoires
 Ne jantillesce ne avoirs
 Ne force ne chevalerie
 Ne hardemanz ne seignorie
 Ne biautez ne nule autre chose. (202-7)
 Neant anbrace et neant beise,
 Neant tient et neant acole,
 Neant voit, a neant parole,
 A neant tance, a neant luite. (3360-63)

Also the repetition of ideas in successive lines by means of repetitions of distinctive words or plays on words is well represented in this poem of Chrétien:

S'Amors me chastie et manace
 Por moi aprandre et anseignier,
 Doi je mon mestre desdeignier?
 Fos est qui son mestre desdaingne.
 Ce qu'Amors m'aprant et ansaingne,
 Doi je garder et maintenir; (682-87)
 Que de nelui santez me vaingne,
 Se de la ne vient la santez,
 Don venue est l'anfermetez. (870-72)
 Cligés qui ce ot et escote
 Sist sor Morel, s'ot armeüre
 Plus noire que more meüre.
 Noire fu s'armeüre tote. (4662-65)
 Si li fait fiancier prison:
 Sagremors prison li fiance. (4692, 4693, etc., etc.)

On the contrary, the passages which contain analyses of sentiment and reiteration of words—and they recur at every step in *Cligès* (cf. 475-523; 1392-1418, etc., etc.)—are distinctively like the manner of Thomas, while the famous play on *la mer*, *amer*, and *l'amer* (548-52) has been recently determined by Gaston Paris to have been borrowed from a similar tautology in *Tristan*.¹

Chrétien's other poems, inclusive of *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, contain quite as many repetitions of words and phrases as the two we have considered. But because the fashion for dialectic reasoning seems to have enjoyed only a transitory life in romantic

¹ See *Journal des Savants*, July, 1902, pp. 354-56.

poetry, these later works show a decided diminution in the number of parallelisms obtained by means of plays on words. Of the remaining forms we notice in *Guillaume d'Angleterre* a strong liking for direct repetition of words, phrases, and ideas in successive lines or couplets (149–54 point toward an imitation of Wace's *Brut*), while *la Charrette* offers the greatest number of parallelisms recurring after an interval (cf. 2852, 2854; 3126, 3130; 3683, 3687; 3812, 3827, etc.).

The influence of the *Brut* is again strikingly manifest in the Douce *Folie Tristan*, which also showed a tendency toward transposed repetitions. Words and phrases are reiterated:

- Murir desiret, murir volt, (20)
- Plentet i out de praeirie,
- Plentet de bois, de venerie. (117, 118)
- Ysolt, pur vus tant me doil,
- Ysolt, pur vus ben murir voil.
- Ysolt, si ci me saviez. (169–71)

Again, ideas are repeated in the Douce *Folie*, in successive lines or at intervals, sometimes with repetition of parts of the original phrase, sometimes by using the device of a play on words:

- En la nef nus mistrent en mer,
- Quant en haute mer nus mēimes, (463, 465)
- Certes de feintise ore me pleing,
- Ore vus vai retraiete e fainte,
- Ore vus ai jo de feinte ateinte; (852–54 [cf. 746–52])

Both of the poems of Benoit de Sainte-More, the *Roman de Troie* and the *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, offer numerous instances of the simpler forms of direct repetition. They avoid, however, plays on words, analyses, and dialectics in general. Repetitions of single words in *Troie* include *maint* (2763–68), *sovent* (8610–15); in the *Chronique*, *virge* (24055–61). Repetitions of phrases in *Troie* are seen in *mielz sé* (10453–63), *par qui* (28298–305), and the couplet:

- Por quei volez si tost morir?
- Por quei volez si tost guerpir? (15405, 15406)

In the *Chronique* we find *de tant* (37339–43) and the couplet:

- Joie a sis quers e joie sent,
- E grant joie pleniere atent. (16082, 16083)

However, the repetitions in *Troie* are far more frequent than in the *Chronique*.

The same statement holds true of Wace's chronicle of *Rou*, which contains many repetitions of words and phrases, but does not show any pronounced partiality for the dialectics or word-analyses of the *Brut*. So with Wace's *St. Nicholas* and *Ste. Marguerite*, the *Münchener Brut*, the *Vie du Pape Grégoire*, and the fableau *Richeut* (1159). All these poems indulge in repetitions of words and phrases, but not in repetitions of lines. *Richeut*, to be sure, contains but one instance of a repetition (*or*, 403-5). On the other hand, the *Vie de Ste. Marie l'Égyptienne* repeats not only words and phrases, as *ne* (708-11), *tant mar* (406, 407), but the greater part of lines also:

Desk' atant k'il sent la mort.
 Kant la mort vient e il la sent. (40, 41, etc.)
 Je ne lui os turner mon vis.
 Turner ne li os ma feiture (878, 879)
 E sun nun n'avoit pas demande.
 Ne que sun nun n'avoit enquis. (1350, 1351)

It will be noticed that, while these lines are consecutive, they occur in different couplets and in the first example resemble transposed parallelism.

Other and more romantic poems of the time present the same characteristics. The anonymous *Sept Sages* repeats words, phrases, and lines. An example of the last kind is:

Ne le puet plus faire airer.
 Plus no puet l'on faire mairir. (2607, 2608)

The first version of *Floire et Blanchefleur* offers a still larger number of examples of this feature of style, and likewise more variety:

Ensamble vont, ensamble viennent. (213)
 S'amie nous demandera?
 Quant il demandera sa drue. (522, 523)
 Grant doel en fait, et de sa mere.
 Il et s'amie grant doel font. (2898, 2899)

A passage of this poem which contains grammatical rhymes is worth citing as quite unique in its way:

Jou vous feroie coroner
Et riche roiaume doner:
Riche roiaume vous donroie
Et d'or fin vous coroneroie. (2905-8)

It is not necessary to show how direct repetition of words and phrases, and repetition of ideas in the same or different words, in successive lines or separated by intervals, continued to form a prominent feature of style in mediæval French poetry. It had begun before the time of this first Romantic School. It went on after realism had fully asserted its sway. It is true that these forms of repetition do not occur after Wace's influence died out—after Marie de France, perhaps—so frequently as they did while the *Brut* was regarded as a model of good writing. But they are used whenever they suit the purpose of the poets, though it is quite probable that they were considered to be quite primitive ways of obtaining effects. Exception should be made, as we have already intimated, of the dialectic analytical parallelisms and plays on words which had been given to Thomas by Wace, elaborated by Thomas, and handed down by him to Chrétien. These forms, indeed, seem to have been endowed with as short a life as the forms of transposed parallelism. They were exotic and soon perished. The simpler kinds were natural and persisted. Unlike the more subtle, they did not form a school, but remained subject to the call of individual impulse. And probably because they were considered as commonplace, easy of use, they were not abused after the first outbursts of enthusiasm for literature in the vernacular had died away.

III. DIALOGUES IN ALTERNATE LINES AND IN THE SAME LINE

With the revival of French literature after the Crusade of 1147 the treatment of the dialogue attains considerable prominence. In both epic and narrative verse we come upon occasional passages where the poet is obviously exerting himself to express in alternate lines the self-uttered opinions of his characters, or even is dividing the same line between their arguments. The origin of either of these forms of debate at this time is by no means clear. Several centuries afterward, when the classical drama presents the same characteristics, we need only to look to its

models, the tragedies of Seneca, for abundant explanation of such peculiarities of style. But for poetry under Henry II or Louis VII reference to Seneca is meaningless. He may not have been known. Certainly he was not a standard of style. On the other hand, the clerks, to whom we are indebted for our first romantic poems, may have been influenced by the mannerisms of Terence, some of whose plays had been popular for a long time in the schools. Terence cultivates to a considerable degree the form of dialogue which is expressed in broken lines, lines in which two or more characters share. But he rarely, if ever, alternates his speeches in consecutive lines. To be sure, this latter feature is seen in Plautus, though not so frequently as the broken line, but Plautus may not have been read by the educators of that period.¹ Consequently, if we argue that the French poets borrowed the broken line from their Latin authors, we cannot assign the dialogue in alternate lines to this source. Besides, neither Gaimar's *Estorie* nor Wace's *Brut* uses either construction. And these pioneer works should have been especially affected by Latin models. There remains a possible explanation for this characteristic in the debates of the dialecticians, which may have tended toward a drill in dramatic expression.

Leaving the schools and going to the people, we might seek an origin for the dialogue in alternate lines in the liturgical plays of the mediæval drama. Learned in language, but popular in conception, the embryo mystery, the *trope* of the church service, furnished an ever-present model for vivid narration. It drew its thought and the greater share of its words from the Vulgate, but it was sung before the multitude in an antiphonal song which must have left its impression. Particularly well known was the *trope* of the Easter mass:

Quem queritis in sepulchro, o cristicola?
—Jesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.

This dialogue in alternate lines was familiar to the most illiterate. Could it not have affected the forms of debate in popular literature?

Even better known to the masses was the structure of the

¹ See W. Cloetta, *Komödie und Tragödie im Mittelalter*.

early lyric, the alternating phrases of folk-song. The remains of ballad poetry prove that its creators possessed to an unusual degree the capacity for dramatic exposition. This capacity must have been admired by both epic and narrative poets in the Middle Ages, and could have well been imitated by them when nearing a climax or desiring to vary their phrases. Yet dialogues in alternate lines are not to be found in *Roland* and its epic contemporaries, and their absence from these poems leaves the argument for ballad influence on this feature of style quite unsupported. Perhaps as plausible would be the surmise that dialogues in alternate lines are due to a natural evolution of dramatic expression, and that dialogues in broken lines are derived from them in turn by a further extension of the construction. We would not, however, minimize the significance of the liturgical *trope* or lyric reiteration in regard to the dialogues in alternate lines of mediæval poetry, while questions and answers included in the same line may have been justified in literary circles by the knowledge that so great an authority as Terence had deigned to employ them.

We have said that both kinds of dialogue are absent from the epic poems of the first period of French literature. The didactic poetry of the same time, however, offers in perhaps its earliest representative an instance of an apparent desire to elaborate the dialogue in alternate lines. Is it a half-way stage we come upon in *St. Alexis*?

Co dist li pedre: "Chiers filz, com t'ai perdu!"

Respong la medre: "Lasse! qu'est devenuz?"

Co dist la spose: "Pechiez le m'at tolut." (106-8)

Artistic effort is certainly noticeable in this passage, notwithstanding its failure to attain completeness. But in what direction that effort may have led cannot be determined because the attempt stands by itself. Neither Philippe de Thaun nor the pious poets under Henry I appear to have followed up the hint which the author of *St. Alexis* gave them. And it is only with the French renaissance, after the Crusade of 1147, that the notion of giving artistic treatment to the dialogue seems to have been revived.

This revival was not started by the writers who were in close touch with the schools, Gaimar and Wace. After the fashion had

been set, we do, indeed, find Wace giving it a grudging adhesion in his *Rou* (1171–73, 1177 [broken line], 3707, 3708; 3913, 3914), possibly because he wished to keep in the literary current, and not because of a real liking for the mannerism. The real exponents of this feature of style are the romantic poets, the especial representatives of the new literary spirit.¹

The *Roman de Thèbes* first offers complete examples of both alternating and broken lines of dialogue. A serpent has killed a child, and the latter's nurse tells Capaneus about it:

La pucèle li dist a tant:
“Sire, j'ai perdu mon enfant.
—Bèle, coment l'avez perdu?
—Sire, une serpent l'a tolu.
—Serpent?—Veire, sire, par fei: (2403–7)

Other passages of the text present the alternating kind only:

Cil demande: “Coment, ço fu?
—Par ma fei, sire, il l'a feru.
—Et mis père nel referi?
—Nen il, car donc l'eüst honi. (8061–64)
Otes demande: “Avez respét?
—Nenil, por veir, jusqu'a la nuét.
—Por Deu, dist il, or aiez paiz, (8303–5)

In the variants of MSS B and C broken lines of dialogue may also be found (10006, 10066, 10077), and alternate lines as well (10079, 10080).

These passages, however, are few in number, and their very rarity shows that the author of *Thèbes* did not include such a treatment of the dialogue among the essentials of poetic art. A comparison with the examples of transposed parallelism in the same poem reveals the slight importance which the poet attached to dramatic expression. We may only infer from its presence that it was not a novelty. Had it made its first appearance here, it would have undoubtedly been given greater prominence.

¹ The twelfth-century version of *St. Alexis* bears witness to the tendency toward dramatic expression in dialogue. For instance, the verses of the original poem quoted above are reproduced quite faithfully in the revision, but the reference in two of the lines to the speaker is included within the speech:

“Dius,” dist la mère, “qu'est mes flex devenus?”
“Cou dist li péres: “Pecies le m'a tolu.”
“Dius,” dist l'espouse “com petit l'ai eu!”
(edition, p. 234, ll. 455–57 [cf. p. 228, ll. 223–25])

The assumption just drawn may receive support from the subsequent history of this feature of style. Neglected in *Thèbes*, it was employed almost to prodigality in *Énéas*. Transposed parallelism had been excluded in all its forms from the latter poem. Was it a declaration of independence of the authority of *Thèbes* which prompted the author of *Énéas* to this omission, and incited him to the development of the kinds of dramatic dialogue? Whatever may have been his animus, the fact is that he cultivated with extraordinary zeal the art of forceful expression, particularly the dialogue in broken lines. The first opportunity to show his colors was gladly welcomed. *Æneas* questions the messengers returning from Carthage:

“Qu’avez trové?— Nos bien.— Et quei?
 — Cartage.— Parlastes al rei?
 — Nenil.— Por quei?— N’i a seignor.
 — Quei donc?— Dido maintient l’enor.
 — Parlastes vos o li?— Oïl.
 — Menace nos?— Par fei, nenil.
 — Et que dist donc?— Pramet nos bien. (645–51)

Afterward the broken line is combined with the alternating line:

“Anna, ge muir, ne vivrai, suer.
 — Quei avez donc?— Falt me li cuer,
 Nel puis celer, jo aim.— Et cui?
 — Gel te dirai; par fei, celui . . .
 (1273–76 [cf. 1677–81; 1684, 1685; 1750–58])

In later conversations we find the whole line alternating (7892–99; 8002–4; 8470–72, etc.), the broken line by itself (7953–55), or the broken and alternating line in combination (7935–42; 8488–97; 8623–28, etc.). Furthermore, there is an interesting use of the broken line (and also of the alternate line) in those passages of the erotic monologues where the victim of love debates with himself (8133–48; 8347–52; 8961–81, etc.). Here we are approaching the methods of scholastic analysis and argument in which we might perhaps find a source for this feature of style. But whatever their origin, the number and variety of dialogue passages in *Énéas* easily place this poem before all others in the use of such dramatic constructions.

While the author of *Énéas* makes frequent use of alternate lines to express a dialogue, and evidently prides himself on carrying dialogues between two characters in the same line to an extreme, the author of the other great romance of the period which drew its theme from ancient tradition, Benoit de Sainte-More, returns in his *Troie* to the frugality of *Thèbes*. Notwithstanding the great length of *Troie*, there is possibly but one instance in it where the dialogue is expressed in either alternating or broken lines (25320, 25321). But Benoit's other poem, the *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, makes more concessions to this feature of style. To be sure, its examples are infrequent, yet in the case of dialogues in alternate lines they are quite extended (cf. ll. 16908–16, 28556–66, etc.). The dialogue in broken lines occurs in combination with its fellow (ll. 16761, 16762).

With Benoit we have reached the end of the period with which we are directly concerned, and may now turn back to other kinds of literature written a decade or more earlier. For it is an interesting fact that the dramatic form of dialogue had invaded the domain of epic poetry even. The *Chançon de Willame*, which gave such valuable testimony to the popularity of transposed parallelism, may be also adduced as witness to the favor with which these dialogue constructions were regarded. It knows both the alternating line:

Dame Guibure, desquant guardas ma porte?—
 Par ma fai, sire, de novel le faz ore.
 Sire quons Willame, mult as petite force.—
 Seor, duce amie, desquant ies mun porter?—
 Par ma fei, sire, de novel, nient de vielz.
 Sire Willame, poi en remeines chevalers. (1281–86).

There is a ballad flavor in the repetition of this passage, which may accuse its origin. But in the case of the broken lines of dialogue in the poem the flavor is wanting:

Qui estes vus?—Ço est Willame al Curbnies. (2216)
 Ne vient il dunc?—Nun, dame.—Ço m'est laid. (2801)
 Cum avez nun?—Reneward m'apelez. (2826)

Subsequent poems of the William of Orange cycle follow the example set by their predecessor. In the *Couronnement Louis* both forms are found, the alternating line alone (cf. ll. 1753–55, 1789–91), or in combination with the broken line (cf. ll. 1458, 1459). This is also true, to a less degree, of the *Charroi de Nismes* (alternate: ll. 1289, 1290; broken: l. 1132), and the *Prise d'Orange* (alternate: ll. 522–24; broken: l. 479). The form in alternate lines is adopted also by other cycles, and becomes the ordinary means of attaining dramatic power in hostile argument.¹

In narrative poetry the fableau of *Richeut*,² which is dated 1159, shows familiarity with both the alternating and broken-line forms:

Po de chose
 Avez rien fait?—Oil.—Quel chose? (1145, 1146)
 Florie, fait il, Dex vos saut,
 Li Fiz Mariel
 — Sanson, Dex te beneie!
 — Don n'est encor venue m'amie?
 — Nenil, amis.
 — Que diz?— Sanson trop ies hastis. (1214–19)

The first version of the romantic poem of *Floire et Blanche-fleur*, but a few years younger than *Richeut*, knows also both kinds and develops them to an extent that recalls the intensity of *Énéas*:

“Dame,” fait il, “ou est m'amie?”
 Cele respont! “El n'i est mie.
 — Ou est?—Ne sai.—Vous lappelez.
 — Ne sai quel part.—Vous me gabez.
 · Celez la vous?—Sire, nonal.
 — Par Deu, fait il, gou est gieu mal.
 (673–78 [cf. 287; 875, 876; 962, 963; 2283])

Among the court poets of the sixties who are known to us by name, Gautier d'Arras is foremost in adopting this feature of style. This was to have been expected, for Gautier, as we have seen, possessed little originality and independence of initiative.

¹ Cf. *Girard de Roussillon* in P. Meyer's *Recueil d'anciens textes*, p. 57, ll. 349–54; *Garin le Loherain* (4535–38, 6665–70), etc.

² See Méon's *Nouveau recueil de fabliaux et contes*, Vol. I.

Fearful of being eclipsed by the better writers of his time, he was ever mindful of adorning his verse and phrase with the embellishments in vogue for the moment. He is thus a true eclectic, a representative of what is fashionable in literature, and a study of his poems reveals the changing mannerisms of his masters in literary style. Therefore, while our comparison of his *Éracle* with the later *Ille et Galeron* indicated that transposed parallelism had fallen from court grace during the interval between the composition of those poems, a similar comparison in regard to the subject we are now treating shows that there had been no appreciable change in the fashion of handling dialogue passages. Both *Éracle* and *Ille et Galeron* contain speeches where the conversation between two characters is carried on, now in alternate lines, now in the same line. And the proportion of such speeches is practically the same in both poems. For dialogues in alternate lines see *Éracle*, 309, 310; 875, 876; 4672, 4673; 4949, 4950; *Ille et Galeron*, 1829, 1830; 3608, 3609; 3663-65; 6407-9; 6509-11. For dialogues in broken lines see *Éracle*, 537; 544; 560; 923; 1530; 3587; 3698; 3885; 4399; *Ille et Galeron*, 1521; 3615; 3729; 5585; 5588; 6360; 6418. It will be noticed that the examples of either kind are quite unimportant and do not exceed two lines in length, with the exception of a passage in *Éracle* where both forms occur in combination:

Je pert m'oneur, mais n'en puis mais.
 — Si puez.— Coment?— Esta en pais.
 — Je nel puis trouver en men cuer. (3686-88)

The most interesting feature of this passage is that it occurs in a monologue, a debate held by the heroine of the episode with herself, after the manner of the love monologues in *Énéas*. In view of this particular correspondence, and similar debates in the monologue of the hero which follows, together with the relative frequency of both varieties of dialogue in the poem, we may assume that *Éracle* was written after *Énéas* and took this notion of literary style from the greater romance.

The same assumption may probably hold in the case of Thomas' *Tristan*. For while we find but one extended use of

broken and alternate lines to express a dialogue, this passage occurs in the midst of a debate carried on by Tristan with himself over the genuineness of Isolt's love for him:

Ele, de quei?—D'icest ennui.
 —U me trovereit?—La u jo sui.
 —Si ne set u ne en quel tere.
 —Nun? e si me feist dunc querre!
 —A que faire?—Pur ma dolur. (139-43)

Both the situation and the manner here recall Lavinia's monologue in *Énéas* so vividly that we are led to trace a connection between the two passages and surmise that one is the model for the other. And because *Énéas* apparently lays greater stress on this feature of style than *Tristan*, where we find but one other, inferior, example—alternating lines in a monologue of Isolt's (2935, 2936)—we assume that the model was furnished by *Énéas*, and not *Tristan*. Unfortunately the *Douce Folie*, which is possibly a work of Thomas, cannot throw much light on this point, for it offers but one good example of a dialogue in alternating lines (486-88), together with one poor one (384, 385), and it does not contain any dialogues in broken lines.

Chrétien de Troies may also have known *Énéas* when he wrote his first Arthurian romance of *Érec*, but his treatment of the dialogue in that poem is not pronounced enough to indicate a more positive authority than *Thèbes* would be. We do not find any conversations in alternating lines in *Érec*. There seem to be two instances where a speech is restricted to a single line (851, 3258). Twice the line is broken between two interlocutors (4372, 6615), but only in the second passage is the dialogue complete. Once two broken lines occur together, but here the first hemistich of the first line is only the conclusion of remarks which were begun two lines before:

Leisse m'aler!—Vos n'i iroiz!
 —Je si ferai.—Vos non feroiz! (215, 216)

So that at best the showing in *Érec* is extremely meager and inconclusive.

But in *Cligès*, which was composed, as we have seen, under the inspiration of *Tristan*, illustrations of this feature of style are more numerous and more pertinent. Broken lines of debate with themselves emphasize the anxiety of lovers in their monologues—a trait bequeathed by *Tristan* (cf. *Cligès*, 504, 505; 627; 653; 665; 698, combined with single-line speech in 699 ff.); while dialogues in alternate or broken lines between two characters quite rival in perfection the best passages of *Énéas*:

- Don estes vos?—De Grece somes.
- De Grece?—Voire.—Qui'st tes pere?
- Par ma foi, sire, l'anperere.
- Et comant as non, biaus amis?
- Alixandre me fu nons mis. (*Cligès* 366–70)
- Dame, que dire? que teisir?
- Congié vos quier.—Congié? De quoi?
- Dame, an Bretaigne aler an doi.
- Donc me dites, por quel besoingne. (4308–11)

The remaining poems of Chrétien continue to use this mannerism, *la Charrette* sparingly, *Iwain* and *Perceval* freely. *Guildaume d'Angleterre* knows both forms, but in its handling of the broken line excels even *Énéas*:

- Donc le me vant!—Mout volantiers.
- Que t'an donrai?—Cinc souz antiers.
- Cinc souz?—Voire.—Tu les avras,

(*Guildaume d'Angleterre*, 2099–2101)

- Un roi?—Voire.—Don?—D'Angleterre. (2813)
- Ainz sont vostre charnel ami.
- Ami? Comant?—Vostre fil sont.
- Deus, fet la dame, qui respont:
- Puet estre voirs?—Öil, sanz dote. (3106–9)

As might be expected this artistic handling of dialogue passages did not cease with the poets who wrote in the third quarter of the twelfth century. Their successors took it up and contributed to make it a permanent adjunct of literary style. But its period of elaboration is distinctly to be bounded by *Thèbes* on the one hand and *Énéas* on the other—a period not exceeding ten years, in all probability. An attempt to develop the form in

alternate lines may be traced perhaps as far back as the *St. Alexis*, but this attempt first attained success in *Thèbes* and *Thèbes* also furnished the first example of a dialogue in broken lines. (This statement is made on the assumption that *Thèbes* antedates the *Willame*.) But the author of *Thèbes* does not display any great satisfaction over his victory, if it be his, and it was reserved for *Énéas* to develop dramatic dialogue to its greatest capacity. For in applying it to erotic monologues so that the lover can debate with himself, the author of *Énéas* made possible many an episode of mediaeval literature. Thomas saw its capabilities, and Chrétien also, while their successors only confirmed their practice. Among the contemporaries Wace and Benoît de Sainte-More pay a reluctant homage to this construction, but the time-serving Gautier d'Arras accepts its sway enthusiastically and vaunts his fealty even to the debates with self of his erotic monologues.

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VENTAILLE

Skeat's explanation of *aventaille*¹ in the lines in Chaucer's *Lenvoy to the Clerke's Tale* (*C. T.*, Group E., 1202-4):

For though thyn housbonde armed be in maille,
The arwes of thyn crabbed eloquence
Shal perce his brest, and eke his aventaille,

hardly hits the mark. After citing Douce's perfectly correct account of the *ventail*, or "beaver," of the helmet of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, "the lower part of the helmet which admitted air," he goes on to say: "Jephson states that *and eek his aventaille* is a perfect example of bathos. I fail to see why; the weapon that pierced a ventail would pass into the head and inflict a death wound."² That Jephson's view of the matter is the correct one will be evident from what follows.

More than forty years ago Quichérat cited the Chaucerian passage most aptly in his *Explication du mot ventaille dans les chansons de geste*,³ an article written in part to correct the traditional error of French dictionaries on the same point. His conclusions have been accepted by the most prominent French scholars,⁴ but seem to be generally unknown to Middle-English scholars;⁵ so it may be well to make a restatement of his results,

¹ In his edition of *William of Palerne*, p. 254, Skeat's definition, "The movable front to a helmet, and through which the wearer breathed," and the quotation from Cotgrave—a definition of the "beaver"—cannot explain the passage referred to (3608, 3609):

william than wiȝtli by the auentayle him hent
to have with his swerd swapped of his hed.

The English translator at this point has made a very free rendering of his French original (*Guillaume de Palerne*, ed. Michelant, 6208, cf. 6231), but neither here, in the original and in the translation, nor elsewhere in the French text (5767, 5970-74, 6614, 6830, 6837, 6866, 6852; cf. Kaluza, *Eng. Stud.*, IV, pp. 252, 253, 269) is the *ventaille* a part of the helmet.

² *Works of Chaucer*, V., 352.

³ *Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de France*, 3, VII (1864), 231ff.; reprinted in his *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, II (1886), 314 ff.

⁴ E. g., Littré, *Dict.*, s. v. *aventail*; P. Meyer, *La chanson de la croisade contre les Albigeois*, I (1875), 447; L. Favre (Sainte Palaye, *Dict. hist. de l'ancien langage françois*, X, 141). For Godefroi the *ventaille* is a part of the helmet, although a number of his citations belie his definition, *Dict. de l'anc. lang. franc.*, VIII, 174; cf. I, 510.

⁵ Cf. R. Morris, *Sir Gawayne*, p. 86; Bradley-Stratmann, *Middle-Eng. Dict.*, s. v. *aventaille*; Köbling, *Sir Bevis of Hantoun*, pp. 369, 398; N. E. D., s. v. *aventail*, where the definition of a beaver is given. Kaluza, *Libeaus Desconus*, p. 20, corrects this error by a reference

supplemented with other evidence.¹ In French armor of the tenth to the fourteenth centuries an essential part of the hauberk, or coat of mail, was the hood-shaped headdress of chain-mail, the *coiffe*, which, covering the back of the neck and the head, left only the lower part of the face unprotected.² The helmet was placed on top, and fastened to the *coiffe*.³ The opening in the *coiffe* through which the wearer breathed was known as the *ventaille*. No instance of its use in its primitive etymological sense can be cited, as at an early date the word was applied to a part of the armor itself. At first it denoted a wide strip of chain-mail which was attached to, or formed part of, the *coiffe*. Hanging down from the right cheek, it was brought round the chin, and, protecting the neck and upper breast, covered the mouth and left cheek, and was fastened on the top of the head with laces.⁴ It thus performed the double service of protecting the parts of the body it covered, and of securing the *coiffe* in place. At a later period the *coiffe* did not form one piece with the hauberk, and hung low down in front, either inside it or outside.⁵ The word *ventaille* had an extension in its meaning parallel to the evolution of the piece of armor,⁶ when it did not supplant *coiffe* as the name of the whole piece of armor.⁷

to Schultz (see below). I have already cited some of the authorities in a note on the use of the word in *T. and C.*, V, 1558 in my *Chaucer's Indebtedness to Guido delle Colonne* (1903), p. 90 n. For parallels to the *Troilus* passage, cf. note 1 *supra*; *Guillaume de Pal.*, 6231, 6234; *Aliiscans*, ed. Wienbeck, etc., 5968.

¹ Quichérat, *Hist. du costume en France*, 133, 288; Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire du mobilier français*, VI, 353-57, Plates, 105-7; V. Schirling, *Die Verteidigungswaffen im altfranzösischen Epos*, 43 ff.; A. Schultz, *Das höfische Leben*, 2d ed., II (1889) 50 ff.; O. Hartung, *Herriges Archiv*, LXXXIX, 281, 372; E. du Méril, *Études sur quelques points d'archéologie* (1862), 270, 509; W. Foerster, *Aiol*, p. 607.

² Quichérat, *Mémoires*, 316-19; *Histoire du costume*, 133; Schultz, 50, 51; Schirling, 40-42.

³ Quichérat, *Mémoires*, 316, 319; Schultz, 53, 55, 78; Schirling, 41, 69.

⁴ Quichérat, *Mémoires*, 322, 323; Schultz, 51-55.

⁵ Quichérat *Mémoires*, 319, 320; *Histoire du costume*, 288. The *coiffe* was also called *clavain* when it did not form part of the hauberk. Cf. Godefroi, II, 148; Schultz, II, 55; Schirling, 42; Rom., XI, 565. As to the identity of the *clavain* and *clavel* cf. authorities cited by Levy, *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch*, I, 260, 261.

⁶ Huon de Bordeaux, 8051; Fierabras, 4686, 5677; Maugis d'Aigremont, 6434, 6435; Schultz, 54, n. 3.

⁷ Quichérat *Mémoires*, 321, *Histoire du costume*, 288; W. Foerster, *Kristian von Troyes, Karrenritter*, p. 334; Garin le Loherain, I, 164, 4; Elie de Saint Gilles, ed. Foerster, 2101. For a similar semantic evolution of the Germanic *halsbērc* cf. Lehmann, *Brünne und Helm im ags. Beowulflied*, 20-22; Kinzel, *Zeit. f. deutsch. Phil.*, XIII, 123; Lichenstein, *Anz. f. d. Alterth.*, VIII, 98.

The Latin etymon *ventacula* of the French word and its Provençal equivalent *ventalha* at once suggest that the piece of armor was an innovation made on Gallic soil, and there is reason to believe that, like the hauberk and helmet,¹ it was an article of Provençal manufacture, which was imported to northern France. For in Provençal *ventalha* is not only the name of a part of the armor;² at an early date it was applied to a part of the everyday costume. In the lines of the *Ensenhamen* of Arnaut Guilhem de Marsan:³

E faitz la cabessalha
atrvases ab ventalha
ampla pels muscles sus,
car lo pieytz n'er pus clus;
e dirai vos per que,
e aprendetz o be;
per so c'om res no veyva
el pieys que mal esteya,

the *ventalha* is the part of a cape, or collar of a cloak,⁴ which fastens it up in front. The *ventaille* has no such meaning in Old French; and if its meaning, as a part of the dress,⁵ was restricted to a military habiliment, was this not due to the fact that northern France received the name with the piece of armor? That it was not of Germanic origin is evident from the fact that Middle High German translators of French texts⁶ had no word with which to render *ventaille*, and made it synonymous with the *coiffe, hersenier*.⁷ Only in translations of a later period does the

¹ G. Paris, *Rom.*, XVII, 425-29.

² E. g., *Ch. des Alb.*, 2525, Bertrand de Born, ed. Stimming (1892), XVII, 35; XXXVIII, 55. But that the second of these poems is falsely attributed to Bertrand, cf. Schultz Gora, *Deutsches Litteraturzeit.*, 1892, 1177.

³ K. Bartsch, *Provenz. Lesebuch*, 136, 27-34. The date of the poem is ca. 1200. Bartsch, *Grundris*, p. 51; Stimming, *Groebers Grundr.*, II, 2, 51.

⁴ On the meaning of *cabessalha* see Levy, *Prov. Suppl.-Wörb.*, I, 180. Add to his reference Godefroy, s. v. *cheveceure*, and the citation "ele (i. e., une cotele) n'avoit mie la chevecheure de traveis sus les espanuas," a perfect comment on the Provençal passage. On etymology cf. Horning, *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XVIII, 234.

⁵ On the meaning of *éventail* cf. Godefroy, VIII, 174; P. Meyer, *Flam.*, 2d ed., 410.

⁶ In Lamprecht's translation of Albéric de Besançon's poems on Alexander the episodes of the arming of the hero, and his fight with Nicholas, are very much abridged (cf. P. Meyer, *Alex. le Grand*, II, 124, 126-31; Wilmanns, *Götting. gel. Anz.*, 1885, 298-301; Kinzel, *Anz. f. d. A.*, XIII, 228, 230); so there is no chance of seeing the translation of *ventalha*, when it occurs in the Provençal text (cf. Meyer, *loc. cit.*, I, MS de l'Arsenal, 365, 370, 647, 703).

⁷ Cf. *Rom. de Troie*, ed. Joly, 2565, 16169, with Heribert von Fritzlar, *Liet von Troye*, 460 ff., 10330 ff.; Lichenstein, *Anz. f. d. A.*, 3, VIII, 91.

loan-word *vintaille* appear.¹ It seems as if only after the *ventaille* had become a part of the helmet was the French word drafted into Italian as *ventaglia*;² there is no example of it in early Italian, where we find *barbuta* with the wider meaning of *coiffe*.³ In Spanish *ventaille* has been translated by *ventana*,⁴ a word of native growth with the same meaning as the etymological meaning of the French word. *Ventaille* and *aventaille*—the latter form due to agglutination with the feminine definite article—passed into Middle English without any change in either form or meaning.

It was with this early type of armor, in which the *ventaille* was a part of the *coiffe*, and not of the helmet, that Chaucer was acquainted, and protecting the breast as the *aventaille* did, the English poet's lines are "a perfect example of bathos." A few instances of a correct description of the results of a blow from a weapon will show the truth of this statement. The two earliest examples are in the *Chanson de Roland*:

Si vait ferir Escremiz de Valterne,
L'escut del col li faint et escantelet:
De sun osberc li rumpit la ventaille:
Sil fieret el piz entre les dous furceles,

Vait le ferir par sun grant vasselage,
L'escut li faint, cuntre le coer li quasset,
De sun osberc li disrumpit la ventaille,
Son grant espiet parmi le cors passet,⁵

¹ Grimm, *D. Gr.*, III, 445, has erred in defining the word as a part of the helmet, and in following him Benecke, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, III, 325, only gives the definition *helmsvier* which does not apply to a single one of the passages cited; and the error is not corrected by Lexier, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterb.* III, 360, or Schade, *Altdeutsches Wörterb.*, I, 197.

² Cf. d'Ovidio, *Arch. glott.*, XIII, 425. It is not cited by Thomas in his list of French loan-words, in Italian, *Essais de philol. franç.*, 404, 405.

³ *El Cantare di Fierabracci e Ulzieri*, ed. Stengel, 1004; *Orlando*, ed. Hübscher, I, 10; VX, 40; XXXVII, 35, XXIX, 34, 38-40. Cf. Du Cange, s. v. *barbuta*; Levy, I, 126, 127. In the passage cited by Raynouard *barbuda* is not the piece of armor, but the part of the body covered by it. Cf. Ascoli, *AG.*, VII, 520; Zauner, *R. F.*, XIV, 408; F. Zambaldi, *Vocab. etimol. ital.*, 108d.

⁴ Cf. *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, II, cxxvii, p. 261b; *Chanson d'Antioch*, VIII, 508; G. Paris, *Rom.* XVII, 519, XIX, 589.

⁵ *Ch. de Rol.* 1291-94, 3447-49a; MS O'. Stengel in his critical edition has unfortunately rejected the good reading in O for 1293, in favor of that given in MSS due to scribes, who did not understand the meaning of *ventaille*, as is evident from the omission of 3449. The same sort of omissions and changes was made by the scribe of the prototype of the first part of the Berne MS of the *Aliscans*, who knew only the *ventaille* of the helmet. Cf. *Aliscans*, ed. Wienbeck, 1662, 1689, 4004, 4007, 4070, 4564, p. xxxi.

written at a period when the *coiffe* still formed a part of the hauberk. In the other instances cited below, from later texts, the *ventaille* is quite evidently not considered a part of the hauberk, as was, in all probability, the case in Chaucer's lines:

Chanson de la Croisade contre les Albigeois:¹

Aucizon .i. donzel, c'anc ausberg ni ventalha
Nol pog gandir de mort, que dins la coralha
Ne li messol cairel co per .i. sac de palha;

Orson de Beauvais:²

La vantalle li frosse et perce la cuirie,
Le cuer li a fendi, le premon et le fie;

Roman d'Alexandre:³

Tel cop li a done el pis sor la ventalle,
Le fier de son espiel li met en la coralle;

Laud Troy-Book:⁴

Smot in-to helme and mayle
Coleret and the ventayle:
He carff him down Into his vent;

Sir Ferumbas:⁵

Ro<land> smot hym on the helm an heȝ, & laid hit a doun with mayn,
Helm and coyfe therwyp a clef, forw-out heued & brayn.
His auentaile ne vailede him noȝt, that þe swerd ne clef him þanne,
Til it hadde in-to his bodi i-soȝt, by-nythe is brest a spanne.

Is it not clear that in the English poet's lines, as in the examples cited above, the piercing of the breast and *ventaille* is to be regarded as one and the same act? If Chaucer's description is incorrect, it is a part of the poet's fun to use here in his own way a formula common in metrical romances, as he had used numerous such formulas in *Sir Thopas*. We find the same rhetorical fault, perhaps unintentional this time, in the *Sowdone of Babylone*,⁶

He smote with mayne and myghte
The nekke asonder, the ventayle also,

¹ Ed. P. Meyer, 2535-37.

² Ed. G. Paris, 1668, 1669.

³ Ed. Michelant, 305, 32, 33.

⁴ Ed. Wülfing, 7493-7495.

⁵ Ed. Herritage, 1602-1605. There is no equivalent for this passage in the French *Fierabras*, 2413-16.

⁶ Ed. Hausknecht, ll. 528, 529.

since it was necessary to remove the *ventaille* in order to cut off the head.¹ As the *ventaille* did protect the lower part of the face, a severe blow on the former implied wounding the latter, but in every case the injury done the armor and the face is the result of a single blow:

*Aliscans:*²

Li quens le fier devant en mi la chiere
Du brant d'acier, qui fu fait en Baviere,
De la ventaille li rompi la joiere,
Tote la face li fendi par derriere;

*Roman de Troie:*³

L'escu li perce e la ventaille,
Iluec li fist sis haubers faille:
Par mi la chiere l'a navré;

*Fierabras:*⁴

Hardré a si feru du puig deles l'oie
Que .ii. dens en la geule li pechoie et esmie:
Se ne fust la ventaille que il avoit lacie,
Du felon traiteur en fust Franche widie.

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¹ *Destruction de Rome* (*Rom.* II, 28); *Rouland and Vernagu*, ed. Herritage, 863, 864; *Octavian*, ed. Sarrazin, 1153, 1154; Schultz, 54, 55.

² Ed. Wienbeck, p. 346, 22-25.

³ Ed. Constans, 2579-81.

⁴ Ed. Kroeker and Servois, 5845-48; cf. English translation, *Sir Ferumbas*, 5649-52.



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